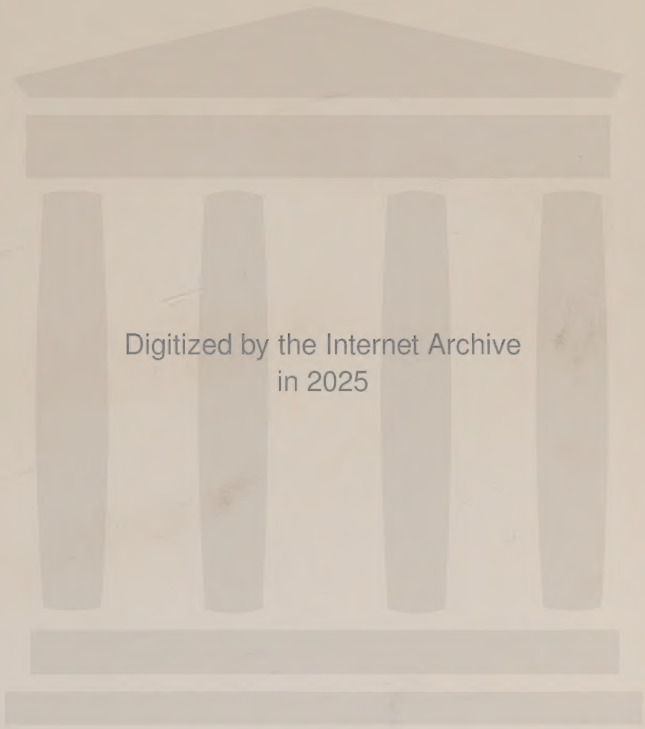
Theology Library

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
California


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/journalofsacredl0001unse_a3o1

THE

JOURNAL

OF

SACRED LITERATURE.

New Series.

EDITED BY JOHN KITTO, D.D., F.S.A.

VOLUME I.

DIVINITY SCHOOL
LIBRARY.
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

LONDON:

ROBERT B. BLACKADER,
ALDINE CHAMBERS, 13, PATERNOSTER ROW.

AND SOLD BY
SAMUEL BAGSTER & SONS, 15, PATERNOSTER ROW.
EDINBURGH: W. OLIPHANT & SONS. DUBLIN: SAMUEL B. OLDHAM.

1852.

LONDON:
WALTON AND MITCHELL, PRINTERS, WARDOUR-ST., OXFORD-ST.

THE

JOURNAL

OF

SACRED LITERATURE.

New Series.

No. I.—OCTOBER, 1851.

A NEW EXPLANATION OF THE TAXING IN LUKE ii. 1—5.

The term census, coming to us from a Latin verb (*censere*, to *determine*, to *ordain*, to *assess*), denotes the act of the censor in fixing the social position of each Roman citizen, and the amount of taxes which he had to pay to the state. As an essential preliminary to the assessment, there took place an enrolment of names, wherein were formed registers, which accordingly contained the names, property, and fiscal liability of all Roman citizens.[a] The facts supplied by these registers were the kernel of the Roman constitution. In consequence, the greatest care was taken in order to make them complete and accurate. The censorship itself originating in the earliest periods of the commonwealth, and being connected with the supervision of morals and sanctioned by religion, was, as the most dignified office in the state, borne by men of the highest distinction. Without reverting to earlier times, we find the censorship held by Julius Cæsar under the title of *præfectus morum*;[b] and by his adopted son Octavius, the first emperor of Rome,[c] in whose reign took place the census spoken of by the evangelist Luke. This monarch, Cæsar Augustus, under the title of *præfectus morum* ("overseer of morals"), held a census three times.[d] More than

---

a Diony. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* iv. 15; apud Lardner, i. 274; Florus, i. 6, 3.
b Dio Cass. xliii. 14. *c* *Ibid.* lii. 42.
d *Ibid.* liii. 17; liv. 16, 30; Suetonius, *Oct.* 27, 38, 39.

once he consigned to others duties connected therewith.[c] His example was followed by succeeding emperors.

The census was at first taken in the forum in Rome; afterwards in the *villa publica*, which stood in the Campus Martius. The citizens, called together by public proclamation, went before the censors (there were two) individually and according to their tribes. Each one had to give in his name in full; the name of his tribe or district in which he lived; the name of his father, his wife, and the names of his children; together with his own age. After the enrolment there ensued a return of his property on the part of each citizen. This return was minute and exact. The presence of each citizen was required under severe penalties. When the names and the property were taken, the censors divided the citizens into their several ranks and classes, and assessed their pecuniary obligations to the state. The registers, called *tabulæ censoriæ*, containing the particulars thus ascertained, were carefully preserved.

In the municipia or affiliated cities, the census was separately held, but the registers were sent to Rome. Municipal censors are mentioned in ancient authorities.[d] Also in the colonies were there special censors, who from the time of the second Punic war, sent the census-rolls (*tabulæ censoriæ*) to Rome, to be there laid up in the public archives.[e] The provincial census system became under the emperors more strict; it also was more extensive, for the boundaries of the empire were enlarged. The emperors sent into the provinces and colonies officers of their own appointment (*censitores*), who appointed their own subalterns (*censuales*) to perform the actual duties of the office.

It has been supposed that the Roman census was taken in each one's dwelling-place. When all who were Roman citizens dwelt in Rome, such was the case. The reason was, that in Rome they had had their origin. When however the citizenship was shared by other places, then each person underwent the census, to use the words of Luke, "in his own city." (Luke ii. 3.) The Latins, for instance, who dwelt at Rome, had to return home for the purposes of the census.[f] Home, in this sense, was for a Roman citizen the place where he was born, where he had been adopted or set free; *municipem aut nativitas facit, aut manumissio aut adoptio.*[g]

The census is thus seen to have comprised many distinct acts. Consequently the term census, as taken either in relation to these acts severally or to the whole collectively, has various

[c] Sueton. *Oct.* 37. [d] Orelli *Inscr.* xvi. 10. [e] Livy, xxix. 15, 37.
[f] Livy, xlii. 10. [g] Huschke *Ueber den Census*, Breslau, 1840.

and dissimilar significations. It may accordingly denote the enrolment of names; the returns of property; the assessing of taxes; and the assessment or tax itself. Inferior varieties of meaning are passed over. The census however comprised these four leading transactions, and the word was indifferently used of the whole or of any one separate act. These several parts of the census, occupying a long time, were of necessity distinct one from another. The names had to be entered before the property-estimates were given in; and only after the valuations had been written down, could the classes be formed; on the formation of the classes depended the assessments; when the assessments were made the taxing might take place. The formation of the registers and the levy of the census or impost ("tribute," Matt. xxii. 17), closed the duties and completed the census. The census, it is thus seen, was an act of sovereignty. When a census was taken by Rome in one of her provinces, the act implied subjection. If the actual subjection was incomplete, the census indicated an intention on the part of the emperor to bring the country into full subjection. And lastly, the census having for its final object the imposition of taxes, could not fail to be odious, and might be oppressive to a country reduced by the Roman arms into submission.

The census having its origin under Solon in Athens, presents itself to us here as a Roman institution. When Rome began to extend her power over distant parts of the world, the census lost its exclusively Roman character, and was employed for political purposes in the provinces. In this its later application it underwent modifications, which arose partly from its transference from the seat of government, partly from its new connexion with foreign laws and customs. Preserving the essential features of the properly Roman census, those who received a commission to take a census in a province, of necessity omitted what was peculiar to Rome, such as the customary atoning sacrifices and the civil division of the citizens into tribes and centuries; and while making careful provision to secure the imposts (*vectigalia*), which was the ultimate aim, they in a measure consulted the feelings, and complied with the usages, and profited by the institutions of the people whose subjugation they were thus turning to account. The census in the provinces assumed in consequence a special character, which having the common type in that which was customary at Rome, varied with the varieties of the several provinces. Another source of variation was found in the degree of policy which prudence suggested. In some cases the census might in all its parts be at once carried into effect. In another, the final levying of the impost

might be approached step by step through a series of years. It is easy to conceive that the first might be the only acts performed. The enrolment might never lead to an imposition of taxes, or be consummated in an imposition of taxes only after a series of years. A general census throughout the world was an impossibility until a universal monarchy was fully established. But when the empire of the civilized world had its centre at Rome, the emperor of Rome could not fail to desire to employ in foreign parts an instrument of government which, like the census, gave him an exact acquaintance with his subjects, and put their resources under his eyes and in part at his disposal. It would therefore be strange if Augustus had not taken some steps towards a general census of the empire.

How marked, however, was the difference between the pure Roman census, and the census as modified in subjugated nations, appears from these words of an unknown jurist of the second century, given by Huschke[h]:—

Ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥωμαίων μόνον ἀποτίμησιν ἄγεσθαι δεδήλωται, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις μᾶλλον ἀπογραφᾶις χρῶνται.

"But in the city of Rome only it has been shewn a census is had; in the provinces they merely take registrations."

It may not be possible to determine in what particulars the provincial census differed from the metropolitan, nor is it likely that any one model prevailed in the provinces; but it is clear from the quotation just given that the provincial census comprised less than that which was held in Rome. The reason of the thing shews that the defect would chiefly lie in the remoter and more important, and therefore politically the more delicate, parts of the transaction. Lardner remarking (i. 277) on the authority of Tacitus[i] that "the Batavi paid no tribute to the Romans, and furnished the state with arms and men only upon occasion;" adds, "and some may be disposed to infer from hence that there might be enrolments made in such a province, of the names of the people and their conditions of life, in order to know what number of troops it might furnish the state with."

A complete census of the Roman empire in the sense of the imposition of taxes, could scarcely be effected in the reign of the first emperor, even if it were commanded. The fulfilment of such a command was a work of time and difficulty. Even in the second century, as we have just seen, an entire uniformity had not been introduced. Early in the first century therefore we are justified in expecting only a commencement. Well then may we find no record on the part of contemporary or ancient

[h] *Ueber den Census*, 14. [i] *Hist.* iv. 12.

historians of a universal census as having been made in the days of Cæsar Augustus. No universal census was made. No universal census was possible. Even the imperial power of Rome sufficed not to impose the census with all its results on the whole civilized world within the reign of one sovereign. But Rome had her plans; she foresaw her booty and made a beginning. Hence arose the decree spoken of by Luke. This decree commanded not a universal census, but a registration; and that the decree was by no means fruitless, we know on the best guarantees. From Tacitus[k] we learn that Augustus left behind him, written in his own hand, a *libellus*, or outline of the empire, which contained statements of the public wealth, the number of citizens and of allies in arms; how many were the fleets, the kingdoms, the provinces, tributes or taxes, as well as public burdens and benefactions. Suetonius (*Aug.* 28) and Dio Cassius (liii. 30, 33, 56) make statements to the same effect.

The only census taken by the Romans in Judea of which we have any information, is spoken of by Josephus,[l] who clearly implies that the census referred to was the only census to which the Jews had been subjected by the Romans. Whether the mode observed approached more or less nearly to the Roman type, the history does not enable us to determine; but it is beyond a doubt that a complete census was effected. The facts are as follows. Archelaus had been deposed by Augustus. Archelaus left considerable property in Judea. Judea had now no sovereign of its own. Therefore in the thirty-seventh year after his victory over Antony at Actium (U. C., 760, A.D. 7), Augustus appointed, as president of Syria, Cyrenius, a man of consular dignity, who stood high in the imperial favour; commanding him to sell the property of Archelaus, and take a census of the Jewish people. At the same time he made Judea an integral part of the province of Syria, and so of the Roman empire, appointing Caponius as its ruler or procurator. Cyrenius, in obedience to his instructions, held a census. In so doing, he experienced great difficulty. Judas, a Galilean or Gaulonite, incited the people to resist, on the ground that the census was an invasion of their national freedom. Great excitement ensued. The rights of the strongest prevailed; but what Josephus calls a fourth Jewish sect was called into existence. In other words, there arose a patriotic party, who used every effort and scrupled no means, in order to withstand the power of Rome; and originated and occasioned struggles against its authority, the final issue of which was the rasure of Jerusalem from the face of the earth.

---

k *Ann.* i. 11. l *Antiq.* xvii. 12, 4; xviii. 1, 1; ii. 1; *Jewish War*, ii. 8, 1.

The terms employed by Josephus in the general account he gives of this disastrous event, deserve attention, since they afford us aid in forming a conception of what the Roman census comprised. Cyrenius is called by him τιμητής, that is, appraiser or valuer; he is termed τιμητὴς τῶν οὐσιῶν, or τῶν χρημάτων, *valuer of property, substance or goods;* he is said to be sent, ἀποτιμησό μένος ἀυτῶν τὰς ὀύσιας, *in order to make a valuation of their property;* the people are advised against τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς ἀκρόασιν, that is, *obedience to the registrations;* and when they yielded it is said ἀπετίμων χρήματα, *they gave in the value of their goods.*

Judas, their leader, denominates the transaction as τὴν ἀποτίμησιν, the valuation or assessment.

Here then we find that the census, as enforced by Rome in Judea, involved, 1. ἡ ἀπογραφή (*he apographé*), or registration; 2. ἡ αποτίμησις (*he apotimésis*), or valuation of property. These two chief acts led to the imposition of a tax, and the tax thus imposed occasioned a tumult which brought a revolt, and more remotely rebellion, war and desolation. Of the import of the words here employed there is no doubt; equally clear in general is the nature of the transactions. The Roman officers by their deputies presided; the people, as in Rome, gave in the values of their property. Assessments and registers were made; imposts enforced, and the people were coerced into a sullen and uneasy obedience. Let it however be observed, that a proper census consisted of several parts; the transaction had separate and distinct stages; the *apographé* (strictly writing down the names from the statements of those who bore them) was different from the *apotimésis,* or the taking of the value of their property from the averments of its possessors. Moreover these two transactions involved others, the performance of which was a work of time.

In carrying the census into effect, the Roman officers would require aid from the native authorities. How, without that aid, could the censor ascertain that all the Jews had complied with his proclamation? In order to ascertain that all were present who ought to appear, the Jewish rulers had to appeal to the family registers of the Hebrew race. This appeal called every head of a family to his native place. Hence we may infer that the census, under the joint supervision of Roman and Jewish officers, was taken in the more ancient towns and cities of the land. That the people were present at the taking of the census, is evident from the statement of the historian, that "they gave in the values of their property."

Our conception of the whole proceeding will be less incom-

plete, if we have before us a Hebrew practice which bears some analogy to the census, and in the actual case may more or less have been blended with the census. The Scriptural student is well aware that in the Bible mention is repeatedly made of numbering the people. (Numb. i. 2; iii. 15, *seq.*; 2 Sam. xxiv. 2, *seq.*) This numbering was essential in a constitution which depended on territorial divisions, designed to be permanent. (Lev. xiv. 34; xxv. 23, *seq.*) There was also another fundamental division equally intended to be permanent. We allude to what we term the natural division into tribes, families and houses. (Num. ii. 18; Josh. vii. 14; 1 Sam. x. 19.) This second division, which was first in the order of time, was strictly regarded in the division of land. The allotment originally made to a tribe or a house, was to remain its possession for ever. Hence an extensive, minute, and accurate system of registration was indispensable. Hence also arose both tribal and family registers.[m] The correctness and purity of these registers were most important, since on them depended all the rights of property. There were also minor circumstances which conduced to the same result. Registers accordingly were made and carefully preserved. The care employed was vigilant and even jealous, since an advantage gained by one would involve a loss to another person. The retention of civil rights and the enjoyment and transmission of property, were involved in the rigid accuracy and careful preservation of the registers. Hence those registers had a local character. The native city of each individual family was the repository of its register. In that place existed the guarantees of certainty and exactitude. Where each family was best known, there most effectually could their right to be enrolled in the national archives be claimed, tested, and established. Hence when population came to be scattered, each one had to repair to "his own city" in order to claim his place among his kinsmen in the all-important local register.

On referring to Sacred Scripture we find a distinct mention made of the census recorded by Josephus. In the time of the ministry of our Lord a tax was payable to Rome, called by Matthew (xxii. 17) and Mark (xii. 14) Κῆνσος, or *census*, but which Luke in good Greek designates φόρος, tribute. The name census shews the origin of the tax, and points to the transaction recorded by the Jewish historian. A census then had been taken, for a census-tax was exacted before the crucifixion of Jesus. Let us refer to the book of Acts (v. 37), and there we find express mention made of the census: "After this

[m] Joseph. *Life*; and *against Apion*, ii. 7.

man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him; he also perished; and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed." It is admitted that to Luke who wrote the gospel called by his name, we are indebted for that which is really its continuance or second book, namely, the Acts of the Apostles. We are then justified in saying that Luke was acquainted with the census made under Cyrenius in Judea. With that census he was intimately acquainted. Luke agrees with Josephus in the fact, the time, and the consequences of the census. Like Josephus, Luke implies that this census, which occasioned the insurrection under Judas, was the only known census. This implication is clearly conveyed in his words, "the census," "in the days of *the* taxing;" a definite epoch; an event so well known, that people dated from it. Consequently there had been a census, and but one census.

Luke is no careless writer. A census is not an inconsiderable event. Was it likely then that Luke should speak of another census—a census which had never taken place? Was it probable he should be so inconsistent with himself, when in committing the blunder he would have to date the presence of Cyrenius in Palestine ten years before he was there? Such an anachronism on so well known or easily ascertainable a point, is inconceivable. Say, as some German commentators have not hesitated to say, that Luke fabricated the census spoken of in his gospel, then must he have been a very bungler in fraud, for he attempts a cheat on a point where detection was most easy and escape impossible; since all the world knew when Cyrenius came as president into Syria and took the census of Palestine; and he makes the attempt in the teeth of what amounts almost to a declaration on his part that the only census known in Judea was held in the days of Cyrenius. Lardner, in defence of the evangelist, justly remarks: "It would be unreasonable to conclude that St. Luke had really made a mistake. St. Luke appears in the rest of his history, and from many particulars of this account before us, to be so fully master of the state of Judea, and of the nature of this affair he is here speaking of, that it is impossible he should commit any such mistake. In the beginning of his third chapter he has most exactly specified the state of all Judea, or the land of Israel, as it was in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, by setting down the several tetrarchs and governors of it, and the true extent of their territories. St. Luke understood the nature of enrolments, as made by the Romans."[n]

The census is designated by Luke (Acts v. 37), ἡ ἀπογραφή

[n] Vol. i. 308; Dowding's edition.

(*apographé*). Hence it is clear that the term *apographé* may signify a census in the full import of the word. This however is only a derivative meaning; an extension or application of the original and proper sense of the term. The English version of apographé, "taxing," is used of the whole census, because it is a very important part of a census; and apographé itself denoting enrolment, may be extended to signify a census generally, because an enrolment leading to a register or a list, is an indispensable pre-requisite to a census. That the word apographé may however be taken in its primary acceptation, namely, a registration, is clear both from the nature of the thing and from actual usage. *Apographé* is the root of the term employed in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xii. 23), "the first born which are *written* (margin, 'enrolled') in heaven." The original here indeed is the same verb as that found in Luke ii. 3, and rendered "to be taxed," that is, "to be registered." In the classical writers the same verb denotes in the active voice "to write down names on registers," and in the middle "to give in your name for insertion on the register." The noun itself is stated by Hesychius to be equivalent to *ἀριθμήσις*, or "numbering." Suicer, in his Thesaurus, says that apographé denotes, in the practice of the church, "the putting into the official catalogue of the names of persons who were to be baptized or ordained."

Defining the word as *relatio in tabulas*, "writing down in lists," Schleusner, in his Lexicon to the New Testament, says of the taxing mentioned in the gospel, that arising from curiosity or ambition on the part of Augustus, it was "a mere numbering of persons apart from exaction of money;" while, in his opinion, the census spoken of in Acts v. 37, "was a description of properties involving a capitation tax." Bretschneider also, in his Lexicon (in Libros N. T., 3rd edit. Lipsiae, 1840), describing a census as *relatio in tabulas*, or formation of registers, states that "the taxing in Luke ii. 2, was not an estimate of resources, but a numbering of persons with a view to the exaction of taxes." Lardner remarks to the same effect: "It must be allowed that the verb made use of by St. Luke in the first verse, 'that all should be taxed,' or enrolled, is used by Greek authors for the making any kind of entry or enrolment. Thus Servius Tullus, observing many Roman citizens to be in debt, ordered all of them who had not wherewithal to satisfy their creditors, to enter their names and the sum they owed in public rolls (*ἀπογραφέσθαι*). This word is likewise used concerning the enrolments which were made when the Roman citizens gave in their names and enlisted themselves in the service of a general. So that perhaps there may be some reason to question whether

St. Luke intended not a bare entry or enrolment made by the people of Judea of their names and conditions of life, as many learned men have supposed." (i. 276.)

Assuming, however, that the taxing in the gospel (ii. 1—5) was a complete census, and a census distinct from that alluded to in the Book of Acts; and thus assuming that Luke speaks of two censuses, one at the time when our Lord was born (Luke ii. 1—5), the other when Cyrenius became president of Syria (Acts v. 33—37); Strauss, De Wette, Bruno Bauer, and other theologians of the same negative school, have charged the evangelical historian with a gross historical misstatement, arising either from ignorance, confusion of mind, or dishonesty. According to them, Luke is wrong in asserting two taxings, in fixing the only taxing that did take place ten years before it was effected, in placing Cyrenius in Palestine at the time of the birth of Jesus, and in declaring that the taxing contemporaneous with that event embraced all the world. These grave imputations however will all disappear if we find reason to believe (1) that Luke in his gospel does not affirm that any taxing took place in Palestine at the time of the advent; and consequently (2) that the sacred writer speaks of only one census, namely, that which Gamaliel mentions in the Sanhedrim, as recorded in the Book of Acts; and (3) that the apographé of which Luke speaks in his gospel, while it was in itself merely a registration, was not carried into effect, being nothing more than one of a series of measures commanded by Augustus, in order to acquaint himself with the disposable force of his empire, but which was interrupted and postponed in Palestine from considerations of political expediency, though fully executed there in the time of Cyrenius. Being thus accomplished, this one Jewish census combined with steps of a similar nature, taken in other parts of the empire, to supply the materials of the state paper, which as we have seen contained a statement in many particulars of the resources of the empire, drawn up in the emperor's own handwriting.

It may serve to clear the ground if we first advert to Strauss's minor impeachments. One is stated in these words: "It is said the taxing took Joseph to Bethlehem, because he was of the house and lineage of David, and likewise every one into his own city, *i.e.* according to the context, to the place whence his family had originally sprung. Now that every individual should be registered in his own city was required in all Jewish inscriptions ('numberings,' rather), because among the Jews the organization of families and tribes constituted the very basis of the state. The Romans, on the contrary, were in the

habit of taking the census at the residences and at the principal cities in the district."[p] This objection has been answered by anticipation. We have already seen that in the points before us there was no essential difference between the Roman census and the Jewish registration. A difference was believed to exist. This belief rested on imperfect knowledge. On this imperfect knowledge, in other words, on ignorance, an argument was built designed to be adverse to the Scriptures. Surely such is not the proceeding which ought to be observed towards documents so truly venerable, and which have so long stood in the highest repute among civilized nations. Unbelief ought to be sure of its premises before it goes forward to its hostile conclusions. We do not indeed affirm that the two methods were identical. But they were sufficiently like each other to justify the language employed by Luke; nor would it be easy to find terms more suitable to describe the Roman census in this particular than those which Strauss uses of the Jewish registration, when he says that each citizen had to go "to the place whence his family had originaly sprung." Huschke, in his treatise on the census (Breslau, 1840), has shewn that it was to the *forum originis*, which may freely be rendered "the town-hall of his family," that during the imperial sway, each Roman citizen was bound to repair for the purposes of the census. In the *forum originis*, the native place of "his house and lineage," "his own city," every Israelite also underwent registration.

Connected with this point is the appearance of Mary in company with Joseph when he went to his own city, Bethlehem, to be registered. "He (Luke) allows Mary to be inscribed with Joseph, but according to Jewish customs, inscriptions had relation to men only. Thus, at all events, it is an inaccuracy to represent Mary as undertaking the journey, in order to be inscribed with her betrothed in his own city."[q] Presuming that Mary went to be registered, and was registered, critics have found an explanation in the idea that Mary was an heiress in her own right, and as such was compelled to accompany Joseph. A sufficient answer to this view Strauss finds in denominating it an "airy hypothesis." But surely it is not more airy than the objection to which we have just replied. If it is an hypothesis, it is one founded on fact, and which fully explains the circumstance for which it is adduced. Mary however may not have accompanied Joseph for any such purpose. Luke's language rather favours a different opinion. Had the evangelist intended to say that both Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem

---

[p] Strauss, *Leben Jesu*; English translation, vol. i. p. 206. [q] *Ibid.* i. 207.

in order to be inscribed in the family registers, he would have used the plural, whereas he limits his remark to Joseph by the words, "because *he* was of the house and lineage of David." It is true that in the original as well as in the English version, the words, "with Mary," immediately follow the words (one word in the original) "to be taxed;" but the connexion may equally well be with the previous verb, "went;" "Joseph went up" with Mary, his espoused wife, "*being great with child.*" In these last terms we find the reason for Mary's presence, which the evangelist seems to have intended to assign. In the original, the participle, "being," according to a law of Greek grammar, has "a causal force," that is, it assigns the reason of the act with which in thought it is connected. Mary then went with Joseph because she was pregnant, ὄυσῃ ἐγκύῳ. Nor is there any need to seek for any closer explanation of this reason. If her being pregnant was a reason which satisfied Joseph and Mary, why the latter should accompany the former on a journey which Joseph was compelled to take, the only parties were satisfied who could judge of what was pleasant or proper in the case. But on an occasion when the whole country would be in movement; when homes were left on every side, and the needful aid and solace might fail to be found when wanted in Nazareth; when social disturbances were by no means unlikely, and evil-disposed persons might fall on the sick and defenceless who were obliged to keep their homes; there were obviously other very strong reasons, besides their own will and desires, why Joseph and Mary should not be separated, and why she, as being "great with child," should cleave to the side of her natural protector.

We must be allowed to add, that when the evangelist's words themselves afford so easy and so satisfactory an explanation of Mary's presence, it was very unworthy in Strauss to insinuate, as he does in his next paragraph (p. 207), that Mary's presence there was a pure fiction devised by Luke in order "to fulfil the prophecy of Micah (v. 2), by (her) giving birth in the city of David to the Messiah." The continuation of the paragraph is too charactistic of this writer, who has received far more credit for fair dealing than he deserves, to be here omitted: "Now as he (Luke) set out with the supposition that the habitual abode of the parents of Jesus was Nazareth, so he sought after a lever which should set them in motion towards Bethlehem, at the time of the birth of Jesus. Far and wide nothing presented itself but the celebrated census; he seized it the more unhesitatingly, because the obscurity of his own view of the historical relations of that time veiled from him the many difficulties connected with such a combination. If this be the true history

of the statement in Luke, to attempt to reconcile the statement of Luke concerning the ἀπογραφή with chronology, would be to do the narrator too much honour; he wished to place Mary in Bethlehem, and therefore times and circumstances were to accommodate themselves to his pleasure." The tone of this passage resembles the sarcasm of Voltaire rather than the calm and reverential candour of a lover of truth, or the solid learning of a Scriptural critic. Having, after some enquiry, learned to regard Luke as an honest man, and a faithful reporter of the greatest news ever announced to the world, we shrink in pain from the manifestations of so unseemly a spirit. We do not believe that any superstition mingles in our regard for the evangelists, but we must declare that these rash imputations of the worst motives to them, are as revolting to our feelings as they are condemnable in our judgment.

If however Luke had been intent on making his history consistent in the several particulars before us, he was a poor hand at fiction when he seized on a—nothing! For, according to Strauss, the taxing in his gospel had no correspondent reality. Such an imputation amounts to this, that Luke invented a second in order to support a first falsehood. "But his mind was beclouded." Not at any rate in regard to the census on which, as we have seen, he possessed and has given accurate details. Nor surely was a fact so tangible, so open to all eyes, which must have moved the whole Jewish population to its centre, written evidences of which were, if not in every city of Judea, yet in the capital of the world; a fact of this nature, we affirm, was not one on which there could be "obscurity" in Luke's mind, or the mind of any good writer; equally was it not one on which the boldest fabricator would venture to try his fortune. National events are the last ground for the cautious and stealthy footsteps of conscious fraud.

As to the "too much honour," which Strauss declines to pay to Luke in attempting to reconcile his statements with chronology, that is so much a matter of taste that we must leave it in the critic's own hands; simply observing, that in indulging his taste at the expense of the Scriptures, he has the judgment of most learned and all high-minded men against him.

We now come to what Strauss characterises as "this apparently undeniable contradiction between Luke and history," (p. 204). The contradiction is thus stated: "Matthew places the birth of Jesus shortly before the death of Herod the Great (ii. 19); Luke says the same indirectly: but at the birth of Jesus he declares a census took place. This census he makes contemporaneous with the birth of Jesus, and declares that it

was made under the supervision of Cyrenius. But the census conducted by Cyrenius, the only known census in Judea, was really held about ten years after the time at which, according to Matthew and Luke, Jesus must have been born." (203, 204.) The contradiction then, in a few words, is this: Luke says the census of Cyrenius was taken at the time when, history says it was taken several years after, Jesus was born. Now there might be some reason for this charge of a broad contradiction, had Luke said nothing about what we may term the historical census. With the census however which Josephus records, Luke was, as we have learnt, perfectly familiar. Strange is it that it should not have occurred to critics that it was only one census that the evangelist intended to represent as having been actually held.

It will however be seen that the impeachment which has just been given proceeds on the assumption that Luke affirms the actual completion of two taxings; one of which he records in his gospel, the other in his treatise styled "The Acts of the Apostles." A second assumption is, that going on the ground of there being two taxings, he in some obscurity of mind confounds the first with the second, and so brings Cyrenius into Syria some ten years before he arrived.

Our answer is, that these assumptions are groundless. Luke records only one census. That census he ascribes to Cyrenius, and fixes at its right time. That census he speaks of in the second book of his history, commonly called the Acts of the Apostles. In his gospel he merely states that a registration was commanded, and certain preparatory steps were taken; adding in clear terms that the registration did not go into actual operation till the time when Cyrenius was governor of Syria. This view of what Luke records appears to our sight, even on the surface of the English translation, which we here subjoin, merely correcting one or two undoubted errors:—"And it came to pass in those days (comp. i. 5), that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be registered. (This registering was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.) And all went to be registered, every one into his own city. And Joseph also *went up*[o] from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, (because he was of the house and lineage of David,) to be registered, with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child."

---

[o] See, on the accuracy of these terms, the writer's essay, *Scripture Illustrated from recent Discoveries in the Geography of Palestine.* London: 1849. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

We have substituted "registered" for taxed. Our justification is found in an earlier page. The word *apographé* does not of necessity mean more than we have here assigned to it. Occasions there are when it is equivalent to census. Probably Luke here employed the terms used in the decree. The word *apographé* would not be at all objectionable with the law-makers or the law-expounders of the imperial court, because from its inherent elasticity it could be made to import at their pleasure or convenience either the comparatively innocuous act of registration, or the invidious and grave proceeding of an imposition of taxes, consequent on a general enrolment and a minute valuation of property.

Two parentheses are found in the quotation from Scripture. They originate not with the writer, but are found in the copy which he uses of the authorized version,—"London: Eyre and Spottiswode. 1843." These parentheses are clearly required by the sense. In the first (found also in Wetstein), the passage as above given leaves out the particle *and* found at the beginning of the second verse, where standing in italics it shews that it has no counterpart in the original Greek. The absence of the word seems to indicate that what follows is thrown in by way of explanation, and is not an additional distinct proposition.

We conceive then that Luke here declares that at or near the birth of Jesus a decree from Augustus, commanding a general registration, led Joseph and Mary from Nazareth to Bethlehem. This registration, however, did not take place till some ten years afterwards, under the presidency of Cyrenius. More than is contained in the first sentence Luke does not record as having happened. The information given in the second sentence he throws in as he passes on, because it had no essential connexion with his subject. His purpose was to shew how it was that Jesus made his advent in Bethlehem. For this he records the occasion which drew Joseph and Mary thither. In doing so, the thought seems to have crossed his mind, that in order to prevent mistake, he ought to add that the registration really took place ten years later. This information he communicates in the course of his narration by way of a parenthetical remark. In order to be clearly understood, we repeat in distinct propositions what the evangelist here declares.

1. Augustus Cæsar sent out a decree, directing all the inhabited land to be registered.

2. This registration took place when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.

3. All the Jews went each to his own city to be registered.

4. Joseph went to Bethlehem to be registered, and took his wife with him, she being pregnant.

It thus appears that Luke does not aver that a census took place in the days of Herod; the census which has been alleged to have then taken place rests solely on assumption. Luke merely mentions a decree directing a registration, and that the inhabitants of Judea so far obeyed that decree as to proceed each one to his own city. More than this touching the immediate effect of this decree Luke does not assert. The registration in truth appears to have been broken off at its very commencement; the reason of which may hereafter appear.

If this is a correct representation of Luke's language, we succeed at once, and in the simplest manner, in removing all difficulty from the passage. We shall presently endeavour to shew that our translation is correct.

Let it, however, be carefully observed that Luke does not affirm that at the advent of Jesus any taxing took place. The Jews, he states, went to be registered; he does not add that they were taxed. The latter is a distinct fact, and required a distinct averment. The second fact is not involved in the first. Had Luke intended to make such a representation, he could easily, and we may be sure he would have made the representation. We subjoin an instance. Luke relates (vi. 17—19) that people "came to be healed of their diseases." Were they healed? The fact is not left to be inferred or assumed. It is expressly declared, "and they were healed." But the evangelist, in the case under consideration, does not subjoin, "and they were taxed." No one is justified to assume what the writer omits to state. Least of all are we first to impute to him what he does not say, and then to make our own assumption a point of attack against his veracity.

Having thus stated in general terms the view which we take of this transaction, we shall now proceed to illustrate several particulars in order to confirm that view, and justify the rendering of the original which we follow.

Our view implies that Augustus commanded Palestine to be registered in the last days of Herod, miscalled the Great. Critics have denied that the imperial court had the right to impose the census on the Jews during the reign of that monarch, whom they please to describe as an independent prince in alliance with Rome. The question however is rather one of power than right. Like the British in India, the Romans being masters of the world, took their measures according rather to their pleasure and profit than the laws of social or political

justice. Not a census however, but a registration, is what Luke states was commanded. In truth, the reference to the rights of Herod as a *rex socius* has no force, and the allegation shews little familiarity with the spirit in which Rome acted towards conquered princes. Selfish, grasping, and arbitrary, the ruling power at Rome, whether in the republican or the imperial times, aimed solely at the extension of its sway and the enrichment of its coffers. Wielding the right of the strongest, it was restricted in its encroachments merely by prudence, that sacrificed a little in order to gain a great deal; or by absolute impossibilities, which however it confidently waited for time and perseverance to remove. "Forwards" was its motto, as emphatically as it was that of Blucher. And forwards it went, regardless of right and wrong, unless so far as the inflicting of the one or the tolerance of the other might enlarge the boundaries or augment the wealth of Roman government. The *reges socii* in consequence were vassals, tributaries, slaves of Rome, possessing no secure rights, and having the name and the show of royalty only so far as the bauble was useful for the common tyrant. Kings in appearance, they were in reality subjects, whose slightest movement towards independent authority brought on them condign punishment. Even before tyranny was consummated in the ascendancy of the imperial house of Cæsar, King Adherbal had found good reason to declare,[r] "My father, Miscipia, when dying enjoined on me to consider the kingdom of Numidia as mine, merely so far as the administration (*procuratione*) of it went; for in other respects right and dominion were in your (the senate's) possession." (Comp. Liv. xlv. 13.) Least of all was Herod likely to possess any rights or any power which could either in law or in fact oppose a hindrance to the will of Augustus, whose creature he entirely was. In the days of Herod, it is true, Palestine, being in some sort exempted from the fate of Syria, which was a province of the Roman dominion, enjoyed a nominal independence under a king of its own. But in reality it had been subject to Rome from the day when Pompey, having conquered Aristobulus, took Jerusalem, and "made it tributary to the Romans."[s] This liability to pay tribute, as appears from other passages in the Jewish historian,[t] extended in general over the whole territory; so that to use the words of the same authority, "Now we (the Jews) lost our liberty and became subject to the Romans, and were deprived of that country which we had gained by our arms from the Syrians. Moreover the Romans exacted of us in a little time above 10,000

[r] Sallust, *Jug.* 14. [s] Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 4, 4. [t] *Ibid.* xiv. 10, 6; xii. 4, 1.

talents. And the royal authority, which was a dignity formerly bestowed on those that were high priests, by the right of their family, became the property of private men."[u] Indeed, whatever rights or immunities the Jewish nation from this time to its destruction under Vespasian enjoyed, they were all held on sufferance, or by a distinct bestowal on the part of Rome. Nor was Herod in any way likely to possess more power than previous titular governors of Judea. Herod, the second son of Antipater the Idumæan, had, as a foreigner, no small difficulty to gain the crown of Judea, which he received from the Romans contrary to his expectations. Made king of Judea by the senate under the influence of Antony and Octavius, he remained the vassal of Rome for the remainder of his days. To such an extent was this the case, that Rome rather than Jerusalem was the capital, and Augustus instead of Herod was the ruler of Judea. In Herod's court was a person of great influence, who bearing the name of "Cæsar's steward," was a kind of *procurator Cæsaris*, and seems to have had for his special duty the care of the financial rights of Augustus in the country.[v] So dependent on Augustus was Herod, that he did not venture to punish his two sons whom he believed to be plotting against his life, without bringing their conduct before the emperor. By the mediation of Augustus a reconciliation was effected: when Herod wished to make an immediate disposition of his territories, but was prohibited by his imperial master,[w] to whom the Jews were obliged to take an oath of fidelity.[x] Even Herod's will had no power until it had received the formal sanction of Augustus, from whom indeed he had, by the payment of 300 talents, purchased the privilege of bequeathing his sceptre; nor did Archelaus, his successor, venture to assume power in Judea before his authority had been acknowledged by the emperor.

How little the rights of a *rex socius* stood in the way of the imperial court, may be inferred also from the unceremonious manner in which, when now his plans were ripe, Augustus, some years after Herod's death, deposed his son and successor, Archelaus. Archelaus was accused by some subjects of tyranny. The charge was laid at the emperor's feet. Augustus determined to avail himself of the opportunity. He would disgrace Archelaus, in order the more readily to depose him. He took his steps accordingly. There was at his court a servant of Archelaus. Disdaining to write to that prince, he sent this servant into Judea, having commanded him to bring Archelaus

---

[u] Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 4, 5.
[v] *Ibid.* xvii. 2, 3; *Jew. War*, i. 29.
[w] *Antiq.* xiv. 4, 1; comp. xvii. 5, 8.
[x] *Ibid.* xvii. 2, 4.

to Rome with all possible dispatch. The servant, on his arrival, found the ethnarch feasting with his friends. Allowing no delay, he hurried his master away. Arrived in Rome, he placed him before the emperor. The accusers were summoned: the charge and the defence were heard. These forms having been gone through, Augustus pronounced Archelaus guilty, stripped him of his wealth, and banished him to Vienne in Gaul.[y]

The extent of country over which this registration was intended by Augustus to proceed, has been much disputed. Luke uses the terms, *πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην*, which cleaving to the strict letter of the Greek, we may render, "all the inhabited land." Lardner and other competent judges are of opinion, that these words refer merely to Judea. In their strictly literal sense they cannot be taken, for the empire of Augustus even did not comprise the entire inhabitants of the globe. If they are to be understood in reference to the mind of Cæsar when he issued the decree, they may intend the whole Roman empire. But if it was with Judea that the emperor was dealing, then the general purport of the decree would restrict the words in question to Palestine. It is however not improper to refer to the mind of the writer for a determination of the import of these words. Now Luke is speaking of Jewish affairs, and may therefore be justifiably supposed to confine himself to Judea. Unquestionably it is exclusively of Jews that the evangelist speaks, when in the third verse he says, "And all went to be registered, each in his own city," &c. The "all" here must mean all Jews; but if he had Judea in his mind in the third verse, it is a fair inference that he was not thinking of "all the world" in the first verse. And had he thought of "all the world" in the first verse, he would scarcely have narrowed his view suddenly to Judea without employing some restriction or transitional particle. His language implies that it was only one subject that was in his thoughts, and that one subject must have been Judea.

It is not easy from philological considerations to lead the general reader to form a decision as to the exact import in Luke of a phrase which varies so much in the extent of its application; but that it may denote only a small portion of country is beyond a doubt.

The judgment of Lardner (i. 253, *seq.*) is of more value than our own, and we shall therefore transcribe his words. It is not unusual to refer to the same phrase as found in Acts xi. 27—30, in proof that "all the world," *ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην*, necessarily

---

[y] Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 13, 2.

denotes the whole earth. On this opinion Lardner has the following remarks. "The original word (*οἰκουμένην*) does sometimes signify not the whole world, but a particular country only. *Ἡ γῆ* signifies "the earth;" yet the coherence of the words in many places determines the meaning to some particular country. Jos. ii. 3, 'All the country;' Luke iv. 25, 'All the land:' not all the earth, but all the land of Israel, that being the country before mentioned. In like manner, *οἰκουμένη* signifies, according to the original notation of the word, the habitable or rather the inhabited earth (land), but the connexion of the discourse often restrains the meaning to some particular country. Is. xiii. 5, 'They came from a far country to destroy the whole land.' In the septuagint it is *πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκούμενην:* what goes before and follows shews that a particular country is intended, namely, Babylon (verses 1, 19—22). A note of St. Jerome upon Is. xiii. 4, 5, deserves to be inserted here, as not a little to our purpose: (we give a translation:) '"To destroy the whole land;" not that they laid waste the whole globe, but all the land of Babylon and the Chaldees. By "all the earth," Scripture intends the entire district of which it speaks.' St. Luke has used this word in this sense in another place (Luke xxi. 26). The whole discourse relates to the calamities that were coming, not upon the whole world or the whole Roman empire, but the land of Judea (21), 'wrath upon *this people*,' (23)." "If (Lardner adds, p. 268) it be enquired, If the land of Judea only be meant, what does the term "all"[z] signify? I answer, it was very necessary to be added. At the time when Luke wrote, and indeed from the death of Herod, which happened soon after the nativity of Jesus, the land of Judea or Israel had suffered a dismembering. Archelaus had for his share Judea properly so called, together with Samaria and Idumea; and the province of Judea which was afterwards governed by Roman procurators, was pretty much of the same extent. But Galilee, Iturea, and other parts of the land of Israel, had been given to other descendants of Herod the Great. St. Luke's words therefore are extremely proper and expressive, that 'all the land should be taxed;' to shew that this decree of Augustus comprehended Galilee, the country in which Joseph lived. That this was the intention in adding this term of universality, is evident from St. Luke's specifying immediately afterwards the name of the city from which Joseph came to Bethlehem, which city was not in the country that originally belonged to the tribe of Judah, nor situated in the bounds of

[z] Compare the remarks of Dr. Davidson in his useful *Introduction to the New Testament*. London: Bagster. 1848. p. 206.

the province of Judea at the time in which St. Luke is supposed to write, but was of the kingdom of Judea in the reign of Herod. Though I am very well satisfied from the context that St. Luke comprehends nothing in Augustus's decree beside the land of Judea; yet it is no small confirmation of this interpretation that the most early Christian writers seem to have understood St. Luke in the same manner. For when they speak of this circumstance of our Saviour's nativity, they never say anything of a general census all over the world or the Roman empire." (i. 269.)

There was in the very nature of a registration a reason why the words "all the inhabited land," (comp. "The parts of Syria that are inhabited," Joseph. *Antiq.* viii. 6, 1,) should be used, because it was only to such territory that a registration could extend. "All the inhabited land" is equivalent to "all the inhabitants of the land." A poll lay at the basis of the whole transaction. But a poll could not be taken of the uninhabited districts, of which even in the days of "Herod the king" there were several.

It is said indeed that the phrase has a conventional signification equivalent to "all the world." Of course from Greek and Roman authors it implies more than it does when used by writers whose literary and social sphere was less wide. "All the inhabited land" might mean the Roman empire, because that empire was established generally in the civilized parts of the world. But from the very nature of the words the phrase could not properly indicate what the Greeks expressed by *κόσμος*, or the Latins by *orbis terrarum*, and what we generally mean by "all the world," or "the entire earth." The phrase indeed related not to physical but to political geography, and must be understood in each case subjectively, that is, according to the mind and view of the writer, and the topic on which he speaks.

We do not wish to urge these considerations beyond their intrinsic value. They may however serve to shew that there are serious objections against applying the words "all the inhabited land" to the whole Roman empire. The more restricted view of their meaning is indeed by no means necessary for the vindication of Luke or for the support of our explanation, for the *libellus* or *breviarium* (manual) which Augustus possessed, containing as it did statistical information of the different parts of the empire, must have had extensive surveys for its source; and its existence is sufficient to guarantee the historical credibility of the evangelist. But if the registration of which he speaks was confined to Judea or Syria, then another difficulty

loses its force. The objection is indeed one of small moment, for it arises *ex ignorantia*. "We do not know from profane authors that Augustus commanded a universal census; therefore he did not command a universal census." Admirable logic! As well might it of old have been said, "We do not know that the earth goes round the sun, therefore it does not go round the sun." "If however (such is the argument) Luke is right in stating that Augustus issued a decree for taxing all the world, how is it that no contemporary writer makes mention of such a decree? The silence of history confutes the evangelist." Whether the logic is or is not sound, let it be observed that it rests on an assumption; it assumes that Luke declares what we have shewn he may not intend to declare. His language—to say the very least—equally admits of two interpretations, and no critic can be at liberty to take that which happens to suit his purpose, especially with the hostile intention of undermining the credibility of the very authority appealed to in the case. When it has been satisfactorily proved that Luke declares that Augustus commanded the registration to extend at once over his entire empire, then will it be time enough to consider any argument against the evangelist which unbelievers may attempt to found on the statement in question.

This then in substance is the view which we have been led to form. Augustus commanded a general registration. The term by which his secretary described the thing commanded, is so vague, that it might signify either a mere enrolment or a levying of taxes. The registration was begun at the time when Christ was born. All the Jews went severally to the proper place to be registered. That a registration actually took place, Luke does not affirm. On Luke's authority, therefore, a registration cannot be assumed. If, however, it should appear that Justin and other early ecclesiastical writers imply that a registration was made at the time of the birth of Christ, we are not to be slavishly bound by their interpretation of Luke's words; still less are we justified in converting the registration into a taxing. Whether an enrolment was merely commenced, or whether it was completed, it remains true that the census "was first made," or was then only fully effected "when Cyrenius was governor of Syria."

As the census was a complex operation, one or more parts might be commanded and carried into effect, according to the views of the governing authority. If the object were merely of a statistical kind, or if the emperor wished to proceed in his treatment of a subject country with caution and lenity, he would order merely a registration, which when once obtained he could

afterwards turn to account for financial purposes. If however he had no reason to proceed with special care, he might issue a decree for a general and complete census.

Now as the imposition of a regular and national tax on the Jewish people, through the aid of a general registration of persons and property, was an extremely delicate and difficult undertaking, requiring for its successful accomplishment due regard to a concurrence of favourable circumstances; so there is nothing surprising if the attempt should first be made by means of a simple enrolment: or if even an enrolment, though commanded by Augustus, should fail to be carried into effect. Rome owed the universality of her dominion as much to her prudence as to her valour. If she knew when to strike with effect, she knew also when to spare with advantage. She never, it is true, retired but in order the more effectually to advance; but she was well aware that there are cases in which a timely retrocession is the readiest as well as the surest way to reach the desired goal.

Dio Cassius gives an instance in which a mere registration was made without being attended by any taxing. His words may thus be rendered:—

Παραχρῆμα μηδὲν ἔιπων, μήθ' ὅσον μήθ' ὅπως ἀυτὸι δώσουσιν, ἔπεμσεν ἄλλους ἄλλη, τὰ τε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων κτήματα ἀπογραψαμένος.

"Immediately he sent officers into different parts to take an account of the property both of individuals and of cities, without directing how much or in what way they should contribute."

We add a case in which the registration was discontinued and given up after it had been commenced, in consequence of the discontent of the subjected people and an insurrection into which they were driven by the attempt.

. . . "Patri meo Druso Germaniam subigenti tutam securamque pacem præstiterunt; et quidem cum a censu, novo tum opere et inadsueto Gallis ad bellum advocatus esset; quod opus quam arduum sit, nobis cum maxime, quamvis nihil ultra quam ut publicæ notæ sint facultates nostræ enquiratur, nimis magno experimento cognoscimus." (Gruter *Inscrip.*)

"To Drusus my father, while subduing Germany, they gave a safe and secure peace, and that too when he had been called away to the war by the census, to which the Gauls were unaccustomed; how arduous the undertaking was, though nothing more was inquired into than their resources, we learnt by far too great a trial." (Gruter *Inscrip.*)

If the Gauls gave the Romans occasion to break off a census which not only had been ordered but was actually begun, the Jews, with their extravagance of national pride, their impatience of a foreign yoke, the ardour of hope which they entertained, especially in the days of Herod, of the speedy advent of the long-expected Messiah, who was to be at once the national deliverer and a universal prince; the Jews, with their glowing temperament, their inveterate bigotry, their intolerance towards idol worship and idolatrous nations, their firm persistence in their purposes, and all but invincible obstinacy; must have afforded very great trouble to their Roman masters, and given occasion that in the employment of all the arts of prudence and skill as well as the resources of power, they should retrace their steps, as well as at the right time press forward eagerly and strike decisive blows. Conciliation would have to be studied. Extremities were to be ventured on only when the way was prepared and success seemed certain. Severity was allowable then and not before, when mild measures had proved abortive. And the moment that the emperor's displeasure, or the first blow of his heavy sceptre had produced the required penitence and the avowed end, then mercy interposed, the uplifted hand was let fall gently, and the repentant culprit was received back into favour.

The retrocession on the part of Rome which has just been referred to, has other grounds than its own inherent probability. Caligula, wishing to be honoured as a divinity throughout his dominions, sent Petronius into Judea, with strict orders to erect his statue in the temple of Jerusalem. Petronius took steps accordingly. The proceeding excited the sternest opposition. This opposition, foreseen by the emperor, only stimulated his desire. He rejected all entreaties. His persistence occasioned the greatest trouble to Petronius. Judea was in the utmost disturbance. Business was neglected. The lands were left untilled. A revolt seemed inevitable. The Jews who were not prepared to resist by arms, offered themselves to die rather than allow such an abomination to pollute their holy temple. Petronius interposed his good offices: in vain. At last Agrippa prevailed, and Caligula ordered the attempt to be given up.[s]

The difficulty which the imposition of an assessed tax on subject provinces involved, and the care and caution which the Romans were wont to employ in taking such steps, may be illustrated by the following. After the battle of Philippi, in which Brutus and Cassius were defeated, Mark Antony went over into Asia, and coming to Ephesus, summoned a meeting of

[s] Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 8, *seq.*

the states of the neighbouring nations. In a speech which he addressed to the assembly, he says,—

"Your king Attalus bequeathed his kingdom to us by testament. Our government has been milder than was his; for we remitted the taxes you had been wont to pay to him, till men of turbulent spirits arose amongst us, and laid us under the necessity of demanding tribute of you. Even then we did not impose it on you in the way of a census, that we might collect it with less hazard and trouble to ourselves; and we required only the annual payment of a sum of money out of the produce of your country." (Appian. *de Bell. Civ.* v. p. 1074.)

"About this time," says Tacitus (Annal. vi. cap. 41), "the Cilicians, subject to Archelaus the Cappadocian, being required to undergo a census after our customs, and to pay tribute accordingly, withdrew themselves into the fastnesses of Mount Taurus, and by the advantage of the situation maintained themselves against the weak forces of the king, till Marcus Trebellius came to his assistance from Vitellius, president of Syria, with four thousand Roman soldiers and a body of auxiliaries, when the insurgents were with difficulty subdued."

The last quotation refers to Syria. If a small part of the land gave Rome so much trouble, how much more must have been expected should Judea be driven to arms, at a time when as yet the sceptre had not departed from Judah, and when the great deliverer was at hand. Even Augustus himself, if he attempted to impose a census, of all modes of levying tribute the most offensive, might in the plenitude of his power feel it prudent to recede in haste, and wait in patience for a more favourable opportunity. When Herod, who had that great force of character which often characterises cruel despots, had gone to his long home, and the prevalent mania about some great one who was about to be born had cooled down, and when the nation had been somewhat more accustomed to see the ensigns of Roman power and to wear its yoke, then would be the time for taking the census, for perfecting the exaction of tribute, and for completing the subjugation of the country. Conduct somewhat of this kind seems to have been that which was actually observed by Augustus towards king Herod. One or two particulars connected with the reign of Herod may suggest a sufficient reason both why Augustus commanded a census to be commenced in Judea, and why he remitted its execution. In the latter part of Herod's reign, that is, about the period to which Luke's narrative refers, a serious misunderstanding arose between Herod and Obodas, king of Arabia. An appeal was made to Rome. Augustus, convinced that Herod was in the

wrong, writes a letter to Herod in very angry terms, the substance of which was, that whereas he had hitherto treated Herod as a friend, he would for the future treat him as a subject: *πάλαι χρῶμενος αὐτῷ φιλῳ νὺν ὑπηκοῳ χρήσέται.*[a] How could he more effectually fulfil this, which no one can believe was an idle threat, than by proceeding to take such a step as a registration, in the general measures for reducing the kingdom into subjection?

Herod however sent ambassadors to Rome, but Augustus was inexorable, and they were forced to return without so much as obtaining an audience. We here transcribe an important passage from Josephus:[b] "In the meantime the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the anarchy they were under, and partly because, bad as they were, nobody had power to govern them; for of the two kings (of Judea and Arabia) the one was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority to restrain evil-doers; and as for Herod, Cæsar was immediately angry at him for having avenged himself, and so he *was compelled to bear all the injuries that were offered him.* At length, when he saw no end of the mischief which surrounded him, he resolved to send ambassadors to Rome again, to see whether his friends had prevailed to mitigate Cæsar, and to address themselves to Cæsar himself; the ambassador whom he sent thither was Nicolaus of Damascus." This man proceeded to execute his commission with consummate skill. Suffice it to say that the effort was successful. Augustus found that he had been misinformed and deceived. His feelings thereupon resumed their old current, and set in strongly towards Herod. The emperor wrote a friendly letter to that prince, obviously endeavouring to make some compensation for the wrong which he had unintentionally inflicted. The words of Josephus are very strong: "The conclusion was that Sylleus (the false accuser of Herod) was condemned to die, and that Cæsar was reconciled to Herod and owned his repentance for whatsoever things he had written to him, occasioned by calumny, insomuch that he told Sylleus that he had compelled him by his lying account of things, to be guilty of ingratitude against a man that was his friend."[c]

Now the same passage which has furnished us with this important information, let us know also that at the time when these things took place Herod "was old." It is certain that the quarrel and the reconciliation between Augustus and Herod happened about the time when the registration was ordered and was postponed. The coincidence in time is no little remarkable,

---

[a] Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 9, 3. [b] *Ibid.* xvi. 9, 3. [c] *Ibid.* xvi. 10, 9.

and the whole transaction throws great light on the record of Luke, viewed in what we think its correct and intended import.

In the sudden change of the emperor's dispositions towards Herod, we may trace the probable cause of the discontinuance of the enrolment which his previous dissatisfaction had led him to decree. In the suggestion now made, we have the support of Lardner, who speaking of this registration says; "I am inclined to think that no tax was raised upon this census, because it appears that after those troubles of which Josephus has given us an account, Augustus was in a great measure reconciled to Herod. Perceiving that his resentment against Herod had been very much founded upon aspersions, he might be disposed to forbear exacting the tribute upon the census, and to let things go on in the old way." (i. 301.)

It may be thought extraordinary that Josephus should have wholly failed to make mention of the registration itself. Lardner remarking, "I think that arguments formed upon the omissions of historians are of very little weight; there are in Josephus other omissions as remarkable as this" (i. 340), has given some reasons why Josephus might advisedly omit the subject. 1. As no tribute was paid on the census, the historian could the more easily pass it by. 2. It may be inferred from the manner in which Luke mentions this survey, that it was not very much taken notice of; and if the census was not universally known when Josephus wrote, he might be well pleased to pass it over in silence. "The Jewish writers were very forward to enumerate the honours done to their people by the Romans, the better to gain regard among other nations, by whom they were generally despised and hated; but as for any disgraces they received from the Romans, the case was very different." It also appears that Nicolaus of Damascus, from whom Josephus took his materials for the account he has given of Herod's life, was much given to flatter that prince, and might in consequence be well disposed to omit a fact which, says Lardner, "must have been the greatest mortification of Herod's whole life." It may be added that Josephus, who was desirous no less to stand well in Rome than to make his country look well in the eyes of foreigners, may have felt that silence was the best policy in regard to a decree which, so far as Judea was concerned, was issued, if not in haste, yet under misapprehensions, and was as suddenly revoked; and which, therefore, while it was disgraceful to the Jews, brought no credit whatever to the Romans. We cannot however think that any one who has carefully perused the narrative of Josephus, will feel any great difficulty at the omission in question, for Josephus confines himself almost exclusively to

Herod and his family, forgetting in the painful and revolting details which he gives of their wretched and deadly quarrels, almost everything relating to the affairs of the nation and the condition of the people. Indeed, whatever of a general nature is found in the narrative is introduced from its having some connexion with the household of Herod. Hence no argument can be drawn from the silence of Josephus either against the interpretation we have given of the registration, or the narrative of the slaughter of the infants—an act which wears a truly Herodian character.

It is of chief consequence to justify the view we have taken of the import of the second verse in Luke's account. Referring to the common version, Lardner remarks, "What is the sense of our translation I do not know; and it must be owned likewise that the words of the original seem to have in them an uncommon ambiguity. Many think the most genuine natural sense of the original words is, 'This first taxing or enrolment was made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.' Upon this sense of them the objection is founded" (i. 306.) It thus appears that it is solely on a doubtful construction of an ambiguous passage that the argument has been raised which some have so confidently pronounced destructive of the evangelist's historical credibility. They first give their own version of words admitted to be of dubious import, then identify the time of the alleged enrolment under Cyrenius with the time of our Lord's nativity; and finally, with as much confidence as if these were so many propositions distinctly laid down in Luke's own words, they proclaim the conclusion that the sacred historian is convicted of ignorance or chicanery. "The presence of Cyrenius in Judea is antedated some ten years; a census in the days of Herod is invented; history is falsified in order to fulfil a prophecy which places the birth of the Messiah in Bethlehem." (Strauss, i. 207.) The view we take cuts away the ground from under the feet of unbelievers.

The following is the Greek original, underlined by our version:—

Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο,
This registration first took place,

ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου.
Cyrenius being governor of Syria.

Let it be observed that this rendering, which involves the main position of the essay, requires no alteration of the text. It is the simple expression of the original. Indeed the autho-

rised translation contains the same view, though preoccupation of mind has kept men's eyes closed to it. The declaration however of the original, as we understand it, is that the registration commanded at the time of the birth of Jesus was not fully carried into effect till Cyrenius was sent into Syria expressly for the purpose. Luke is thus seen in agreement with himself and with Josephus.

The verb ἐγένετο, rendered in the common version by "was made," may equally well be rendered "took place," or "took effect," though the words "was made" express the sense we find in the passage. The verb γενέσθαι (*genesthai*), that which is here employed, denotes transition, the passing into existence, the passing from one state into another; and hence is rendered in our English translation by a variety of words, which express or imply the meaning that our view involves: as in Matt. i. 22, "was done;" v. 18, "*be fulfilled*;" vii. 28, ix. 10, xi. 1, &c., "came to pass;" Mark vi. 2, "are wrought;" Luke i. 20, "be performed;" vi. 48, "arose;" xiv. 12, "be made;" John i. 3, "were made;" x. 35, "came;" xvi. 20, "your sorrow shall *be turned* into joy;" Rom. xi. 25, "is happened;" 1 Cor. xv. 54, "shall be brought to pass;" Heb. iv. 3, "*were finished*."

The common views of the meaning of Luke involving two taxings in his writings, suppose that the verb in question here simply signifies "was." But εἶναι (*einai*) "to be," is a different word with a different acceptation. The latter denotes actual existence, the former coming into existence. Consequently the translation of the passage before us, "this *was* the first taxing," is not correct. The original requires the following or some similar rendering: This registration was first "finished" (Heb. iv. 3), or first "came to pass" (found very frequently in the authorised translation), or was first "performed" (Luke i. 20).

The translation we have above given of the last words is strictly literal. Those words are in the original in such a construction as to denote the time when the event previously mentioned took place. This is their natural and obvious meaning. Other renderings, departing more or less from customary usages, are forced and artificial, having the disadvantage of being devised for the sake of a previously formed theory. The construction is the ordinary one which Luke employs for marking the time of the event, as may be seen in iv. 42, and in a marked instance in iii. 1. These words then denote that the registration was carried into effect *at the time when* Cyrenius was president or military commander of Syria.

Only one serious objection can be made to the version we have given. It has been remarked that our rendering presents

the original in the important part not only word for word, but also in the order of the words. Thus stands the text in the Greek,— "This enrolment first took place."

The objection to which we have alluded regards the word "first." In our translation, first is used as an adverb; in the original it is an adjective. We take it as qualifying the verb "took place;" it has commonly been thought to qualify the noun, enrolment or taxing. Were the word employed by Luke πρῶτον (proton), instead of πρώτη (proté), all doubt would vanish. "First," in that case, would denote that in point of time the event spoken of happened in the days of Cyrenius and not before. The only serious question then is this; can πρώτη (*proté*) here be used for πρῶτον (*proton*),—the adjective for the adverb? In other words, can the adjective in this instance have an adverbial meaning? How easily adjectives run into adverbs without change, or at least without material change in form, may be seen in our own tongue without going farther than this word "first," which alters its signification accordingly as it is placed before a noun or before a verb; as in the passage under consideration—"this *first enrolment*," or "this enrolment *first took place*." If placed before the noun, the word *first* here implies that there was at least a second enrolment; if it goes with the verb, immediately before which it stands in the Greek, then it marks the time of Cyrenius as that when the census was carried into effect. Now it is worthy of remark, that Luke has not placed the adjective before the noun, but before the verb. The word πρώτη (*proté*) is an adverb in position if it is an adjective in form. Had the writer intended πρώτη (*proté*) to qualify the noun ἀπογραφή (*apographé*), *registration*, why did he not place it before the noun, and so have prevented ambiguity? We do not indeed affirm that in its present position it may not be taken with the noun, but there can be no doubt it may also be taken with the verb. We do not think that Luke chose the actual arrangement of the words without a reason; he intended the adjective, πρώτη (*proté*), to qualify the action implied in the verb. Though then the word rendered "first" is in the Greek an adjective, its proper representative in English is an adverb; the simple fact being that frequently the classical idiom admits adjectives in cases in which we commonly employ adverbs.

In order that we may not appear to strain a point unduly, we have thus admitted that the actual arrangement is good, if Luke intended to make πρώτη strictly an adjective in the sense of "*this first* registration." We are bound however to add,

that if such had been his intention, we do not think he would have used the actual construction. In this case there were two modes of expression open to him, either of which would, in agreement with the Greek idiom, have expressed his idea more clearly and fully than the one he has chosen; these two are, *ἄυτη ἥ πρώτη ἀπογραφή* (Rev. xxi. 1), "this is the first enrolment;" or *ἄυτη ἥ ἀπογραφή ἥ πρώτη* (Rev. xx. 5), "this is the enrolment, the first." Unquestionably if the *πρώτη* was to come (as it does) after the noun, it ought to have had the article prefixed; and that the rather because *πρώτη* is here, to say the least, an important word; and we know not any instance parallel to the construction before us, in which the adjective stands as it does in our text. On the contrary, we can refer to passages strictly similar in form and meaning, in which a different construction is observed. In Rev. xx. 14, we find these words,—

οὗτος ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος ἐστιν.
This is the death, *the second.*

In the Acts also (iv. 11),—

οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ λίθος ὁ ἐξουθενηθεὶς.
This is the stone, *the one* set at nought.

Still more striking is the passage found in Apoc. xx. 5 (compare xx. 6),—

αὕτη ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ πρώτη.
This is the resurrection, the first.

Here we have the self-same proposition which is thought to be expressed by Luke; but the construction varies. The conclusion is natural, that had Luke intended to give utterance to this proposition, he would have used the same construction. Nor can it be for a moment doubted that the form we have just given from the Revelation is at least far more fit to express the proposition in question than the construction which Luke has preferred. That Luke was not unused to repeat the article with an adjective after the noun, may be seen by reference to chap. xxi. 3,— *ἡ χήρα ἡ πτωχὴ αὕτη.*
The widow, this poor one.

In the same manner, had he intended to say that the decree issued in the days of Herod was the first, he would in all probability have written,—

αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφή ἡ πρώτη.
This decree, *the* first.

In order still further to illustrate and justify the rendering we have given, we shall shew that in Greek and Latin,—

1. Adjectives are sometimes used as adverbs;

2. The word πρῶτος (*protos*) is used with the force of an adverb in passages similar to the one under consideration.

3. The word πρῶτος (*protos*) sometimes signifies the same as the Latin *tum demum,* "then and then only," "then for the first time."

1. Adjectives are sometimes employed with the force of adverbs. This usage is very common among the classic writers, and prevails particularly in adjectives which denote time.

Ζεὺς χθιζὸς ἔβη κατὰ δάιτα (Il. ά 423.)
Jupiter *yesterday* went to the feast.

The English adverb "yesterday" has for its correspondent word in the Greek an adjective.

The numeral adjectives in Greek gave rise to another class of adjectives peculiar in form and meaning. This class of adjectives end in αἷος (*aios*), and denote the day on which an event took place, expressing a sense which in English must be conveyed by adverbs.

τριταῖος ἀφίκετο.[t]
On the third day he arrived.

Similar adjectives are found denoting "the fourth day," "the fifth day," &c. But there is none corresponding with πρῶτος (*protos*), which in consequence may in needful cases be probably used with an adverbial force.

In Homer's Iliad (i. 497; comp. 557), we read that Thetis—

Ἠερίη δ' ἀνέβη μέγαν οὐρανὸν, Οὔλυμπόντε.
in the morning went to great heaven and to Olympus.

In the same author we read (xvii. 31)—

. . . μηδ' ἀντίος ἵστασ' ἐμεῖο.
do not stand *before* me.

Horace expressing the conviction that his poetry would survive him, declares, "I shall not *wholly* die," literally, I shall not *all* die; non *omnis* moriar. We subjoin references to other parts of the same poet, as well as to Virgil: Horat. *Carmin.* i. 2, 45; i. 19, 9, 16; *Epist.* i. 1, 11; Virg. i. 23; ii. 146, 387; iii. 94, 543, 561.

In some of these instances the usage is exemplified in the word *primus,* first. Here is another instance from Cæsar,—

Eorum ut quisque primus venerat sub muro consistebat.

"Each one, as he first, that is, *as soon as,* he came up, took his station under the wall."

Here the Latin *primus,* which is really an adjective, qualifies the verb, and must in English be rendered as an adverb. In Terence (*Adelph.* 4, 2, 7) we read,—

[t] Xen. *Hist. Gr.* ii. 1, 30.

Primus sentio mala nostra; primus rescisco omnia,

And Suetonius (in *Cæs.* 25)—

Germanos primus Romanorum maximis affecit cladibus.

The general fact seems to be, that what we conceive of as parts in a series of succession in time, the Greeks and Latins conceived of as parts in a series of succession in persons or things. Consequently when we have to turn their words in cases of adjectives of number, order, time, into English, we must translate those adjectives into corresponding adverbs, changing the personal succession into a temporal one. Accordingly πρώτη in Luke will have to be rendered as an adverb: This registration took place first in the days of Quirinius.

It would not be difficult to give other instances of the adverbial use of the numeral adjectives. Thus πρῶτος is so used in these words from Xenophon,[s]—

ὁ σὸς πρῶτος πατὴρ τεταγμένα ποιεῖ.

Thy father *first* executes the commands.

Where πρῶτος has to be taken not with the noun, but the verb.

In illustrating our first proposition, we have been led into illustrations of the second. We subjoin other instances which combine to shew that πρῶτος the adjective, as in the words of Luke, is employed with an adverbial force, and must be rendered in a manner not dissimilar to our own translation of the evangelist's words.

In Homer (Iliad, xv. 88) we read,—

. . . πρώτη γὰρ ἐναντίη ἦλθε Θέουσα.

Which Pope has thus rendered, giving to πρώτη an adverbial sense,—

"Fair Themis *first* presents the golden bowl."

Here the adjective ἐναντίη can be rendered into English only with an adverbial import, as "to go *before*," that is, "to go to meet;" and πρώτη has clearly an adverbial signification, as appears from the connexion; the word (πρώτη) is equivalent to *immediately*, intimating that *first*, that is, as soon as, Juno entered the assembly, Themis ran to her with the goblet in her hand.

The same book of the Iliad (15, 16 lines) contains another instance:

Οὐ μὰν οἶδ' εἴ αὖτε κακορράφίης ἀλεγεινῆς
Πρώτη ἐπαύρηαι. κ.τ.λ.

"I have a good mind thou shouldst *first* enjoy the reward of thy evil machinations."

---

[s] *Cyrop.* 1, 3, 15; see also *Anab.* 11, 3, 19.

The first, as may be seen by reference to the original, is first in time. Jupiter accuses Juno of having made Hector cease from battle, and threatens her with immediate corporal punishment.

In the Odyssey also (xvii. 31) is a passage which makes strongly in favour of our position:

> *Τὸν δὲ πολὺ πρώτη εἶδε τροφὸς Εὐρύκλεια.*
> Him *at the very first* saw the nurse Euryclæa.

The reference is to Telemachus, who on entering his own home is seen at once by his old nurse. We give a not dissimilar instance:

> *Πρώτη δὰ ψυχὴ Ελπήνορος ἦλθεν ἑταίρου.*
> (*Od.* xi. 51.)

A decisive instance of this use of *πρῶτος* is found in Iliad. i. 386, where Achilles seated gloomily apart on the shore relates to his mother the events which had given him dissatisfaction; when he says:

> *αὐτίκ ἐγὼ πρῶτος κελόμην θεὸν ἱλάσκεσθαι·*
> *Ἀτρείωνα δ' ἔπειτα χόλος λάβεν.*

Where *πρῶτος* can have no other than an adverbial force. It goes with *αὐτίκα*, and is equivalent to "at the very first." "At the very first I advised them to propitiate Apollo." A reference to the previous part of the story (see particularly lines 59, 127) will shew that *πρῶτος* is not here used as indicating the first in a series of persons. It relates exclusively to time or events. Its antithesis in the ensuing line is also an adverb, *ἔπειτα*, "immediately I—but then Agamemnon;" such is the train which his statement takes.

Thersites, in the Iliad (ii. 228), makes it a reproach against Agamemnon, that in all cases he had his share of the booty *before* others, expressing an adverbial idea by an adjective:

> *ἅς τοι Ἀχαιοὶ*
> *Πρωτίστῳ δίδομεν, εὖτ' ἂν πτολίεθρον ἕλωμεν.*

προτερος (*proteros*, an adjective, "before") is also used with the force of an adverb, equivalent to our word "formerly," and referring to an action, not a thing. Thus Menelaus, when about to return the blow of Paris (Iliad, iii. 351), says:

> *Ζεῦ ἄνα, δὸς τίσασθαι, ὅ με πρότερος κάκ' ἔοργε.*
> *Δῖον Ἀλέξανδρον.*
>
> . . . *ὥς κε Τρῶες. . .*
> *Ἄρξωσι πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὅρκια δηλήσασθαι.*
>
> Iliad. *Δ*. 66, 71.

In Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 2, 25) we have these words:

Επύαξα δὲ, ἡ Συεννήσιος γυνὴ, προτέρα Κύρου πέντε ἡμέρας, ἀφίκετο.

"Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, came five days *before* Cyrus."

Here the English adverb *before* stands for a Greek adjective in the comparative degree.

The usage of which we have now given examples, has counterparts in the New Testament.

We read in John viii. 7,—

ὁ ἀναμάρτητος ὑμῶν πρῶτος τὸν λίθον ἐπ' αὐτῇ βαλέτω.

"He that is without sin among you, let him *first cast* a stone at her."

That Luke himself was acquainted with the usage, appears from the following passages:

μήποτε αἰφνίδιος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐπιστῇ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη. (Luke xxi. 34; comp. 1 Tim. v. 3.)

"Lest that day come *suddenly* on you."

δευτεραῖοι ἤλθομεν εἰς Ποτιόλους.

"*On the second day* we came to Puteoli. (Acts xxviii. 13.)

In Romans x. 19, we have *πρῶτος* used as an adverb:

πρῶτος Μωυσῆς λέγει . . . . Ἡσαΐας δὲ.

"*First* Moses says . . . . but Isaiah."

The Gospel of John supplies a valuable example:

Εὑρίσκει οὗτος πρῶτος τὸν ἀδελφὸν. (i. 41.)

"Andrew *first* finds his brother."

The "first" here is obviously used as an adverb in regard to time, and gives a signification nearly the same as that of the text,—"the first thing he did." The adverbial force of *πρῶτος* in this place is illustrated by the fact, that several manuscripts read *πρῶτον*, which may originally have been written on the margin as a gloss and afterwards taken into the text.

Not dissimilar is the construction found in 1 John iv. 19:

ἡμεῖς ἀγαπῶμεν αὐτὸν, ὅτι αὐτος πρῶτος ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς.

"We love him, because he *first* loved us."

In which case *πρῶτος* can have only the adverbial sense of first, referring to time.

It is worthy of notice, that when *πρῶτος* qualifies the verb, it often stands next to the verb, as in the words to be explained, "was first made;" besides instances already adduced, see John xx. 4.

ἦλθε πρῶτος εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον.

"John came *first* to the tomb."

Our third point is that the word πρῶτος sometimes signifies the same as the Latin *tum demum*, "then and not till then."

Facciolati, in his Dictionary, defines *primus* thus,—*He is called first who has no one before him; and the word is used of order, place, and time.* πρῶτος is properly a superlative from πρό, "before," and accordingly signifies first of all, *foremost*. But that which happens first of all, happens then for the first time, inasmuch as the first in a series excludes the idea of any antecedent.

There is a striking instance of this force of πρῶτος in Xenophon (Anab. 2, 3, 9),—

ἐντεῦθα τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοίνικος πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρατιῶται.

"Then for the first time the soldiers eat the fruit of the palm-tree."

In Romans xv. 24, πρῶτον has a similar force:

ἐάν ὑμῶν πρῶτον ἐμπλησθῶ.

"When I shall have been satisfied with your company."

It appears then that πρῶτος, varying in gender according to the accompanying noun, is in common with other adjectives used in Greek with the force of an adverb, throwing its qualifying influence not on the noun but the verb, and referring, adjective though it is, rather to time than to persons or things. It also appears that with this adverbial application the word may indicate, that the event to which it refers then for the first time took place; that the time defined in the connexion is the earliest time at which the event in question happened.

The translation which we have made of the passage under consideration, and the view of its meaning which we have taken, are confirmed by the philological considerations we have now laid before the reader.

The essential point on which our explanation turns, namely, that the adjective πρώτη is used with the force of an adverb, seems to be admitted as valid by those critics who, referring to John i. 15, where the evangelist declares Jesus πρῶτός μου, endeavour to make it appear that πρώτη in the text, having the force of προτέρα, governs in the genitive case the ensuing noun and participle, thus rendering the words—

"Which took place *before* Cyrenius was governor:"

where their adverb "before" answers to Luke's adjective πρώτη.

Nor is the view which we have given without support from authority. We content ourselves with simply placing here several renderings of the passage, putting the words to which we ask attention in italics.

"And this taxinge was the fyrst, and *executed when Syrenius was leftenaunt of Syria.*"—Tyndale (1534).

"And this taxinge was the fyrst, and *executed when Syrenius was leftenaunt in Siria.*"—Cranmer (1539).

"And this taxing *was first made when* Cyrenius was governor of Syria."—Authorized Version (1611).

"This enrolment *was first made when* Cyrenius was governor of Syria."—Ahayman's (Edgar Taylor's) translation.

"This enrolment *first took place.*"—Boothroyd.

Countenance and prevalence may have been given to the false view on which the chief objection of Strauss is founded by the very emphatic but very erroneous rendering given by Luther: —"Und diese Schatzung war die allererste, und geschah zur zeit da Kyrenius landpfleger in Syrien war;" literally, "*and* this valuation (census) *was the very* first *and* happened at the time when Cyrenius was governor in Syria." For the words printed in italics there are no representatives in the original Greek. The version however implies that the first census took place in the time of Cyrenius. Identifying the time of the first census with the time of Cyrenius, critics made the birth of Jesus and the rule of Cyrenius contemporaneous. Thus on a deduction founded on an erroneous translation means were gained for assailing Luke. But the deduction is no more necessary than the translation is correct. Let it be supposed that πρώτε, first, is used not as an adverb but as an adjective, then the statement is "this first enrolment went into effect in the time of Cyrenius." The enrolment may have been styled first, as being the first of several commanded by Augustus, without implying that in Judea there was more than one. It is a pure assumption to suppose that any other registration in Judea was intended, or is implied.

On a review of the whole we are, we think, warranted in believing that a fancied advantage has been wrested out of the unbeliever's hands. We end our observations by saying, that submitting our new explanation of this, which has hitherto been the opprobrium of theological science, to the careful consideration and candid judgment of critics, we shall be well repaid if the result is a thorough discussion of our several positions; assured that, under the good providence of God, truth will ultimately prevail.

O. P.

THE JESUITS.

1. *Loyola: and Jesuitism in its Rudiments.* By Isaac Taylor, London. Longman and Co. 1849.
2. *Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome.* By the Rev. M. Hobart Seymour, M.A. Seeleys. 1851.
3. *The Jesuits as they were and are.* By Edward Duller. Translated from the German by Mrs. Stanley Carr. Seelcys. 1845.
4. *Dealings with the Inquisition; or, Papal Rome, her Priests, and her Jesuits.* By the Rev. Giacinto Achilli, D.D. Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1851.
5. *The Female Jesuit; or, the Spy in the Family.* Partridge and Oakey. 1851.
6. *Secreta Monita Societatis Jesu.* Second Edition. Seeleys. 1851.

Ecclesiastical history, properly so called, embraces the entire period during which the Church has existed. That which the Christian community now is, with its divisions and subdivisions, its varieties of government and diverse forms of doctrines, is the aggregate result of a series of causes which have been at work for eighteen centuries. It is not therefore possible in every case to demonstrate the connection of things as they now exist with the events to which they are originally due. Between our own age and that bright period when apostles and evangelists first spread abroad the glad tidings of the gospel, when there was spiritual life, when men and women were ready to attest their attachment to the truth by not flinching from the terrors of martyrdom, between our age and that which we describe, there is a dark interval; and in that interval we scarcely trace the progress of spiritual influences. Hence it is, that in relation to the religion of Christ, as held by those who make the Bible the sole rule of faith, church history ranges itself in two very distinct portions,—the record of the establishment of Christian truth, and the record of its revival. It does not follow from this, that protestant Christianity only dates from the Reformation; but the peculiar aspects which protestant churches wear, the controversies in which they are engaged, the positions occupied on the battle field where the struggle is waged with the powers of darkness, are only to be understood satisfactorily by means of a close examination of the great religious movement of the sixteenth century. The early church settled the great dogmatical questions, which relate to the

fundamental articles of faith; and it would be difficult to enter upon ground on which we have not been anticipated. The sixteenth century, however, brought to a climax a deeper contest. In the ages which had preceded, a gigantic power had by slow degrees asserted complete dominion over the minds, yea, the souls of men. It was a power that did more than merely assert or deny. It claimed a right of a more exclusive character than can be held by any disputant or body of disputants. It laid a restraining hand as it were on both parties, and claimed to itself the power of adjudication. It took from men *the right of private judgment*, and constituted itself a tribunal of *Infallibility*. With such a power, except in the germ, the primitive church had not to contend. The human mind retained its activity. Sacred literature received a special stimulus, and the results of a healthy Christianity suffered a decline from causes extraneous to the church itself. The political power of the Roman emperor dwindled; indeed, the empire found in its vast extent an element of weakness, it was a prey to surrounding barbarians; and, as the north wind rushes to supply a tropical vacuum, the barbarians made successful inroads, and brought corrupting superstitions in their train.

The Reformation was the casting off the despotic yoke that a barbarized Christianity had forged for itself. In the days of pagan Rome, the countries of Europe and portions of Asia and Africa were linked in political servitude; papal Rome lost this sceptre, but contrived by consummate art to retain a sovereignity, less palpable, but equally real. But it was a power of darkness. It was maintained by crushing in man the power of free thought, by withdrawing from Christianity all that was vital by hiding the book of God, by substituting for the unity of the Divine nature the ill-disguised polytheism of ancient Rome. At the Reformation, primitive Christianity once more obtained an ascendency over the minds of men; and a large portion of Rome's spiritual dominion was snatched from its grasp. Protestantism was now a thing of life, and popery lay in comparison a dead carcass at its side. But Rome too had an inner life. When Luther first asserted the power of the Word of God, the system against which he made himself an antagonist was, to all appearance, decaying and waxing old. The popes were absorbed in luxurious pleasures, the regular clergy were as idle as they were ignorant, the bishops and seculars were bent chiefly on augmenting their revenues, the universities were behindhand; they were therefore taken *ab improviso*, they were little prepared to combat the advancing reformation, and still less could they establish their own position by scripture

defences. We say, that notwithstanding all this, there was an inner life; and it was not long before the reactionary power found a representative in a particular individual. Ignatius Loyola was the man who, in the hour of Rome's despair, arose as a champion against her vigorous adversaries. He founded a brotherhood, the main object of which was the strengthening of the papacy. This brotherhood has wrought with marvellous success. It attempted what appeared well nigh impossible, to induce mankind to forge its fetters anew; to give up the simplicity of primitive religion, the worship of the true God as he is revealed in Jesus Christ, and prostrate itself before the Madonna. It attempted to persuade men that the pope is the universal bishop, the infallible head of the church, the vicar of Christ, the king of the kings of the earth. And all this was to be done in the face of the champions of the Reformation, in an age which had received untold light from the printing press, and from the revival of learning. The obstacles were immense, but the work was in a great degree accomplished. What means were used most men know full well. The very name of Jesuit is identified with recklessness of principle and subtlety of action. The society has been again and again banished, even from catholic countries; but this wide-spread unpopularity has only been a stimulus to renewed exertion, and a further call on crafty ingenuity. Its proceedings have never ceased, and at this very day they are more completely organized than ever. Hence it is that the contest raging in the arena of Christendom may be understood by a reference to the past. The same principles are in antagonism to each other; the same parties fight, and with the same weapons as heretofore. There is no one subject in which history serves for a clearer guide than the war of the papacy and its assailants. We can therefore give no advice more wholesome, than that history should at the present epoch be studied. In days of controversy it is of primary importance that prejudice should be set aside; and the only means of accomplishing this will be by storing the mind with truth. Let not Jesuitism be *prejudged,* let not the efforts of Romish emissaries be misrepresented, let not popes, and cardinals, and priests be needlessly maligned; but let the page of history be opened, and inasmuch as the church of Rome is infallible, and consequently unrepentant, let her past acts be allowed to indicate her present character. Mr. Taylor, the philosophic author of the *Natural History of Enthusiasm,* has applied himself to a calm examination of the rise and progress of Jesuitism in the person of its founder. Although the work has been now two years before the public, and was therefore produced irrespec-

tively of recent events, its circulation at the present crisis is much to be desired. It is of the greatest importance that Protestants should thoroughly understand the nature of that religious institute, which is now confessedly becoming the general type of the church of Rome. Assuredly Mr. Taylor has done justice to his hero. If he errs at all, it is in giving more credit than is due to one whose system he abhors, in acting in a manner diametrically different from what would have characterized a Romish biographer of Luther or Calvin. But this is just what we ask. We do not want to be told that Loyola is either demon or demigod. Give us the facts of his history, shew us the man, and allow us to frame our own inferences, and trace the workings of his gigantic plan, in Jesuitism as it now exists. We believe that this volume presents the enlightened view which we desire; we rejoice in it, and hope that it will find many thoughtful readers.

Let us take a rapid glance at the career of the founder of Jesuitism. Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde, the youngest son of the house of Loyola, was born in the castle of that name, in Guipuscoa, of a race so noble that its head was always invited to do homage by a special writ,—"*de parientes majores*,"—and reared at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, and in the suite of the duke of Najara. He aspired after the reputation of knighthood; splendid arms and noble steeds, the fame of valour, the adventures of single combat and of love, were not less attractive to him than to any of his youthful compeers. But he was also strongly imbued with the religious spirit. At the time we are speaking of, he had composed a romance of chivalry, the hero of which was the first apostle. His career, however, received an unexpected turn at the siege of Pampeluna, when he was wounded in both legs. This was in 1521. Being carried to his own house, he caused the wounds to be twice re-opened. The intense pain, which he bore with unshrinking fortitude, was borne in vain; the cure was lamentably incomplete, and he was maimed for life. He was versed in romances of chivalry, and delighted in them, more especially in the Amadis. During his long confinement, he also read the life of Christ and of some of the saints.

It may be difficult to realize that the romantic young soldier was the future founder of a powerful religious sect. But the ideas which had up to this point of his history filled his mind, were turned into a new channel rather than extinguished. He still felt himself to be the chivalrous knight; battles were to be fought, and citadels to be won; but the warfare was to be spiritual. Even in early life he had shewn signs of those peculiar

gifts which were his eminent qualifications for his subsequent employment. It seems to have been his gift to feel his way unerringly through the intricacies of human nature, and to dive into every bosom: and whoever possesses this intuition, comes by consent of all into the place of leader in his circle; for the discerning of spirits is the foundation of power. Loyola was not unconscious of his own endowments. On the bed of suffering, to which he was so long chained by the wounds received at Pampeluna he found ample scope to all that was extravagant in a fancy already sufficiently romantic. But in the founder of the Societas Jesu, the fanatic and the cool thinker were always distinct; indeed this dualism of character accompanied him through life. Perhaps, indeed, the discrepancy between the two phases may have been rendered more perplexing by the exaggerations of his biographers. They have striven to give prominence to the saint, and recorded miracles which Ignatius himself would have been the first to repudiate; whilst the man's authentic works, the organization of the society itself, "monumentum ære perennius," are palpable evidences of the accomplished legislator and the far-seeing man of the world. It was whilst his body was racked with pain, that he conceived the main idea to which his whole life was devoted. The actions of St. Francis and St. Dominic appeared before him in all the brilliancy of spiritual glory; but not only so, he determined inwardly that he had it in his power to emulate them. "Quid si ego hoc agerem, quod fecit beatus Franciscus, quid si hoc, quod beatus Dominicus?" This one thought, that illuminated with theatrical glare the mind of the Spanish saint, may be taken as a key, not only to his own history, but also to that of his institute. There was self-renunciation involved in it, an intense energy thrown into a cause that was magnificent in its proportions; the world with all its fascinations was left benind; a thorny path was before, in which success could only be achieved by the sacrifice of all that was dear to him. But unhappily the models that presented themselves to his mind were not the lives of inspired apostles or evangelists. It does not appear that Loyola had at this time *seen* the Holy Scriptures. Indeed there is every evidence that his knowledge of the evangelical records was limited to a life of Christ, written by Ludolphus of Saxony, a monk of the fourteenth century. Consequently from the very outset, the Jesuit system flowed from an uninspired source, and was prompted by a desire to outdo the spiritual despotisms of Franciscan and Dominican monkery. Every commentator on this subject is disposed, more or less, to contrast Luther and Loyola. Let us follow the example so

generally established, and place in juxtaposition the Saxon reformer's scriptural motto, "The just shall live by faith," and the Jesuit founder's inquiry, "Why may I not do as much as St. Francis or St. Dominic?"

We may refer also to another circumstance which left an abiding impress on the mind of Ignatius, and the work which he originated. He had, in the agony of conscious guilt, determined to placate the wrath of heaven, by undertaking a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which was to be performed barefoot, and with daily flagellations and fastings. We give Mr. Taylor's description:—

"While thus struggling with his own emotions, and digesting his plans of expiation, at midnight and during a vigil,—so he told his friends,—the Virgin Mother, with the infant Jesus in her arms, effulgent in celestial majesty, presented herself before him, and, for some space of time, with incredible benignity remained in his view! How did this vision give intensity to the desire, which already was intense, to achieve his pilgrimage to the Holy City! But a favour so signal produced more than a transient effect upon his dispositions; for it sickened him for ever of things terrestrial; it gave him an abiding disrelish of every sensual enjoyment; it deadened within his bosom all worldly ambition, it set him free from the enthralment of every inferior passion. The splendour of that vision seemed in a moment to efface whatever had belonged to his former consciousness."—*Loyola and Jesuitism*, p. 31.

Mariolatry, as is well known, is the leading feature of Jesuitism, and to this type modern Romanism is everywhere rapidly approaching. If we may compare one error with another, it is to be admitted that the change is immeasurably for the worse. No honest mind would ever discover Mariolatry in the Bible. The gospels give but a slender record of the mother of Jesus, the epistles pass her over in silence. Our Lord himself addresses her, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" and when told on another occasion, that she is without, desiring to speak with him, replies, "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? Whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother," Matt. xii. 48, 50. The evidence of Scripture is unquestionably thrown into the opposite scale. Romish ingenuity is therefore compelled to elevate the voice of tradition, drown that of scripture, or else torture its meaning. A titular prelate of high rank, preaching in London on education, selects a very suitable text, "Jesus increased in wisdom and in stature, and in favour with God and man." The analogy with the expansion of the intellects, and cultivation of the moral and spiritual intelligence of our poor was legitimate enough. The perfect example of

Christ may in such a connexion be advantageously adduced. "But under whose care," asks the Romish orator, "did Jesus make this progress? To whom did he owe this development? To his Virgin Mother Ever Blessed. She therefore is the patroness of education, and her help must be sought." This is what may be termed a gross mixture of Socinianism and superstition; a melancholy example of ingenuity applied to substantiate a false and corroding dogma. Let the mind realize what Christianity becomes when, for its ennobling truths the puerilities of virgin-worship are substituted. It harmonizes only with what is debased or effeminate in human character, and in consequence finds ardent devotees only among those who allow the imagination to overleap the reason, and prefer the sensuous element in religion to the ratiocinative and the ethical. In Popish countries, strong minds range themselves on the side of infidelity, and weak ones swell the ranks of the church. How many belong to an intermediate class of those who adopt neither extreme, we cannot pretend to determine. The study of Jesuitism will perhaps reveal more strongly than any other mode, how many Romanists contrive to discriminate between things temporal and spiritual; and exercise in the former an amount of keen judgment which they do not apply to the latter. We might almost compare their minds to the retina of the human eye, which has on its surface a *punctum cœcum*, while all the rest is fitted to transfer the luminous image to the sensorium; or perhaps to the state of certain highly intelligent persons, to whom the lord chancellor will not surrender the custody of their property, on account of disease in a particular mental faculty. Blunt Protestants are not always disposed to believe in the possibility of this refined distinction, and rudely confound popish zealots with unbelieving knaves. Mr. Seymour thus candidly avows his belief of the paradox:—

"I have learned, and must bear about me for ever the memory of the lesson, never again to regard the extreme of credulity as inconsistent with the most scientific attainments; or to suppose that what seems the most absurd and marvellous superstition, is incompatible with the highest education; or to think that the utmost prostration of the mind is inconsistent with the loftiest range of intellectual power. There was in some of my (Jesuit) friends an extraordinary amount of scientific attainments, of classical erudition, of polite literature, and of great intellectual acumen; but all seemed subdued and held, as by an adamantine grasp, in everlasting subjection to what seemed to them to be the religious principle. This principle, which regarded the voice of the Church of Rome as the voice of God Himself, was ever uppermost in the mind, and held such an influence and a mastery over the

whole intellectual powers, over the whole rational being, that it bowed with the humility of a child before every thing that came with even the apparent authority of the Church."—*Mornings with the Jesuits*, p. 6.

This paradox existed, as we have already remarked, with special distinctness in Loyola. He lived in fantasies and inward apparitions; he conceived the most arduous projects, and actually accomplished his purpose of visiting Jerusalem, in the hope of converting the infidels to the true faith. At this time he was devoid of theological learning, acquainted with little more than his mother tongue, without political support; but that deep-seated energy which burned within him was not allowed to waste itself in an *ignis fatuus*. With all his belief in apparitions, he combined a due appreciation of means. He determined upon a regular course of study, and with that object repaired to Paris, the most renowned school at that time in Europe.

The development of Loyola's mind presents at this point the working of a principle which has ever since lain at the root of Jesuitism. This is unconditional obedience. The vows of the ordinary Jesuit are three in number,—obedience, chastity, and poverty; and the professed members add a fourth, viz., a surrender of their liberty to the will of the pope. But the characteristic vow is that of obedience. It was the soldier's virtue, which the Spanish knight brought with him after he had exchanged the sumptuous attire of a cavalier for the coarse cloak, the shoes, the staff, the girdle, and the bowl of a pilgrim. It was a habit of mind which enabled him to master the difficulties which from the first hampered his course, and became indispensable subsequently for the organization of a vast secret society. Hence, whilst he was ready to hold in abeyance many other features of monasticism, the sagacious founder never lost sight of this. He did not allow austerity to become mere asceticism, nor was the cultivation of the mind in solitude to transform him into a recluse. He could fast in the most severe manner, but when other duties required attention, he could adopt such a diet as was best adapted to qualify him for the attainment of his purpose. He took delight in holding conferences with the poorest and the most degraded; but this did not hinder his associating with the opulent and the noble, at whose tables he perseveringly preached the truths with which he believed himself commissioned. But his ideas of obedience admitted of no qualification. At thirty years of age, he placed himself at a school in Barcelona, where he insisted upon yielding himself without distinction to every task, and to submit to every chastisement which, according to the usage of the school, would

be inflicted upon boys not making more progress than himself. When studying in Paris, he was no less submissive. Indeed, the peculiar mode which he adopted for preserving the entire subjection of his will was characteristic entirely of the tone of his mind, and was subsequently reproduced in the advice which he gave to the members of his fraternity:—"The head-master he brought himself to think of as Christ; while to others, severally, he assigned the names of the apostles, mentally calling one Peter, another John, another Paul. Thus he broke down within himself the principle of self-will by a quaintly-imagined fiction, which lent the force and sanction of Heaven to every syllable that might be uttered either by his instructors or his companions." The same habit of obedience was, at a late period of his life, on one occasion nearly fatal to him. He was taken ill. His ordinary physician was not at hand. A young practitioner was put in charge of the Father General's health, who was unhappily ignorant of his constitution, or of the nature of the remedies to which he had been accustomed. Loyola, however, had habituated himself to render to his physician the same unquestioning obedience which he demanded of others in matters of widely different import. Treatment was ordered which he knew to be injudicious; but he submitted without expressing a doubt, and would absolutely have allowed his life to be sacrificed had not some of his friends caused the blundering doctor to be superseded by one better skilled.

The vow of poverty was also a very early feature of Loyola's system, and it is not difficult to discern how it was destined to play an important part in the subsequent operations of the society. If obedience was to preserve uniformity of action, poverty gave a uniformity of condition. Jesuitism, in a sense materially different from any that may be applied to true religion, overcomes the world by not being of the world. The true Jesuit has no links of affection or of circumstance, which can attach him to any section of mankind. Whilst begging his bread, and being in appearance dependent on others, he is virtually independent of all. Though humility is his garb, the most uncompromising spirit of pride lurks within. Such was the rationale of the saint's act, when, in setting out on a pilgrimage, he had received from a wealthy family a purse of gold, he gave the money to the first beggar that he met. But what may be expedient as a general regulation for an entire body, was grotesque when carried to its extreme by an individual. The poverty of Ignatius in no way resembled any virtue that is commanded in the scriptures of truth. It coincided with that of St. Paul, so far as it included a disregard of earthly things;

but it differed *toto cœlo* as regards the relation in which he was placed with the members of the church. St. Paul laboured with his own hands, that he might be chargeable to none; Loyola bowed to the most abject mendicancy, and adopted a leading feature of the monkish system, which has filled papal Europe with a set of men who have become the very drones of society, and by their example have placed a check upon industry, and retarded in no small degree the wealth of nations.

Among the early developments of Loyola's mind, may also be noticed his indifference to doctrinal speculation. We cannot, without some qualification, extend the remark to the whole order, as the society has given to the church her most zealous defenders and profoundest casuists. But we may call to mind that Romanism has never attempted a rigid deduction of truth, it has not ventured upon the field of unexplored verities for the sake of widening the arena on which the mind might range; doctrine has been consolidated into dogma, authority has placed bolt and bar on speculation, the church has dreaded subjectivity in religion, lest the variety of minds might disturb the unbroken unity which is its boast. Romanism is a vast *fusion* of ideas, an igneous stratum made up of what might originally have possessed life and energy, but has now been reduced to a uniform mass by the help of the fires of the inquisition. Ignatius found it convenient thus to swallow entire the dogmatic teaching of his church. And this indeed proved no small safeguard to him. His zeal as a preacher made him an object of suspicion. Men were seen to give up their old vicious courses, and submit to the Spiritual Exercises of this new apostle. Women, under his influence, left their homes, and boldly set out on pilgrimages. Vast numbers flocked to his ministry. It was a new era in the history of ecclesiastical indolence. The zealots must be heretics. So thought the "powers that be." Once or twice Loyola and his companions shared the fate of Paul and Silas at Philippi. Officers of the Inquisition, moreover, made searching inquiries, and demanded for examination the works which had been promulgated. But no one was ever likely to offend the Inquisition so little as the Jesuit founder. Mr. Taylor says:—

"Loyola's turn of mind being altogether practical and ethical, not theoretic, or logical, or intellectual, and therefore not inclining him, in any degree, to call in question the dogmas of the Church, or to excite inquiry concerning them in the minds of others, he found it easy to satisfy the ecclesiastical authorities before which he was so often cited as to his unqualified and unquestioning adherence to the faith and teaching of the church on all those points which had then come to be distinctive of orthodoxy and of heresy. Loyola believed with the

church—point for point, and without a scruple, or a shadow of dissent."—*Loyola*, p. 83.

In other words, we should be disposed to improve upon Mr. Taylor's description, by saying that Loyola had no belief at all. For what can an absolutely perfect assent to a collection of conflicting dogmas imply, but ignorance of the real nature of the dogmas themselves? Without asserting that true belief *must* have been preceded by doubts, we may at least declare that it implies a close examination. Faith may be called upon to accept that which is above reason; and this admitted principle is often adduced by Romish advocates to justify an unquestioning credulity; but after all, the inquirer is in every case bound to satisfy himself that the truth is not contrary to reason, and that the testimony in its favour is such as to warrant its reception.

The next step in Loyola's biography is that which exhibits him to us as gathering his associates. Unquestionably, the most remarkable feature in this world-famous man, is his power of combining his fellows in the prosecution of an arduous enterprise. An analysis of his mind does not reveal powers of the highest order, his education had been imperfect, his personal gifts were not conspicuous; but he exercised a strong moral influence, which amounted to a fascination, so as to bend even stronger minds than his own to his despotic sway. The order itself, as it exists in our own day, is a marvellous example of a concrete system. The individual Jesuit is generally a man well versed only in a single line of action or study. His idiosyncracy has been noticed at an early stage of his training, and his more prominent qualifications have been thoroughly developed, to the neglect of the rest. A *society* can afford to do in the training of its members what would be highly inexpedient in the preparation of a man for an ordinary path of life. The redundancy of one fits in with the defects of another. If each unit has its special qualification, the aggregate presents an imposing array of force, Each musician in the Russian-horn band plays his one note, and to that dreary monotone his life is devoted; but severe training has made him an accurate timist, and he is enabled to contribute his quota to the rich harmony which is the result.

Loyola conceived the idea of transferring military discipline to an ecclesiastical organization. In fact his theory comprehended even more than this. The soldier yields implicit obedience, he manœuvres as one of a corps, his movements mechanically correspond with those of his comrades, and the whole mass performs its evolutions in strict accordance with the will

of the officer in command. Individual thought is held in abeyance, and this strict discipline has the effect of leading men to face the greatest danger almost without consciousness that danger is near. Now, be it observed, that the soldier's obedience is only a "bodily exercise." Loyola determined to bring every *thought* into captivity. He planned a combination of thinking, reasoning men, possessed of passions, emotions, and desires, who should nevertheless lay prostrate their bodies and souls in an unquestioning obedience. The first requisite, and one that he fully attained in his own case, was that he should *govern himself.* "He that ruleth his own spirit," says the wise man, "is better than he that taketh a city." It is perhaps the only condition on which we can conceive the absolute submission of a number of men being secured, that those in command should themselves be bound by regulations equally strict, that the body in which the central force resides should revolve round a higher and more distant centre. Loyola therefore asked for no surrender of which he had not given the example. He had cast away his pride before he demanded humility. In the company of persons of rank (we are told) he had an insinuating manner, which won and which secured to him their favour and friendship. His equals he led forward in his own track, by a graceful facility, and an avoidance of all assumption of superiority; while the ignorant and the needy he commanded by a native air of authority, by his unwearied labours for their good, by his patience towards them in their perversities, and by a species of benevolent dissimulation, of which he was master, and which he could practise whenever necessary.

It was during the stay of Ignatius at Paris, that he drew into his alliance his first followers. He had two companions, who shared his rooms in the college of St. Barbara. The one Peter Faber, a Savoyard, had passed the early part of his life in the humble occupation of a shepherd, and under the roof of heaven had devoted himself to God and to study. It was his thirst for knowledge that had brought him to Paris, where he formed a friendship that was destined to have a lasting influence upon the world. He submitted to the Spiritual Exercises of Loyola, and under his advice as a physician of souls, entered upon the warfare against those passions which struggled hard for mastery within his breast. The other friend was Francesco Xavier, of Pampeluna, whose only ambition it was to add the name of a man illustrious for learning to those of ancestors renowned for their military exploits, which graced a pedigree of five hundred years. He was handsome, rich, full of talent, and had already been well received at court. Loyola endeavoured

to obtain an ascendancy over him, and induced him to submit to the severe discipline of the Spiritual Exercises. But we can scarcely reckon him among the Jesuits. He had little more to do with the society than to lend it the credit of his great name, and to shed upon its early history the splendour of his virtues. The next in succession were three young Spaniards, Salmeron, Lainez, and Bobadilla. It is recorded that Ignatius, together with his five friends, repaired one day to the church of Montmartre. Faber, who was already in holy orders said mass. They took the vow of chastity; they swore, after the conclusion of their studies, to pass their lives in Jerusalem in absolute poverty, devoted to the care of the Christians or the conversion of the Saracens; and if they should find it impossible to reach the holy city, or to abide in it, to offer their labours to the pope, for any place to which he might see fit to send them, without remuneration or condition. Each took this oath, and received the host from the hands of Faber, who afterwards communicated himself.

"It was not to all alike," remarks Mr. Taylor, "or not to all with the same ingenuousness, that Loyola had opened his bosom. His great idea, even if well defined in his own thoughts, had been but dimly revealed to the favoured two, Lainez and Faber. To all, however, he had imparted a portion of his own spiritual intensity. All were taught to believe that they were called of Heaven, in a special and peculiar sense, to carry forward a great work; and all (and each in proportion to the vagueness of his own ideas concerning it) felt as men do when a high destiny is gradually unfolding itself before them. Moreover as they thought their own vocation to be of God, so did they regard the supremacy of their chief as of divine appointment."—*Loyola and Jesuitism*, p. 91.

The infant society at once began to shew the life and energy which were from the first transfused into it. It was in the early days of 1537, that Loyola's companions arrived from Paris at Venice, and there in undiminished fervour of spirit, joyfully greeted their chief. They acted up to their vows of poverty and obedience; as they directed their course through France, Germany, and Switzerland, they begged their bread. Their way was beset with perils. War was raging at the time, and the fierceness of religious controversy had dangers even greater than the sword. Arrived in Venice, they distributed themselves among the hospitals of the city, where they gave their free services to the sick and poor. Their whole conduct was calculated to draw attention to themselves, and win universal admiration. Such devotedness among the priestly orders was unexampled; self-denial was exhibited such as was not often met with. The

men who could practise such ardent charity, and preach with such burning zeal must be no common men. So at least thought the multitudes who flocked from all sides to profit by their advice and exhortation. Loyola rightly foresaw that popularity was sure to stir up jealousy; that without adequate protection, the new society would infallibly draw upon itself calumny, if not open hostility. To prevent this anticipated mischief, and at the same time to obtain the highest sanction, it was resolved that they should present themselves before the sovereign pontiff, Paul III., proffering themselves unconditionally to the apostolic see, that their bodies, souls, and utmost services should be disposed of for the good of the church, in whatever manner should be judged most conducive to that end. It is interesting to notice the character of the pope to whom the Jesuits, at this early stage of their history, devoted themselves. Shall we find any parallel between this sacred pontiff and the barefooted, penniless, self-immolating little band, which gave to him and his successors the supreme power over their every action? His name was Alexander Farnese. He was as much a man of the world as any of those who had occupied the papal chair in the times preceding his own; times which were characterized by luxury and elegance on the part of those who were high in authority, rather than by virtue and piety. Paul studied under Pomponius Lætus at Rome, and in the gardens of Lorenzo de Medici at Florence; he thus became thoroughly imbued with the taste for literature and art which characterized that epoch; nor was he a stranger to its morals. What would have given rise to scandal at a later period, was little thought of in his own, and proved no obstacle to an early elevation to the cardinalate. He was the founder of the most beautiful of all the Roman palaces, that of the Farnesi.

But his ambition was not confined to wealth and magnificence; he aspired after the highest dignity. He made repeated efforts to obtain the tiara; but was not successful until the fortieth year of his cardinalate, and the sixty-seventh of his life. In his new office, his magnificent and liberal nature shone forth. He was bountiful to the members of his court, and even allowed great freedom of discussion to his cardinals. On the other hand, he was subtle in intrigue; and contrived to steer his way through conflicting circumstances, with a tact which excited surprise in the breasts of all observers. But he sought to evade the difficulties which presented themselves, rather than to master them. With a tenacious love of power, he was glad, as might be expected, of all means which would enable him to keep the reins in his own hand. The reformation had now existed

in Germany upwards of thirty years, It had spread over a great part of Europe, and the king of England had renounced his allegiance to the holy see. The wars with the Turks, the strife between Francis I. and Charles V., were not wanted in addition to such a cause to sow Paul's path with troubles. Indeed, the progress of reformed principles filled with dismay the luxurious ecclesiastics of Rome. They knew how to oppose the sword with the sword, they could intrigue and counter-intrigue; but where was the armoury from which weapons could be taken to repel Luther and his followers? Solid learning and practical piety were to them what Saul's armour was to David. They had not tried them. They could not leave the halls of feasting or the cabinets of political intrigue, to join in a strife in which they knew full well they would be sorely worsted. Now then was the juncture when Loyola's enthusiastic followers could obtain a welcome. Paul was not the man to refuse their help. He despised their fanaticism, smiled at their ascetic piety; but was willing enough to send them as a forlorn hope against the conquering bands of the reformers. He could still enjoy his table, whilst they kept their rigid fasts, and remain the worldly potentate, whilst they undertook the spiritual strife. Hence the favourable conditions which the society obtained; hence the power which they were not long in wielding to a dangerous excess. Subsequent popes found it convenient to curtail their privileges, and even to issue edicts suppressing their order; but the necessities of the times urged Paul to overlook the possibility of abuse, and to grant privileges with an unsparing hand.

We have now before us a society, at this time only a small company of nine persons; but regulated by the strictest engagements, and consolidated by chartered authority. We find the brethren at Venice, hoping to obtain a passage to the shores of Palestine, but hindered by the war which still raged between the Venetians and the Turks. Meanwhile in this crowded and voluptuous city, and in the surrounding territory, men so minded as were these fathers could not want a field of labour. They went forth, therefore, to their work, three and three; Loyola taking as his companions, Lainez and Faber; and it is these who should strictly be regarded the authors of the Jesuit institute. It was at this time, no doubt, beneath such shelter as was afforded by a hovel's crazy roof, and often in want of food, that these extraordinary men, throwing into a common stock their individual gifts, digested in loving concert the rules of the society, so far as it is constituted by written precepts; and more than this, brought vividly before their own minds

those unwritten principles which from the first have been to it a secret soul and mind,—a code not written upon paper, but deep cut upon the fleshy tablet of every Jesuit's heart.[t]

These were the operations which occupied the brethren during the year in which they had vowed a spiritual crusade against Mohammedanism. At the expiration of this period, they considered themselves released from their vow, in consequence of the withdrawal by Providence of all opportunity for carrying it into effect. Loyola did not renounce his favourite project without reluctance; but his mind was of too practical a nature to admit of his plans being abandoned, simply because a particular project was frustrated. He determined to direct his energies into a different channel; and one was not wanting which should be wholly adequate to the purpose. His aim henceforth was to erect a ghostly empire over the entire area of Christendom. The society now made further steps in advance. They gave themselves a *name*, and elected Loyola as their leader. As a matter of course, the conferring of a name was a grave matter, and involved the usual share of mysticism in which Loyola always indulged. He was on his way to Rome with Lainez and Faber. On this pilgrimage, he was favoured by the Virgin with much spiritual illumination. As they drew towards the city of the seven hills, and while upon the Sienna road, he turned aside to a chapel, then in a ruinous condition, and which he entered alone. There extasy became more extatic; and in a trance, he believed himself very distinctly to see Him whom, as holy scripture affirms, "no man hath seen at any time." By the side of this vision of the invisible, appeared Jesus bearing a cross. The Father presents Ignatius to the Son, who utters the words so full of meaning, "I will be favourable to you at Rome." From this vision, Loyola's institute may be said to have taken its formal commencement as the Society of Jesus. We may remark also that the alleged miraculous vision is received as a sacred article of faith by every Jesuit to this day. As Protestants, we cannot but regard such profane legends as absolute blasphemy; our feelings recoil from contemplating them, and we are led to infer the extreme wickedness of a system which, for the furtherance of specific objects, combines the most incongruous elements, the clearest sharpsightedness in matters of worldly policy, with the blindest belief in celestial visions and pretended miracles. True religion attempts no such mixture. A rightly ordered intellect is ever found to harmonize with a devout heart. The faith that works by love is a well-

---

[t] See *Loyola and Jesuitism*, p. 107.

balanced principle and occupies the strongest position in its antagonism with unbelief. But how can Jesuitism resist the assault of the sceptic? What line of retreat, we might ask, has a mind trained in such cloudy theology, when once doubting thoughts effect an entrance? Either the mental process must be stayed, or the doubts must be allowed to develop themselves into atheism. The world has witnessed the phenomenon on a large scale. An age of Jesuitism has been succeeded by an age of irreligion; and in that country where these forces have been brought to bear, we see, even at this moment, a swaying of the public mind between these positive and negative poles.

Our sketch of the rise of this remarkable society has now reached to the point where a disciplined fraternity with a name, an object, and a head, was fairly launched on that troubled ocean, whose waves have beaten heavily upon it, but not so as to sink it altogether; but from whose bosom it rose with new buoyancy, time after time that it appeared irrecoverably to have sunk. The fanatical Spanish soldier has succeeded in organizing a new order, bound by the most stringent vows, rendering to himself unconditional obedience, and animated individually and collectively with a determination to bring all Christendom under its dominion. To accomplish this end, their efforts had a threefold direction, preaching, confession, and education. They knew that the first would give them a command over the masses, and this was the more important in an age when the pulpit had been neglected, and its effusions become essentially puerile. In seizing the pulpit, therefore, they had an eye to practical influence. They did not stay to cultivate a polished rhetoric or to fashion their discourse to the tastes of the learned or the refined. They strove rather after what was touching and impressive, and calculated to win the admiration and chain the attention of the multitude. But they did not rely solely on the pulpit. The confessor's chair was a more potent seat of dominion. From the pulpit, mankind were addressed in the gross; here they were taken in detail. The heart of the penitent was laid open as by the scalpel of the anatomist; his closest secrets were laid bare, the concerns of his family and acquaintance were made familiar to the priest, and the confessor was well practised in turning this information to the best account. The man or woman who enters the confessional, can scarcely realize the fearful surrender which is thereby made. It is much to reveal into the ear of a friend the general plans of our life; it is much to make him acquainted with our joys and sorrows, our anxieties and doubts, and by making known the dilemmas in which we may be placed, and condescending to ask advice, we

so far give up a portion of liberty and hamper ourselves to a certain extent in regard to future action. But we do this in the consciousness that mutual confidence is the law of our intercourse, and that the day may soon come when the favour shall be reciprocated. Now what is the amount of liberty surrendered to the man who receives the confessions of our sins, and even of the irregular thoughts and desires. Imagine an unsympathising, cold, crafty Jesuit, exploring the inmost bosom, sifting every motive, and, by a series of artful questions, placing himself in possession of the very springs of action. Imagine the opportunity thus given for infusing the poison of a serpentine casuistry, explaining away, if need be, the grossest sinfulness of conduct, and salving the conscience with a false peace, or suggesting perhaps the commission of flagrant iniquity under the pretext of advancing the cause of the church. How easy to sow disunion between man and wife, between parent and child, the priest meanwhile being the keeper of the conscience, and armed with the powers of binding and loosing. And all this transacted, not in the presence of witnesses, but in the solitude of the confessional, where the confessor whispers into the ear as Milton represents the enemy of mankind addressing himself to our first mother. Here was a magnificent piece of mechanism fitted for the purposes of the Jesuit society, of which they did not fail to make ample use. The third line of action to which the society devoted itself was education. This was, if possible, a still more powerful engine. The peculiar rules of Jesuit training were eminently favourable to the accomplishment of this purpose. Of all the candidates for admission into the order it had always been the custom to select those who were proficient in particular branches of study or usefulness, and direct all their energies to the favourite pursuit. Hence they included in their ranks the best schoolmasters of the age. Instruction had till then been in the hands of those men of letters, who after having long addicted themselves to profane studies, fell into speculations on religious subjects, not wholly agreeable to the court of Rome, and ended by adopting opinions utterly reprobated by it. The Jesuits made it their business to expel them from their post, and to occupy it in their stead. They began on a more systematic plan than had hitherto been pursued. They divided the schools into classes, which they taught from the first rudiments up to the highest branches of learning in the same spirit. They were attentive also in enforcing rules of outward decorum, so that there was no class of society which they were unable to train. They became popular with rich and poor, and with them popularity was

power. Hence the rising generation was attached to the church, and the leaven of the system widely spread.

It will be needful at this stage of the inquiry to refer to the discipline prescribed to novices, before admission into the society, as well as the peculiar casuistry which they are instructed to wield. It will be anticipated that a search in the inner chamber of Jesuitism will reveal much that has made the society's name odious to the ears of men. Assuredly their secret principles have caused them to be a proverb and a byword among the nations, hated by kings and execrated by peoples. To this portion of the subject, Mr. Taylor in his admirable essay gives much thought. He strives to be an impartial historian of the society in its primitive stage, as well as an unprejudiced biographer of Loyola himself. He demonstrates satisfactorily that the founder did not make the sect so bad as it became, but is ready to admit that he sowed the seeds of evil, which but too rapidly germinated, and gave forth baneful luxuriance. With Loyola originated the idea of implicit obedience; and his own expression was, that absolute passiveness was the true standard, that a man must be as a dead body, *ac si cadaver*, or as the staff in the hands of an aged man, *baculum senis*. In his famous letter on obedience, addressed "to the brethren of the Society of Jesus, who are in Portugal, grace and love eternal in Christ the Lord," he preaches the following doctrine, which is plainly subversive of morality to the very foundation. "If one hesitates and doubts whether it be desirable or not desirable to do what is commanded, there is no zeal, no celerity. That *noble simplicity of a blind obedience* is gone, when we allow ourselves to question whether that which is commanded be right or wrong, and when perhaps we blame the Superior who commands us to do what is not agreeable to us." It would appear that a thoroughly trained Jesuit is a man with a sharpened intellect, an acute power of reasoning, he must be prompt in action, and fertile in expedients, of ready address, and refined in manner; but all this is to be coupled with an absolute prostration of the will and an abandonment of the conscience. It is clear, indeed, that when the will submits entirely to that of a fellow man, the conscience has no place. The arbiter of right and wrong is not the moral sense, the monitor within that reflects the light of God's Spirit in the soul of man, but an irresponsible superior, whose word is law, and who is to be obeyed as though he stood, to use the language of St. Ignatius, in the place of Jesus Christ. Further, the Jesuit has no worldly ties, no domestic affections. Habitually he speaks of living relatives as though they were numbered entirely with the

past. I *had* a father, I *had* a mother, he is taught to say. To the sense of filial relationship he is henceforth a stranger. We need not stay to ask how it is possible that any man should submit to this, how he should superadd to the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, that of a readiness to go whithersoever the pope may send him; we can examine the soul-immolating process by which the living sentient man is transformed into this paradoxical obedience-rendering corpse. The inquirer who has a relish for morbid anatomy, may find the entire course laid down in the "Spiritual Exercises," and the "Directorium," or book of instructions for those whose duty it may be to superintend the initiatory discipline of candidates. The former work, which was composed by Loyola himself, has never ceased to be of the highest authority with the members of the society. It happens to have been edited within a recent period, by a Catholic doctor of somewhat painful notoriety, the bishop of Melipotamus, *in partibus infidelium,* and now a cardinal of the Roman church. Of course he wishes to establish himself as a liberal Romanist, and one whose sentiments are not too repulsive to a Protestant nation. But unluckily for such a reputation, his name stands before the public as the editor and cordial admirer of two works which are peculiarly loathsome to the English mind, viz., Loyola's *Exercitia Spiritualia,* and the writings of St. Alphonsus Liguori, the most corrupt of casuists. In his preface to the former, he speaks of the discipline recommended as calculated to work the happiest change in the most hopeless of characters. "It is a plan," says he, "framed by a master-mind (unless we admit a higher solution), capable of grappling with the most arduous and complicated task." As sure is it to produce its result—that is to say, an entire conversion from sin to holiness—as sure even in the most desperate instances, as is Euclid to bring every rationally constituted mind to one and the same conclusion. "The mind," says Bishop Wiseman, "may struggle against the first axiom, or rather demonstrable truth in the series; but once satisfied of this, resistance is as useless as unreasonable; the next consequence is inevitable, conclusion follows conclusion, and the triumph is complete. The passions may intrench themselves at each step behind new works, but each position carried, is a point of successful attack upon the next, and grace at length wins the very citadel. Many is the fool who has entered into a retreat to scoff, and remained to pray." The book which such language as this describes, must be all but inspired, or the description itself be in the highest degree absurd. Let us hear what Mr. Taylor says of the same wondrous composition:—

"No book whatever, perhaps, could be named which would so much surprise and disappoint the natural expectations of a reader, who entirely uninformed of its contents, should open it with some vague conception of its purport, engendered by the title, and by a knowledge not very exact of the character and temperament of the writer. The 'Spiritual Exercises' of St. Ignatius Loyola! a Spanish devotee of the most ardent temperament—a man whose tears of joy and penitence flowed like a perennial brook—the chivalrous champion, too, of 'the Blessed Virgin;' a man of habitual extasy, and who was favoured with visions the most extraordinary. What then shall be the 'Spiritual Exercises' of such a saint, composed at the very moment of his first fervours in the religious life?

"The very contrary are they of what it is so natural to expect. There are to be found in this book no rhapsodies, no outbursts of devout feeling, no imaginative revellings in scenes of paradisiacal pleasure; there is in it no enthusiasm, no fanaticism, no presumptuous intrusion upon the mysteries of heaven: nothing in it is expanded, nothing is elaborated, in the way of description; the book is enlivened by no eloquence, is deepened by no pathos. There is nothing in it savouring of Dantè, nothing even of Bonaventura; nothing of St. Bernard, nothing of St. Basil, nothing of Thomas à Kempis; nothing after the fashion of the modern mystics. The 'Spiritual Exercises' is simply a book of drilling; and it is almost as dry, as cold, and as formal, as could be any specification of a system of military training and field manœuvres."—*Loyola and Jesuitism*, p. 190.

This work, or rather method of discipline, is found, however, to be of extensive use in the training of a novice. When a young man consents to pass through the ordeal, he is placed in solitude, which is only relieved by the stated visits of the director. He is instructed to devote certain regular intervals of time to the work of meditation. His rest is broken by these "hours" of mental castigation. He is made rigidly to fast, and every collateral assistance is resorted to which can bow down the spirit. The director or confessor has, under such circumstances, a great power over his victim. He sees him daily, ascertains his spiritual state, marks his progress, and prescribes the course of meditation in which he is to engage. At first, he says nothing about his joining the society: the patient is engaged in a strife with his sins and spiritual assailants; his object is victory, and this he is confident of obtaining by submission to the remedial course. This course has a prescribed length. Thirty days are deemed sufficient to cure the greatest disorders of the soul. Sometimes this period is divided, and certain intervals of rest intercalated; but the success of the whole experiment is supposed to depend on an accurate adherence to rule, bringing the powers of the soul in fact into ac-

cordance with the hands of the clock. The mind, be it observed, is to be materialized, and made to act as a machine. One of the earliest exercises is to sift the conscience, and diminish by degrees the besetting sins. This the novice is enjoined to do three times every day; and after supper he is to notice the frequency with which any one specified sin has recurred, and note the number by dots marked at equal distances upon a line. If due diligence be used in checking this one evil propensity, each day's dotted line of actual transgressions will be a little shorter than the one above it, and so onward from day to day, until the persecuted sin has been reduced to an infinitesimal quantity. This geometrical mode of overcoming the depravity of the heart, it may well be imagined, is in accordance with the whole system, which is nothing else than one of organized self-deception. We will now give a specimen of the "spiritual contemplations," which form a part of the prescribed treatment, when the reader will detect how much is adapted to affect the heart, and how much to materialize the fancy. We will take a contemplation concerning hell:—

"The first prelude is here the forming the place, which is set before the eyes of the imagination, the length, breadth, and depth of hell. The second consists in asking for an intimate perception of the punishments which the damned undergo; that if at any time I should be forgetful of the love of God, at least the fear of punishment may restrain me from sins. The first point is to *see*, by the imagination, the vast fires of hell, and the souls enclosed in certain fiery bodies, as it were in dungeons. The second is to *hear*, in imagination, the lamentations, the howlings, the exclamations, and the blasphemies against Christ and his saints which are thence breaking forth. The third is to perceive by the *smell*, also of the imagination, the smoke, the brimstone, and the stench of a kind of sink, or filth and of putrefaction. The fourth is to *taste*, in like manner, those most bitter things, as the tears, the rottenness, and the worm of conscience. The fifth to *touch*, in a manner, these fires, by the touch of which the souls themselves are burnt."

We might be disposed to ask what possible good such meditations can effect? As to diminishing sinful dispositions, or guarding the soul against temptation, we are sure that no such result can accrue. The point to be ascertained is, how such discipline moulds the Jesuit. The explanation is to be sought in connexion with the primary law of obedience. We are to observe that these hours of sensuous meditation are accompanied by a routine of postures and penances. Sometimes the patient is to kneel on the ground, sometimes to lie on his face, at others on his back, now sitting or standing; and composing

himself in the way in which he may hope the more easily to attain what he desires. He is to deprive himself of all the brightness of the light; shutting the doors and windows so long as he remains in his cell, except while he has to read or to take his food. Penance also is enjoined of different kinds, rigid fasting, interruption of the natural rest, and the wearing of hair-cloth, bodily castigation, or other austerities. Besides, from the moment of entering the society,—

"The Jesuit is allowed to recognise no ties of blood, no brethren but those of his order, no earthly sovereign besides his general, no tribunal but those of his ghostly superiors, no subjection but to their rules, no property but the revenues and privileges of his order; he has in fact no country, no home but the province into which the command of his supreme ruler has transferred him as his subject, which he is equally ready to exchange for any other at his nod; and thus thoroughly dissevered from all the sacred bands of country and of kindred, he lives and acts the enslaved tool of an invisible and yet most worldly community."—*The Jesuits as they were and are*, p. 56.

Coupling the self-annihilation thus eloquently described with the discipline to which we have alluded, it is not difficult to see how the one is preparatory to the other. This hearing, smelling, and tasting with the fancy, this seclusion in a dark room with the body irritated by hair shirts, and the strength impaired by severe fasts, can develop no power of the mind, but may establish the habit of rendering an irrational obedience. It is a self-annihilation without a regenerative process. To use the language of Scripture, the "old man is crucified," but the spiritual man is not renewed. All that was vital in the individual is crushed; and nought remains but the machine fitted to do the behests of a tyrannical superior. There can be no question that the whole of the Jesuit system is intended to paralyse the conscience, and well nigh ignore its existence. If the name of conscience remains in their vocabulary, assuredly it has a new definition. According to our ideas it is something which belongs to a free agent—a guiding principle within the breast, by the intuitions of which a line of conduct is at any required moment pointed out. An enlightened conscience is a laconic code of laws, and their brevity gives promptness to all decisions made *in foro*. It is a suspicious feature of Jesuitism on the other hand, that so much has been written by the members of the Society on casuistry. Why so many moralists? whence those ponderous tomes? How useful is it, exclaims Pascal ironically, that a number of authors have written upon moral theology! "Quam utile sit de Theologiâ morali multos scribere!" The reason is evident. The directing power over

the individual is transferred to an external authority, and the beautiful law of conscience which God has "written upon the heart," is compelled to make way for an elaborate system of casuistry and a tyrannical practice of confession. Hence the spiritual exercises and their preparatory influence. As in a different species of enlistment the recruit is generally reduced to a state of moral and physical bewilderment before he is persuaded to resign his liberty for military servitude, so the Jesuit novice is made to drink these drugged potations, and is at the end of his month utterly unable to act according to any other will than that of his director.

We have alluded to Jesuit casuistry. It will be needful to say a few more words upon this branch of the subject. It will appear paradoxical in commenting upon the written principles of morality as set forth by the Jesuit body to acquiesce in the following admission of Mr. Seymour with regard to their condition in the year 1850:—

"The Jesuits are zealous, stirring, active, untiring in the cause of their religion and their church, while the others are inactive, lazy, indolent, and careless of everything. In the city of Rome, the monks and friars, with the exception of the Jesuits have no one characteristic to recommend them to the wise and good; and the absence of learning, the lazy indifference, the occasions of scandal, so unhappily characteristic of many, has so strongly contrasted with the learning, the activity, and the moral lives of the Jesuits, that it may well be believed, that the good character of one is built in a great measure on the ill character of the other."—*Mornings with the Jesuits*, p. 16.

We have already alluded to the implicit obedience required of every Jesuit which Loyola himself enjoined, and has been the distinguishing characteristic of the order down to the present day. It is an obedience which requires the surrender not only of the will but of the conscience, which the unhappy devotee is compelled to yield on the supposition that the responsibility of the act rests not with himself, but with his superior who gave the order; out of this arises what is technically called the "doctrine of probability." It may be thus enunciated; if any doctrine, however much at variance with our preconceived notions of truth, be countenanced by one or more approved writers, there is a *probability* that it is true, and as such becomes binding. A more atrocious sophism was never laid down, nor one more absurd. The Catholic, Pascal, was as much astonished at hearing the doctrine from Jesuit lips as our Protestant friend, Mr. Seymour. Pascal's Jesuit companion had been explaining to him how in a particular instance the decrees of the

popes had been superseded. How can this be reconciled, enquires he with astonishment?

"It is," replied the Father, "by the most subtle of all the modern methods, and by the most refined application of the doctrine of 'probability.' I will explain it. The affirmative and negative of the greater number of opinions have, in the judgment of our doctors, a certain measure of probability, and sufficient to allow of their being followed with a safe conscience. Not that the affirmative and negative can be both true in the same sense—that is impossible: but both being in this manner probable, both are safe."

He then illustrates his statement.

"My worthy father," exclaims Pascal, "the world is too happy to have you for its guides! How valuable are these probabilities! I was not aware before why you took so much pains to maintain that a single doctor, provided he were a learned one, could give a 'probable' opinion; and that one opposed to him might do the same; and that we are at liberty to choose the one that agrees most nearly with our own, although we may not be satisfied that it is the one nearest to the truth. And all this with so safe a conscience, that a confessor who should refuse absolution on the authority of these casuists, would suffer the penalty of damnation. I can now readily conclude, that a single casuist may at his pleasure establish new rules of morality, and regulate according to his fancy the whole course of men's conduct."—*Provincial Letters.* Letter VI.

A similar statement from the Padre Mazio causes Mr. Seymour to exclaim,—

"All this came upon me like an electric shock. I had often read and heard of such things; I had often observed that the whole was involved in the well-known doctrine of the Jesuit writers on morals, called *probability; i.e.* if any man or number of men approve of any act, be that act what it may, then there is a probability, more or less great, that the act may be done lawfully."

Now we might listen with patience to the Jesuit theory of probabilities if it had any correspondence with the principles laid down by such investigators as Fermat, the brothers Bernoulli, or La Place. The latter said of the doctrine of chances, that it was "le bon sens réduit au calcul;" but in the theory of the "society," we have neither "common sense" nor "accurate calculation." Let us hear what is said by a profound mathematician, who has within the last five years written luminously upon the subject.

"The calculation of probabilities is but an instrument intended to give method to labours of investigation. It ought to help us in classi-

fying to the greatest advantage any given series of observations, in making a correct estimate of the documents placed in our hands, in discriminating those which have the greatest weight, and continuing them in such a way as to exhibit the smallest difference possible from the true result, and in reckoning with precision the amount of confidence which may be placed in the conclusions. The theory of probabilities teaches after all how to do with regularity and method what is now done even by the most judicious minds in a way more or less vague."—Quetelet. *Lettres sur la Theorie des Probabilités appliquée aux Sciences, Morales et Politiques.* Bruxelles. 1846.

Now the Jesuit practice is diametrically opposed to the scientific theory. The affirmative and negative are both probable and safe, although one or other may have but few authorities cited in its favour. The probability of any event depends on the number of times which that event occurs compared with the whole number in which it can occur. Until therefore we know the measure of *certainty* we cannot measure the ratio which expresses the probability. If a dozen balls are to be taken out of an urn which contains white and black ones, we can only begin to speculate on the probable ratio of white to black among those which will emerge when we know the respective numbers which the urn contains. And conversely we can guess at the relative numbers in the urn with increasing certainty as we multiply the experiment of taking out balls, observing their proportions each time and replacing them. The accuracy of the guess, says Quetelet, increases with the square root of the number of observations. Now in what manner do the Jesuits apply the principle? Is a given act a virtue or a sin? (a white or a black ball.) They go to the urn; they consult the casuists; they draw a single white ball—Molina, Emanuel Sa, or Escobar palliates some enormity, or as we may consistently express it, makes black appear white. Here is a probability. No further enquiry is made as to the opinions of the remainder, and even if the tirage is of three balls, two of which are unfavourable, by which the probability in favour of white is materially diminished, the wished-for opinion is grasped, and the act is committed as if by authority. But the wickedness of this sophistry consists in the gross absurdity of regarding moral truth as a matter of probability or calculation. Matters of fact can alone be the subjects of such a process. We may express by decimal fractions the probability of an event to which there is conflicting testimony, or we may measure the contingent probabilities when the evidence has been transferred from one witness to another, picking up divers elements of uncertainty at each step; but all the testimony in the world can-

not make me believe that to be right which my conscience tells me to be wrong, and if the Jesuit society records its united evidence that a given practice is right, I commit sin if I think it to be wrong, though it should turn out subsequently that I was mistaken in my opinion.

The paradox of Jesuit morality is alone to be solved by a reference to the confessional as the great instrument by which the society retains its influence over mankind. We style it a paradox that the most moral in act of Catholic ecclesiastics should be the most immoral in doctrine. Now it is to be remembered that the Jesuit hears the secret confessions of all classes of society, from the most devout to the most profligate; that he regulates the austerities of the secluded nun, and preserves in the pale of the church the unbelieving or the dissipated courtier. He must therefore combine in himself the rigid practice of Catholic devotion and a familiarity with maxims and principles current in the world. He must shew the ascetic how to be still more devout; he must be prepared to give latitude to the man of rank, lest haply too great a restraint upon his pleasures should drive him from the confessional. Hence with the former he harmonizes in outward observance; with the latter, in the laxity of moral principles. The relaxation of Christian morals is indeed the most abominable feature of the whole system. It would seem as if every ingenuity prompted by human depravity had been employed to find palliations for crime. The valuable little work, entitled "*The Jesuits as they were and are,*" contains some forcible passages on this subject; indeed it may be regarded as suitable for wide circulation in these days in order that unsuspecting minds may be placed on their guard. We quote the following remark :—

"Whoever is desirous of learning the details of the Jesuit code of morals, and obtaining a full view of the depths of abomination contained in it, may be referred to a work entitled 'Morality and Polity of the Jesuits,' extracted by Ellendorf (that admirable and too early lost contender for truth and right) from the writings of the most distinguished theological Jesuit authors; by which he not only displays the infamous morality held and inculcated by the order, but proves the defence set up that 'the evil principles and practices of some two hundred Jesuit writers ought not to be laid to the charge of the whole body,' untenable, by simply shewing, 'that all which the writers on theology, morals, and policy, belonging to the order have published of an evil and abhorrent nature and tendency, has appeared with the formal approving sanction of their superiors.' The foundation-stone of the Jesuit moral code, is the maxim that 'the end sanctifies the means;' a principle which, were it followed by all mankind, would soon banish

good faith from human society, and transform the most hideous crimes into virtues; rending asunder every holy tie, whether of family or of state. It is the most daring mockery ever perpetrated against the sublime maxim of our Saviour, who in the exercise of the highest self-sacrificing love, gave himself up to death for all men; the Saviour too whose name the society has presumed to adopt, and still bears. The conclusions drawn by the Jesuits from the above sinful premises, are shortly these: that God does not, as supreme Judge, estimate the outward act so much as the secret motive of the agent; and hence no action, how immoral and criminal soever in human judgment, is really so, unless the *secret intention* be evil: if therefore an evildoer can only assign a good motive for his deed, or substitute an alleged for the real one, he is justified! Now what follows from this? Not merely that every crime admits of an after justification, but that it may be committed without even a scruple of conscience! And this frightful theory the Jesuits have carried out into a perfect science."—*The Jesuits*, p. 76.

Pascal obtained most flagrant admissions of the profligacy of the Jesuit code from the Father with whom he held conferences. He sifted him, for example, on the subject of the resentment of injuries. "Might not the intention be so regulated," he asked, "as that death might be inflicted for giving another the lie?" "Certainly," he replied, "according to our father Baldelli, l. iii, disp. iv., n. 24, reported by Escobar, in the same place, n. 49: 'It is lawful to slay one that gives you the lie, if he cannot be reproved in any other way.' And, in the same manner, life may be taken for defamation; for Sessius, whom among others Père Hereau follows, word for word, says in the place before quoted, 'If a man endeavours to ruin my reputation by calumnies uttered before trustworthy persons, and I have no way to rid myself of his injuries but by taking his life, may I do so?' 'Yes,' say our modern authorities; 'and that even if the offence imputed be founded in fact, provided it have been heretofore concealed, and it be one that could not have been brought to light by the ordinary course of justice. And this is the proof: if you seek to wound my honour by the infliction of a blow, I have the means of averting it by strength of arm; it follows then that a similar defence is lawful if you aim at injuring me by word of mouth. Furthermore, we may protect ourselves from insults; we may equally do so from defamation. Finally, honour is dearer to every one than life: now, we are allowed to kill another to defend life, therefore we may kill to defend our honour.'" It may readily be conceived how the law of God is made of none effect by these and similar traditions. The mass of Protestants are unwilling to believe that such doctrines are maintained, both because they are disinclined to rake up the pestilential corruptions of the casuists,

and because they are too ready to accept the disavowal put forward by members of the Roman church. But the traces of this sophistry are to be found in every country where the Jesuits have had extended influence. Equivocation, mental reservation, and all the sophistry which lends to a bad act, the tinsel of a plausible motive, are familiar instruments of many who have been brought up in the lap of this conscience-deadening religion. Among whom do we expect to find the perfection of low cunning, of artful word-fencing, of dallying with the sanctity of an oath? Among those, truly, who have been taught to regard a certain ecclesiastico-political confederacy in the light of a divine institution, and that all weapons are as lawful for the promotion of its interests as the sword in the hands of Joshua or of Gideon. The theory of toleration is better understood in this country and in our own days than it ever was before. Opinions, simply considered as such, are allowed free scope. A man may if he like persuade himself that the angles at the base of an isosceles triangle are not equal to one another; he may, with Primate Cullen, deny that the earth moves round the sun; and whilst we pity his ignorance, we do not imprison him or otherwise intrench upon his liberty: but the theory of toleration has the hardest of questions to solve when the party claiming toleration is such as three centuries of experience have uniformly proved the Jesuits to be.[u] Moreover they are driven from one country to another, they are scouted even by their own friends, and take refuge at length in the bosom of their enemies, shewing the viper's gratitude for the asylum which they receive, by infusing poison from their deadly fangs. Let us be taught by the voice of history, which makes itself heard

---

[u] Mosheim *(Eccles. Hist.*, vol. iv., p. 175) quotes a remarkable passage from a sermon preached by Dr. George Brown, Bishop of Dublin, in the year 1551, only *eleven years* subsequent to the establishment of the society by the bull of Paul III. "But there are a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves Jesuits, which will deceive many, who are much after the Scribes' and Pharisees' manner. Amongst the Jews they shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near to do it. For these sorts will turn themselves into several forms; with the heathens a heathenist, with the Atheists an Atheist, with the Jews a Jew, with the Reformers a Reformade, purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby bring you at last to be like the fool that said in his heart, There was no God. These shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into the counsels of princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts and the secrets therein, and yet they not perceive it; which will happen from falling from the law of God, by neglect of fulfilling the law of God, and by winking at their sins: yet in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of them, so that, at the end, they shall become odious to all nations. They shall be worse than Jews, having no resting-place upon earth, and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit."

with a clearness and uniformity that cannot be doubted. Specific developments of Jesuitism may deceive,—they may wear the most plausible disguises, but from its earliest childhood to the maturity of its subsequent growth, the society has been at variance with the laws of God and man. Loyola himself told his subordinates to immolate every ennobling principle when he commanded them to become *ac si cadaver* in reference to their superiors. And to the full have the fraternity carried out their founder's intention: they have individually become tools subservient to a central mind, which has been actuated by an uncompromising determination of bringing the whole of Christendom into spiritual subjection.

We have now endeavoured to lay before our readers a slight sketch of the origin of Jesuitism and its principles as a chapter in ecclesiastical history. We have commenced with a reference to Loyola, his fanaticism and his deep laid plans, and proceeded to shew the nature of the society, the training of its members, and the system of casuistry which has grown up among them. A deeply interesting question remains,—What is the Jesuitism which exists in our own day? This is an enquiry of considerable moment to all classes of society, and one that cannot satisfactorily be prosecuted without a careful investigation of the past. The society does not readily shew its real character. To all appearance it is engaged in a benevolent mission: its ministers have an unworldly aspect: all that is external commands respect, and obloquy would seem equally ungracious and calumnious. But in truth that which is essential to Jesuitism works underground: its name is mystery. As Englishmen we are unpractised in coping with espionage[v] and hidden conspiracy. We prefer

---

[v] *The Female Jesuit; or, the Spy in the Family*, is a clever narrative professing to throw some light on the operations of the society carried on in the bosom of families by means of female agency. It would appear that during the present century a new religious order has been formed in close connection with that of the Jesuits, consisting of females. The society is said to have been first established near Geneva, and to have spread itself over France, Germany, Italy, England, and Ireland, numbering upwards of twenty convents, and including in its community about five hundred nuns, novices, and lay sisters. It is to be confessed however, that the above work gives but little information that can be called authentic: it has not even a clear right to the title which has been adopted: it is a fragment of domestic real life of peculiar interest, and written in a lively engaging manner so as to enchain the attention. The heroine, however, is simply an impostor, who obtained eighteen months' board, lodging, and kind treatment by representing herself as a convert from Romanism, and a refugee from a nunnery. The former we believe her to be so far as intellectual enlightenment is concerned, for some chapters emanating from her own pen contain highly probable statements most damaging to the Romish church, and such as a Jesuit (which the authoress supposes her to have been) would never have ventured to bring forward. Added to this, she never attempted to circulate opinions inconsistent with Protestantism; no intercourse was discovered

throwing away suspicion and calling every man honest till overt acts force the contrary upon our convictions. Now there is evidence enough that neither place nor time changes the animus of the society. Does any one ask what is Jesuitism? Read its history, we reply, during the three centuries of its existence. Is the enquiry made what is Jesuitism in England? The same *mutatis mutandis* as in Italy. Here it is veiled; there it is nude.

Dr. Achilli and Mr. Seymour supply valuable evidence on this point. The former makes us acquainted with the acts, the latter with the principles of Jesuitism as it flourishes in a Roman atmosphere. Dr. Achilli's personal narrative is well worthy of perusal, as shewing the struggles of a well-instructed and truth-loving mind to be freed from Romish trammels. He is no ordinary convert from the religion of Rome. He had numerous friends amongst the more prominent of the church-dignitaries: he was himself professor of theology and vicar of the master of the sacred palace; he was therefore required to be well-informed in the doctrines of his own communion, and therefore his abandonment of them is all the more a triumph of the truth. The course which he pursued had its natural results, bonds, and imprisonment. He was a mark for the arrows of the Inquisition, and only escaped perpetual incarceration or even death by a series of circumstances which are familiar with us all in connexion with recent events transpiring in the eternal city. But what does Achilli tell us of the Jesuits? His evidence is to the effect that they are unchanged, that their intrigues are pushed forward as unweariedly as ever; indeed he confirms the suspicion that in whatever quarters Romanism has made advances, the Jesuits have been the proximate instruments. He gives us the prophecies of a Jesuit companion (pp. 171, 172), uttered in the year 1833, regarding the Rome-ward tendencies of certain parties in England. He describes the Jesuits as having a far greater share in their movement, and being in closer intercourse with those concerned in it, than the most suspicious amongst them would have dared to assert. The effects are all proleptically described, and that with an accuracy which makes us refer

---

with members of the Jesuit order: the family in which she resided (that of an amiable dissenting minister) presented but an indifferent *point d'appui* for the society's operations; obviously she rejoiced in finding so cheap and comfortable a home, and if the sham correspondence which she kept up with an imaginary Jesuit uncle and two or three *dramatis personæ* equally unreal, became laborious, it was no more so than any system of fraud becomes in the second year of its existence. The moral of the story, according to the authoress's own shewing, is bad; as it is a demonstration of the delicacy of finish with which hypocrisy may be elaborated. Every reader will take up the book with curiosity, read it with eagerness, and lay it down in disgust.

to the date in the title-page (1851), and remark, that the prophet of eighteen years back, who had scarcely had time to read the first half dozen of the *Tracts for the Times,* was wonderfully inspired. Dr. Achilli's experience of the Inquisition has unquestionably the stamp of truth, and will be received with great avidity. He tells us, what might have been expected, that the Jesuits are the secret spies of the holy office.

"To them no door is closed, no curtain drawn, no veil or shadow cast over secret or mystery. What they cannot learn from the men, they ascertain from the women; what the father will not disclose, the son will reveal; and what the master of the house may be desirous to hide, the servant may bring to light. The spy has need of frequent and lengthened research, whereas the Jesuit arrives at the fact at once. The confessional leads to many interesting discoveries; and where this is insufficient, much is learned even from the children in the schools." *Dealings with the Inquisition,* p. 155.

The very name of the Inquisition has always inspired horror, yet the nineteenth century finds the same machinery of darkness at work that was the reproach of the sixteenth. The accused is struck down by an unseen hand; he is not confronted with his accuser; he is often kept in ignorance of the crime laid to his charge; he is dragged into prison to undergo a sentence delivered by an irresponsible tribunal: if he die there by famine or the poison-cup, he has none to pity, no avenger of blood to take up his cause. Granted that the sword, the stake, and the rack will in some instances stay the advance of truth, what do they gain who wield these instruments? what is the state of those countries, social, political, and spiritual, which have achieved these ambiguous triumphs?

Mr. Seymour's *Mornings with the Jesuits* may be styled a masterly production, as ingenious in the mode in which it is carried out as it is original in plan. He succeeded admirably in ascertaining the principles of his Jesuit friends. He had a difficult task to accomplish; he wished to know their arguments, whether they were strong or weak, and was content with this view to occupy a position not altogether natural, that of appearing to be an enquirer who was beset with doubts about his own church. This was at least the impression entertained by the padri, and he did not altogether disabuse them of it: he was consequently unable to follow up any advantage when any of their arguments chanced to fail. There is a strong tone of reality pervading Mr. Seymour's pages, which we must admit refreshes us after the perusal of Dr. Achilli. We do not know whether Dr. Achilli ever submitted to the discipline of Loyola's spiritual exercises, but we have a strong conviction that the man who has

been thoroughly trained in Romanism never gets rid of the influence. It adheres to him like a variolous disorder, marking the skin even after the disease has been eradicated. Mr. Seymour is always frank, clear, and personally retiring, leaving the interest of his subject to maintain itself on its own merits, and caring little of or being the hero of his own narrative. It is possible that each author may be as sincere as the other; but the similarity of subject, and even in many respects of circumstances, suggests a comparison which leads us to remark this difference as a psychological fact—nothing more. We hope that Mr. Seymour's work, unpretending though it be, may go down to posterity with the *Lettres Provinciales*. He has at least renewed Pascal's attacks, and, like him, exposed to the sight of an astonished world the deadly workings of a pestilential heresy.

To the works of these accurate observers we must refer our readers. They exhibit well-established facts; and as the whole question is eminently practical, we are well satisfied that facts alone will be of permanent utility. Let Jesuitism be held up to the clear light of day, impartial minds will at once draw the inference of its dangerous nature being at once hostile to governments, enslaving to the mind, and fatal to the welfare of immortal souls.

C. D.

THE SABBATH DAY.

On the Divine Authority, Early Origin, Universality, and Perpetuity of the Sabbath.

At the commencement of this essay, it is the wish of the writer to call the attention of the readers of the *Journal of Sacred Literature* to a volume, entitled *The Christian Sabbath Considered in Various Aspects, by Ministers of Different Denominations*, with a preface by the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Nocl. The contributors to this work are some of the most distinguished ministers in Great Britain; and their views regarding the Sabbath may very fairly be considered as the views of the Christian church generally. The writers are sixteen in number, and each of them has nobly executed his task. The volume, as a whole, is a triumphant defence of the Sabbath in all its aspects, and must be regarded by every Christian who reads it as an invaluable treasure. It ought to be in the hands of all the lovers of the Bible, and all the friends of the sabbath.

Our attention has also been called to a pamphlet designated *An Inquiry into the Origin of Septenary Institutions, and the*

Authority for a Sabbatical Observance of the Modern Sunday. This production first made its appearance in the *Westminster Review,* and is now published in a pamphlet form. It is written against the divine authority, early origin, and Christian observance of the sabbath in all its aspects; and there appears reason to suspect a further intention to bring into disrepute the Jewish canonical scriptures. Our Saviour appealed to those scriptures, as testifying of him; and the apostle Paul affirms that they are all inspired. The *Inquiry into the Origin of Septenary Institutions,* notwithstanding its high pretensions, is a complete failure. The writer, in several places, discovers either a want of information, or want of candour, in not having recourse to the earliest and best sources of instruction on the subject of the septenary division of time. The author of the *Inquiry* also makes statements which are obviously not founded in matter of fact. These impeachments the writer trusts to be able to prove in the subsequent parts of this article.

The first paragraph in the *Inquiry into the Origin of Septenary Institutions* contains the subject matter dilated upon in the subsequent part of the article. It reads thus :—

"The septenary division of time has been frequently urged by theological writers as a proof of the divine origin of the sabbath. It is known that the week of seven days is an institution of great antiquity; one familiar to many eastern nations at the earliest period of which we have any record; but its universality, which is essential to the argument, has been too hastily assumed, and assumed upon no other foundation than the preconceived opinions which we are all of us apt to bring to every inquiry connected with the subject of religion.

"From a passage in Genesis in which the first reference to a sabbath occurs, the inference has been drawn (an inference not warranted by the text), that the first parents of the human race were taught by God himself to divide time into weeks, and to set apart a seventh portion as a day of rest and for religious purposes. If so, it would of course follow that this institution, or some traces of it, would be found among all nations; and the impression therefore on the minds of a large class of persons is a very natural one, that however much a sabbath may have fallen into disuse, or be now disregarded, the week of seven days has been kept by all generations of mankind from the days of the creation, and continues to be observed in every part of the world."

The fact, however (this writer says), is otherwise.

Now let us examine Genesis ii. 2, 3, for the purpose of ascertaining what evidence it contains of the septenary division of time, and of the divine authority for the observance of a weekly sabbath.

The language of the sacred text reads thus:—"And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it: because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made."

That our first parents were taught the septenary apportionment of time by the author of their existence, cannot properly be called an inference from the language under consideration: for the words of the inspired historian teach this division of time in the most plain and perspicuous manner. Every plain and unsophisticated man, on reading this language of Moses, without knowing anything of the learned ingenuity that has been employed to evade its obvious meaning, feels quite surprised on being told by some learned friend, that any man in his sober senses ever imagined that it could be understood in any other way, than as denoting that God instituted the sabbath day immediately after the work of creation was ended. When a Christian unacquainted with critical sophistry, points you to Genesis ii. 2, 3, as containing the primeval appointment of the sabbath, and the septenary division of time, if you tell him in reply that his construction of that passage has been denied by some learned critics, he looks you full in the face in amazement, as if he meant to say, "Well, if I cannot understand this apparently obvious passage, I may close the Bible altogether (a book intended by God for plain people); it is no better than a volume of enigmas, it must have a meaning totally different from what its language seems evidently to convey." The language of the historian of the creation must be understood as recording what took place at the time of the creation, as referring to the order of time as well as to the order of connection. There is not the least appearance that the language of Moses must be understood proleptically. No reason can be assigned that the writer in Genesis did not observe the order of time in the narrative which he has given. If the sabbath were appointed in commemoration of the work of creation, why should it not be appointed from the very first? If mankind had no sabbath to commemorate the work of creation for 2,500 years, for anything that appears, they might have lived without such an institution altogether. It might as well be argued, that Moses has not observed the order of time in the narrative which he has given us of the expulsion of Adam and Eve out of paradise, and that Cain and Abel were born prior to that occurrence, as to suppose that he has not observed the order of time in the institution of the sabbath. The language of the historian of the creation and of the institution

of the sabbath is easily understood; it requires no critical acumen in the ascertainment of its meaning; it is as plain and obvious as language can be. Ingenuity is requisite in evading the sense which the words of Moses in Genesis, respecting the appointment of the sabbath obviously convey; but none at all in finding out their real acceptation. Although the writer on the *Origin of Septenary Institutions,* to whom we have already alluded, asserts that the passage in Genesis which we have been reviewing does not contain an account of the weekly division of time, yet he assigns no reason for his assertion from the text itself nor does he enter upon any analysis of the words, nor shew from the *usus loquendi* of the language employed by the sacred historian, that it cannot mean that the sabbath was appointed immediately after the work of creation was finished. His *ipse dixit,* he seems to think will be quite satisfactory.

We may be allowed also to refer to an argument that has been employed against the primeval appointment of the sabbath. It is this, that the six days mentioned in the Mosaic account of the creation, do not mean literal days of twenty-four hours, but successive ages of indefinite extent. The advocates of this opinion, among other arguments in support of it, refer to the succession of organic remains found in the different strata of the earth, as corresponding with the Mosaic account of the order of creation. It may be doubted that this theory is borne out by facts. The historian of the creation being an inspired writer, we cannot accommodate his language to any geological theory. That the six days of the creation were natural days appears to be established by the language which Moses employs in reference to them. In speaking of them he says "the evening and the morning were the first day," and so of the rest. It is also manifest from Exod. xx. 8—11, that the days of the creation were natural days. In the fourth commandment, the people are directed to work six days and to rest on the seventh; and the reason annexed to this command is that God wrought six days and rested on the seventh. Now it must be conceded, that when the people are commanded to work six days and to rest on the seventh, that natural days are meant; the inference therefore is legitimate, that the six days during which God performed the work of creation were natural days also. It seems exceedingly unlikely that in the same sacred document the word "day" should be used in two different acceptations; that it should signify a natural day when used in reference to the employment of the people, and that it should denote a period of unlimited extent when used in reference to the work of God. It must, therefore, we apprehend, be acknowledged according to the esta-

blished rules which regulate language, that the argument against the primitive appointment of the sabbath, taken from the geological theory that the days of the creation were periods of indefinite length, is not conclusive.

We shall now have recourse to the septenary division of time, as corroborative and collateral evidence in confirmation of the interpretation which we have given of Genesis ii. 2, 3, and in proof that in that passage of Scripture we have a clear account of the primeval institution of the Sabbath. There are, as it seems to us, several clear indications contained in the Bible that both the antediluvian and postdiluvian inhabitants of the world were acquainted with a weekly division of time. Although these intimations may not afford the highest degree of evidence, yet they ought to be allowed their due weight by every one anxious to ascertain the true state of the matter regarding the primeval appointment of the Sabbath. The antiquarian will pay the most studious attention to every hint, on subjects connected with his archæological researches, and why should not the interpreter of the inspired pages avail himself of even the slightest circumstantial and collateral evidence, in confirmation of the most valuable and benevolent institutions of the Bible? The expositor of Scripture should study the book of God with at least the same candour and love of truth that characterizes men of science in their philosophical investigations. Why should men of letters exercise their ingenuity in evading evidence when they become expounders of the word of God, and look for it as for hidden treasure when they are unfolding the works of nature? With these impressions upon our minds, let us endeavour to ascertain what evidence the Bible affords of a septenary division of time, from the creation to the flood. This is a period which the writer of the *Inquiry into the Origin of Septenary Institutions* has passed over without any notice. Now, surely, this is not what an original and candid investigator ought to do. Surely no sincere lover of truth can reconcile it to his own mind, especially when writing upon a subject of the greatest interest to mankind, that he has neglected to attend to any available source of information.

We have no historical records of the antediluvian world, except what are contained in the Bible; and of course we must be exclusively indebted to the Scriptures for our knowledge of that period. Scanty and few as the records of this period confessedly are, yet we are not left without striking intimations of a septenary division of time, and the observance of a weekly Sabbath.

The first passage which occurs that appears to bear upon

the subject of the weekly division of time is Gen. iv. 3, 4. It reads thus, "In process of time it came to pass that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord; and Abel he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof." This portion of Scripture renders it exceedingly probable that a stated time was set apart at this period for divine worship; if this had not been the case, it is by no means likely that Cain and Abel, being in a state of hostility to each other, would have come together for religious purposes at all.

The phrase "in process of time" ought to be rendered *at the end of days*, and when thus translated it directly refers to the Sabbath, which was the end of the days, the last of the seven—the day on which God had ended the work of creation, and which he blessed and sanctified, because that in it he had rested from all his works which God created and made. Besides, at this early period we find the number seven used with peculiar significancy. On the curse being pronounced on Cain after he slew his brother, he was greatly alarmed, and said: "my punishment is greater than I can bear; for every one that findeth me shall slay me. And the Lord said unto him, whosoever slayeth Cain vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold." The employment of the word seven, on this occasion, by the Lord, makes it evident that it was a term in common use, and well understood: otherwise it would not have been employed at all, because God, in communicating his mind and will to men, must adopt their language, and use their words and phrases as they do, or he would not be understood. The peculiar use of the word seven is also manifest from the case of Lamech, when he says of himself, that if Cain be avenged seven-fold, truly Lamech seventy and seven-fold. These instances appear to furnish us in this early age with striking indications of a septenary division of time, and of the observance of a weekly sabbath.

The history of the deluge supplies us with several very forcible intimations of the existence of a sabbatic institution at that time. In Gen. vii. 4, we are told that the Lord said: "In seven days I will cause it to rain upon the earth." In this language we are informed that Noah was allowed seven days to prepare for entering the ark, and the world to repent. In Gen. viii. 7, 12, four days are mentioned—one on which the raven is sent forth, and on each of the other days the dove is sent forth, there being an interval of seven days between each of these occurrences. Now, it appears to us that each of these several facts proves very satisfactorily the existence of a septimal apportionment of time, and of a seventh day sabbath, for it is

exceedingly probable that each of the events took place on the sabbath day. We shall conclude our observations on the antediluvian period in the language which the Rev. John Jordan employs in his closing remarks on the same period, in the volume designated the *Christian Sabbath.*

"We think, then, we may say in conclusion, that with respect to these days and incidents in the account of the flood, they greatly tend to the conviction that such an institution as the sabbath had a primitive origin, they clearly prove a division of time into weeks, and that of itself alone is a strong presumption in favour of such a conviction, and they afford unmistakeable traces of that divine appointment which Moses declares was made in paradise itself."

In mentioning this gentleman's name, it behoves us to state that we regard his paper on the Christian Sabbath as a most valuable contribution in favour of the paradisiacal appointment of the sabbatic rest.

Let us now, in the first place, endeavour to ascertain what traces are found in the Bible of a septenary division of time, and of the observance of a weekly sabbath in the postdiluvian world; and in the next place, let us examine the pages of civil history, for the purpose of finding out what evidence they afford of the existence of the same usages in the same period. It is worthy of observation that the writer on *The Origin of Septenary Institutions,* to whom we have already referred, does not examine the Bible at all upon this subject; he confines himself exclusively to the records of civil history, a source of evidence some hundred of years later, and far less authentic, than what is contained in the Scriptures. It is exceedingly strange that any man in his sober senses could entertain the idea for a moment of writing an article on the primeval appointment of the Sabbath, and the origin of septenary institutions, without consulting the inspired volume on these interesting and important matters. Is it so, that this gentleman has not recourse to the Bible because he thinks the Bible is against him? This writer must have counted largely on the credulity of the public, if he imagined for a moment that an essay so partial in the production of evidence, and so inattentive to biblical usages, could have the slightest effect in the final settlement of the question on which he wrote.

Having premised these observations, let us now examine the records of inspiration for evidence of the existence of a sabbatical rest among the postdiluvians. Noah and his family, we are told in the Bible, on leaving the ark travelled westward, following the course of the Euphrates, until they came into the plain of Shinar, and there they commenced building a city and of a tower, for the purpose of making themselves a name, and

preventing their being scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. The erection of this city and tower they began in direct opposition to the command of God, who had ordered them to be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth. To prevent the establishment of a universal monarchy, and for the purpose of scattering the inhabitants of the plain over the earth, God confounded their language, and compelled them to abandon their rebellious undertaking. The result of the confusion of the speech of the builders of Babel was that the Shemites peopled a large portion of the south of Asia, and the isles adjacent. The true church was almost entirely confined to the posterity of Shem for about 2000 years before the advent of Christ, and the worship of the true God was especially maintained by the Hebrew nation. Japheth and his descendants wandered into Europe, and Ham and his posterity betook themselves to Canaan, and thence descended into Egypt, and ultimately spread themselves over the torrid wilds of Africa. We shall first trace the indications at this period of a septenary division of time, and of the observance of a weekly Sabbath among the posterity of Shem. The reasons for the adoption of such a course are obvious. The Jews, to whom were committed the oracles of God, were descended from this patriarch, and upon his family in these early ages, rested especially the blessing of the Lord God (Gen. ix. 26.) It is, therefore, more than probable that a sabbatic institution would be more carefully observed and respected among them than among others. Besides, we must bear in mind, in our researches respecting the existence of ancient religious institutions, that the Bible contains the only records which can be relied on with confidence. Now, that a hebdomadal division of time was well known among the Hebrews is evident from several portions of their history. In Genesis xxix. 27, 28, we are told that Jacob, who was married to two sisters, fulfilled the week of each; and in Judges xiv. 12, 15, 17, we are informed that Samson put forth a riddle to the Philistines, and that the time allowed them for the solution of it was the seven days of his bridal festivities. The ordinance of the passover also furnishes us with evidence of the septimal apportionment of time when it was instituted. In all likelihood, in Job i. 6 and ii. 1, reference is made to the sabbath, when it is said there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord. The month at this epoch consisted of 30 days, and the year of 360.

It is easy to account for the division of time into days, months, and years, but on what natural principle can we account for the division of time into weeks of seven days, rather than into

weeks of five or ten days? To us it appears fairly out of the question to imagine that the lunar month suggested such a division. Can any reason be assigned, having the slightest appearance of probability, that the lunar month led men to divide time into septenary portions? The mystical use of the number seven which prevailed among the early postdiluvians is also evidence of their acquaintance with a septimal division of time, as well as a proof of the paradisiacal appointment of the sabbath. The sacred writers frequently mention the number seven with peculiar significancy. In Job xlii. 8, we are told that this patriarch offered seven bullocks and seven rams for his friends. Balaam, on three several occasions, directed Balak to build seven altars, and he offered on each of them a bullock and a ram (Numb. xxiii. 1, 2.) Jacob bowed before Esau seven times (Gen. xxxiii. 3.) The priest was directed to sprinkle the blood seven times (Lev. iv. 6.) Elijah said to his servant "go" seven times (1 Kings, xviii. 43.) The child sneezed seven times (2 Kings, iv. 35.) Elisha directed Naaman to wash in the river Jordan seven times (2 Kings, v. 10.) In Pharaoh's dream we read of seven fat oxen and seven lean ones; of seven full ears of corn, and of seven that were blasted. The golden candlestick had seven branches. The seven trumpets were sounded by seven priests. The walls of Jericho were surrounded seven times. In the Apocalypse we read of seven churches, seven candlesticks, seven spirits, seven stars, seven lamps, seven seals, seven angels, seven vials, seven plagues, &c.

These are but a very few of the examples which are contained in the Scriptures of the mystical use of the word seven, as any one may see for himself by consulting a concordance.

Another argument in favour of the paradisiacal appointment of the Sabbath is taken from the historical account of the manna, contained in Exod. xvi. 21—30. From this narrative it is evident that the Israelites in the wilderness, previous to the delivery of the law at Mount Sinai, were acquainted with the institution of the sabbath. By comparing Exod. xvi. 1, 2, 15, with Exod. xix. 1, and xx. 1, 2, we shall find that the fall of the manna took place some time previous to the giving of the law. In the first passage we are told that the Israelites in the wilderness of Sin, between Elim and Sinai, murmured against Moses, and that on that occasion the manna was given them; in the other passages it is said that the law was given at Sinai a short time subsequent to the bestowment of the manna. This fact is most important in favour of the primeval appointment of the sabbath, because it affords us most satisfactory evidence that the Israelites did not derive their knowledge of the sabbath from the decalogue.

We shall now examine more particularly the 16th chapter of Exodus, for the purpose of showing that the Israelitish people were acquainted with a sabbath rest in the wilderness of Sin, where the manna fell. In the fifth verse of this chapter, Moses is ordered to direct the Israelites to gather a double quantity of manna on the sixth day. It is by no means probable, however, that either the people or the rulers were made acquainted with this fact until the time the rulers bring the conduct of the people before Moses, for gathering a double quantity of manna on the sixth day. The congregation of Israel, seeing the manna falling around them in greater quantities than usual, very likely conjectured that God had given it as a supply for the ensuing sabbath, and on that account, without consulting any one, gathered a double quantity. The rulers very probably thought the people had acted improperly. They knew that such manna as had been collected and kept overnight, bred worms and stank; and they may, therefore, have supposed that the people deliberately violated God's command, by gathering more than they required for immediate use. Besides, the rulers, during their residence in Egypt, and their journeyings out of it, might have contracted very lax notions respecting the observance of the sabbath; and as God had not made any exception with regard to days for the collection of manna, as far as they had learned, they may have thought that he would give manna on the sabbath day as well as on any other, and that the people were mistaken in thinking that, as far as gathering manna was concerned, God intended to make any difference between the sabbath day and the other days of the week. Under these impressions they bring the conduct of the people under the notice of Moses. On hearing the statements of the rulers, the Jewish legislator replies, the people of their own accord have done what the Lord hath said—to-morrow is the rest of the holy sabbath to the Lord. This, most unquestionably, is not the language which any lawgiver would employ in the formation of an original institution; on the contrary, it is the langaage which any one would use in calling the attention of a people to an ordinance with which they were familiarly acquainted. If a farmer among us, who had forgotten that to-morrow is the sabbath, should on Saturday night say to his servant: We must commence ploughing to-morrow,—the servant would naturally reply, in the language of Moses, "to-morrow is the sabbath"—clearly intimating that the sabbath was not a novel institution, but one with which his master was well acquainted. In the fifth verse, God informs Moses that he would give the Israelites twice as much manna on the sixth day as they gathered daily. For this singular promise the Lord

assigns no reason, clearly implying that none was necessary, and that Moses himself was well aware of the reason, without any information. If the reason were that the sabbath was then instituted for the first time, one would certainly expect that such a fact would have been formally stated. It is also said: "six days ye shall gather it, but on the seventh day, which is the sabbath, in it there shall be none; for that the Lord hath given you the sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth the bread of two days." In these words the sabbath is spoken of as an ordinance with which the people were intimately acquainted. A double quantity of manna was given on the sixth day, because the following, as the people well knew, was the sabbath, which was to be kept as a day of rest holy to the Lord. The sabbath is mentioned in the passage quoted above incidentally, in the recital of the miraculous supply of manna, without any notice of its being instituted for the first time on that occasion. There is a want of circumstantial detail which cannot at all be accounted for on the supposition that the language of the sacred historian contains the primitive appointment of the seventh day rest.

In concluding our observations on this part of our argument, we may confidently affirm that the whole phraseology of the portion of Exodus under consideration accords with the hypothesis, and with it only, that the sabbath was then an old institution, and one well known to the Israelites.

It is manifest also from the term "Remember" being employed in the fourth commandment, that the decalogue does not contain an account of the original appointment of the sabbath. Besides, in the fourth commandment the Israelites are required to observe the sabbath, because God rested from the works of creation on the seventh day, and blessed and sanctified it as a day of sacred rest; obviously referring to the primeval appointment of the sabbath in paradise. In Neh. ix. 14, the allusion is not to the first institution of the sabbath, but to the solemn proclamation of it to the Jewish people. In Ezekiel xx. 12, we have a declaration not of the time, but of the purposes for which the day was given; that in keeping it the people should remember God. The term "gave" does not refer to the original institution of the sabbath, but to the purpose for which it was urged upon the people of Israel. Beyond all reasonable doubt, then, Gen. ii. 2, 3, contains the account of the original appointment of the sabbath, or the Bible gives no account of its commencement at all.

It has been argued against the paradisiacal origin of the sabbath, that there is no mention of such an institution from

Adam to Moses, a period of 2,500 years. Now supposing for the present, for the sake of argument (although in the preceding part of this article we have proved the contrary), that the sacred writers do not refer to the observance of the sabbath during this long period, the question at issue is this; ought this silence in a rapid sketch of the history of the world for so long a time be regarded as a substantial argument against the appointment of the sabbath in paradise, or of its non-existence from Adam to Moses. May not the silence of the inspired writers during the period under consideration be evidence of the notoriety of the sabbath and of its strict observance under the patriarchal economy? If the want of reference to the sabbath from Adam to Moses is evidence of its non-existence during that period, it is also evidence that no time at all was set apart for religious services. But this could not be the case, because it would be incompatible with the existence of any religion at all during the period in question. The silence of the Bible about an ordinance for a series of time is no evidence against its antiquity, or conclusive for its non-observance during that epoch. We have a comparatively full account of the Jewish nation from Joshua to David, a space of 500 years, and yet there is not the remotest allusion to the sabbath; are we therefore to conclude that the Jews were without a sabbath during these 500 years? The history from Joshua to Jeremiah includes a period of 800 years, in the course of which circumcision is never named; are we then to infer that the Jews did not practise circumcision during this time? The children of Israel on the feast of ingathering were to dwell in booths for seven days, as we are told in Lev. xxiii. 39—44; but this institution was neglected from the time of Joshua the son of Nun, to the time that Nehemiah and his companions returned from the Babylonish captivity, a period of about 980 years. This want of observing the primitive appointment of booths, is no evidence that the institution originated with Nehemiah and his associates; neither is it any evidence against the paradisiacal appointment of the sabbath, that no record has been made of its existence from Adam to Moses. We have no account of the observance of circumcision from the settlement of the Israelites in the land of Canaan to the circumcision of our Lord, a period of about 1,435 years; yet it is by no means probable that the rite was neglected during that long time. There is no mention of the ordinance of sacrifices from the birth of Seth to the flood, a period of 1,500 years. We are not informed that the ancient patriarchs worshipped God in a family capacity; yet we would not be warranted on this account to conclude that they neglected that duty. If we

duly weigh these facts, and at the same time take into consideration the extreme shortness of the account which Moses has given of the ancient patriarchs, we think it will appear by no means surprising if it were true that he has not adverted to their observance of the sabbath day.

It has been urged as an argument against the early origin and perpetuity of the sabbath, that it was made a sign between God and Israel (Exod. xxxi. 13—17), and therefore that it was designed merely as a Jewish institution. This is a complete *non sequitur*. The existence of the rainbow before the flood did not unfit it for being a sign of the covenant with Noah that the earth should no more be destroyed by a deluge; neither did the primeval institution of the sabbath render it unfit to stand as a sign of the Israelitish covenant, especially as this covenant had not respect so much to the original appointment of the sabbath on the part of God, as to its observance on the part of the people. The design of God in making attention to the duties of the sabbath a sign between him and Israel, was that they might become a blessed and holy people. It is impossible for true religion to exist in any country where a sabbath is not observed. The observance of the sabbath as a criterion of character among the Israelites, could not in the least degree interfere with its observance among other nations. The fact that the sabbath was made a sign of the spiritual relationship between God and the Jews, did not cause it to cease to be a memorial of the divine perfections displayed in the works of creation. And if the Israelites were not released from the commemoration of the works of creation on the seventh day when it became a sign between them and God, the rest of mankind could not be affected by it in any way whatever. The appointment of the sabbath as a sign was subsequent to the promulgation of the decalogue, and cannot of course affect that law in any shape or form. That the day was made a sign to the Israelites, is therefore no evidence of the lateness of its origin, or of its abrogation at the termination of the Jewish polity.

Let us now attend to the evidence which civil history affords of a septenary division of time. We are informed by the writers of profane history, that all the Shemitic tribes in a state of heathenism still observe the septimal division of time which they had received by tradition from their ancestors. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says, that the septenary division of time has been uniformly observed over the eastern world. The Persians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Indians, Arabians, as well as the Israelites, divided time into weeks of seven days. Mrs. Somerville, in her work on the *Physical Sciences*, as quoted by the Rev. Mr.

Jordane, says, the period of seven days, by far the most permanent division of time, was used in India by the Brahmins, and that it was also found in the calendars of the Jews, Egyptians, Arabs, and Assyrians; and that it has existed among all successive generations of men. The writer *On the Origin of a Septenary Division of Time,* admits that the week of seven days is an institution of great antiquity; one familiar to many eastern nations at the earliest antiquity of which we have any record; but he also adds that its universality, which is essential to the argument, has been too hastily assumed. This writer, who deals a good deal in assertion, has not proved that any of the nations properly called ancient were unacquainted with the septenary division of time. Does this gentleman think that any one will believe with him, that it is essential to the argument in favour of the paradisiacal origin of the sabbath, that all the tribes of naked savages of the present time, and that all the nations of heathens of comparatively modern existence, observe weeks of seven days? If he does, he must have the organ of credibility largely developed, and must possess powers of believing of no ordinary kind.

The descendants of Japheth, who established themselves at an early period in Europe, do not appear to have been ignorant of a septenary division of time. The writer to whom we have already alluded, seems to us to deny this, because he employs it as an argument against the primeval appointment of the sabbath, that the Greeks divided their months into decades. It is not correct that the Greeks uniformly at all times divided their months into decades. The Attics adopted this division, but in earlier times the Greeks divided the month into two parts, *μὴν ἱστάμενος* the first, and *φθίνων* the second half. The decimal division of time adopted by the Attic Greeks is no more a proof that they were ignorant of a week of seven days, than the adoption of the same decimal division of time by the French in 1792, is a proof that they had never heard of a week of seven days. The Greeks, although acquainted with the septimal division of time, may have preferred the decimal, and changed their week of seven days into one of ten. They were under the influence of no religious scruples that would prevent them from effecting such a change, as they could have no particular regard for a septenary division of time as an ordinance of God that would prevent them from adopting any other division that would appear to them more convenient. In confirmation of the conjecture that the Greeks were perfectly acquainted with a septenary division of time, we can adduce the authority of Hesiod and Homer, who give us the earliest accounts of them. Hesiod says, *ἑ'βδομον ἱερον ἦμαρ*, "the seventh day is holy." Homer

and Callimachus give it the same title. Theophilus of Antioch says the day which all mankind celebrate. Porphyry says the Phœnicians consecrated one day in seven as holy. Linus says a seventh day is observed among saints or holy people. Lucian says the seventh day is given to school-boys as a holy day. Eusebius declares that almost all the philosophers and poets acknowledge the seventh day as holy. Clemens Alexandrinus says the Greeks as well as the Hebrews observe the seventh day as holy. Josephus says no city of Greeks or barbarians can be found which does not acknowledge a seventh day's rest from labour. Philo says the seventh day is a festival to every nation. Tibullus says the seventh day, which is kept holy by the Jews, is also a festival of the Roman women.[x] These several nations referred to cannot, it is plain, in the language of Dr. Dwight, have fallen upon this practice by chance; it is certain they did not derive it from the Jews. It follows therefore that they received it by tradition from a common source, and that source must have been Noah and his family. The names of the days of the week still in use among ourselves have been handed down to us by our Saxon ancestors, and derived from the heathen deities which they worshipped; and by means of them we are enabled to trace the origin of the sabbath to the very earliest ages of mankind.

The descendants of Ham, also, have left behind them in the wilds of Africa manifest traces of their enterprise, as well as of their acquaintance in primeval times with the appointment of the sabbath; and we are informed that even yet in their degraded condition, they still retain among them a knowledge of a seventh day rest. We need not prosecute this subject farther, for we have adduced circumstantial and corroborative evidence sufficient, and more than sufficient, to establish the exposition which we have given of Gen. ii. 2, 3, at the commencement of this article, namely that the sabbath was appointed by God himself in paradise in commemoration of the works of creation; and therefore designed, not for one nation or people, but for the benefit of the whole human race: the sabbath was made for man.

We shall now consider the question regarding the observance of a sabbath under the New Testament economy.

We have, in the preceding part of this article, already shewn that the sabbath was instituted in paradise, and that the patriarchs, both before and after the deluge, were acquainted with the septenary division of time, and of course with the sabbatic rest. We have also established the fact, that the Israelites, at the

[x] The original words of these several authors will be found in John Seldon's work, *De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Ebræorum,* lib. iii., c. 16.

time the manna was given them in the wilderness, were not ignorant of the existence of the weekly sabbath; and that at the time the law was given at Mount Sinai, the paradisiacal sabbath was enrolled as one of the commandments of the decalogue.

We may very fairly conclude, from the fact that the sabbath was instituted in paradise, that it was intended to be perpetually binding on the whole human family, unless it can be demonstrated that it was repealed by the same authority that enacted it. But there is no evidence on record that the law of the sabbath was ever repealed: on the very contrary, we are told by unerring authority, that the sabbath was made for man; not for Jews, not for one nation or people, but for the whole family of mankind. If a sabbath were necessary for Adam in a state of pristine felicity, surely his posterity require such an institution as much as he did. The day on which a weekly sabbath was to be observed, was merely a circumstantial occurrence, originating at first in the fact that six days were employed by God in the works of creation, and that a day could not reasonably be set apart in commemoration of the perfections displayed by the Deity in that amazing work until it was finished. No one can imagine that God designed, in the appointment of the paradisiacal sabbath, that exactly the same specific time should be observed in all parts of the world. Any one acquainted with the spherical form of the earth must know this to be impossible; and God Almighty does not require us to perform physical impossibilities. The real nature of the sabbath consists in this, that a seventh portion of time be set apart for the benefit of man and the animals employed in his service. It would not alter the nature of the sabbatic institution, if the Almighty were to require the sabbath to be observed on any day in the week. A weekly market might be changed from any day in the week to another, without altering the nature of the institution. The sabbath being intended for the common benefit of mankind, for Gentile as well as for Jew, for men of every colour and every clime, it must, from its very nature, be equally obligatory on the whole human race in every age of the world. The Rev. Andrew Thompson, one of the contributors to the volume designated *The Christian Sabbath,* in an exceedingly well written paper, says:—

"Whether that day (the sabbath) shall be the sixth, or the seventh, or the first, is a mere matter of external and positive appointment, which does not enter into the essence of the sabbath at all. The institution may remain intact, though the day be varied. Hence the command is, remember—not the seventh, but—the sabbath day, to keep it holy. Now let us imagine, that in the history of revolving ages, new manifestations of the divine character are made to the sons of men—

manifestations that exceed in glory that which the sabbath was first appointed to commemorate,—there would be no invasion of its essence, but an enhancing of its grandeur, and of its moral suggestiveness, were it to be constituted the memorial of these sublimer manifestations. It would still be the sabbath, the day set apart for the meditation of the divine character, as it has been more fully unveiled in successive revelations."

Now this is what has actually taken place in the mediation and atonement of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. When God formed the fair system of this world, his wisdom, power, and goodness shone with unclouded lustre; but to the gospel it was reserved to exhibit the divine being in all his amiableness, shining forth in the splendour of mercy and truth. Now can anything be more in accordance with the nature of the case, than that the day on which the Saviour burst the barriers of the tomb, and triumphed over death and the grave, having accomplished eternal redemption for us, should be kept as a perpetual memorial of him? Still it is the same sabbath that was instituted in paradise that we now observe, although the day on which we observe it is changed. As the ark, the chosen symbol of the divine presence, remained the same, although removed from the tabernacle to the temple, so the primeval sabbath remains the same, although the day of its observance is altered.

That the paradisiacal sabbath was re-enacted as a component part of the decalogue, when the law was given at Mount Sinai, furnishes us with the most satisfactory evidence that it is obligatory upon us under the present economy. The man who denies the perpetual obligation of the sabbath on Christians, denies the moral obligation of the whole of the commands of the decalogue; for there is no medium between a denial of the authority of the sabbath as a universal law, and a renunciation of the whole law of which it is a part. The apostle Paul (Rom. iii. 31), declares in the most emphatic language, that believers are under the law, when he says, "Do we make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law." The sense in which the apostle employs the term law is evident from Rom. vii. 7, where he tells us he had not known sin, but by the law: "for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet." This language is a plain reference to the tenth commandment of the decalogue, and clearly shews that the law established by the gospel is the law of the ten commandments. The apostle Paul most unequivocally asserts that believers are under the strongest obligations to render obedience to the moral law, as a rule of inward and outward sanctity. Antinomians totally mistake Paul's meaning in the sixth chapter of the epistle to the Romans, when they cite portions of it to prove that believers

are not under law in any shape or form; whereas the apostle only means that believers are not under the law as a broken covenant, in order to be justified by it. In addition to what has been said in confirmation of the fact, that Christians are under the law of the ten commandments, consult Rom. vii. 22; Gal. iii. 24; Luke xvi. 17; Rom. xiii. 9; 1 Cor. ix. 21; Matt. xxii. 34, 40.

Our Saviour, during his sojournings among his countrymen, never said or did anything calculated to lead them to think that the moral law would ever be abolished. On the contrary, in Matt. v., he corrected the false interpretations which the leaders among the Jews had put upon the decalogue. They understood their moral code as referring merely to external conduct; whereas the Saviour taught them that it extended to the secret workings of the mind, and condemned sin in thought, as well as when brought forth into actual commission. He did not supersede the decalogue by establishing among them a new law of morals, of a purer and higher character than the old one. The truth is a more perfect law could not be established, as is manifest from the exposition Christ gave of it to a lawyer among the Pharisees, on being asked by him which is the great commandment in the law? Jesus (we are told) said unto him, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." What law could be given to man more extensive and purer than this? And again he says, "I am not come to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil. Now the only way in which the moral law could be fulfilled was by upholding its authority. No evidence can be stronger in favour of the perpetual obligation of the sabbath, than that which is furnished by the fact that the fourth commandment is one of the commands of the decalogue. And this evidence will remain in full force, until it is proved that Christ and his apostles were the ministers of sin, and that the whole of the moral law is abolished under the present dispensation.

It is objected to the perpetuity of the sabbath under the present economy, that it was imposed upon the Jews with such strictness and rigour as to render it totally unsuitable to the genius of the gospel. In Exod. xvi. 29, the Israelites are directed not to move out of their places on the sabbath day; and in Exod. xxxv. 3, they are prohibited from kindling a fire on the sabbath. The prohibition against going out of their places on the seventh day was evidently given in reference to the gathering of manna, —they were not to move out of their places in search of manna.

The Jews held their religious convocations on the sabbath, and must, therefore, have moved out of their habitations to attend them. In Matt. xii. 1, 8, we have an account of the pharisees being in the field on the sabbath, and finding fault with the disciples of our Lord for plucking the ears of corn and eating them on that day; but they do not seem to have had any notion that either they or the disciples had broken the sabbath by being in the field, and, of course, out of their places, on the seventh day. Our Saviour on this occasion vindicates the conduct of his disciples in plucking the ears of corn, and corrects the mistaken views of the Pharisees, who made the sabbath much more stringent than God himself had made it. He informs them that they misunderstood the end and design of the sabbath, in thinking that it prohibited works of necessity and mercy. He asks them if they had ever read "what David did when he was an hungered, and they that were with him—how he entered the house of God, and did eat the shew-bread, which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them that were with him, but only for the priests? Or have ye not read in the law, how that on the sabbath day the priests in the temple profane the sabbath, and are blameless? If ye had known (says the Saviour) what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless. The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath, wherefore it is lawful to do good on the sabbath day; to save life, but not to destroy it." The order against kindling a fire was, in all likelihood, intended to prevent the people from making fires for the purpose of carrying on the work of the sanctuary, about to be commenced, the importance and sacredness of which they might regard as justifying them in such breach of the sabbath. The manna being gathered and cooked on the sixth day, a fire in a burning wildernesss was not necessary, unless for some secular employment. To keep them out of the way of temptation, they were commanded not to kindle a fire at all on the sabbath day. The kindling of a fire, however, in all ordinary circumstances, for the purposes of comfort and refreshment, would rather tend to promote than hinder the sanctity of the sabbath. The decisions of the Jews respecting the length of a sabbath day's journey, receive no sanction from the law of Moses. Under the Mosaic economy children were circumcised on the sabbath, and people of all sorts went through the labour that was necessary to sustain life in themselves and in their cattle, and yet they were blameless. Such labour was not inconsistent with the sanctification and real design of the sabbath. The sabbatic rest under the Mosaic dispensation required no more strictness than it does under the

present economy. The Jews were prohibited from transacting any business on the sabbath; works of necessity and mercy being alone excepted. In Isaiah lviii. 13, 14, they are forbidden to find their own pleasures on the sabbath, and this language must be understood as prohibiting them from engaging in their ordinary recreations and diversions, as well as from speaking their own words, from conversing about worldly matters or making bargains. See also Exod. xvi. 23, and xx. 10, Neh. xiii., Jer. xvii. 21, Lev. xxiii. 3, Neh. x. 31, Exod. xxxi. 15, Lev. xxvi. 34, 35, Ezek. xx. For neglecting to observe the sabbath the Jewish nation was almost destroyed, and their land lay for the space of seventy years in a state of desolation. The sabbath, as instituted in paradise, required the same strictness of observance as it did under the economy of Moses. God, at the very primeval appointment of it, blessed and sanctified it as a day of rest from the ordinary avocations of life. God rested on the sabbath day from the work of creation, the common work of the preceding six days, and after his example, we are to cease from the ordinary employments of life on the day of sacred rest. It was one leading object in the institution of the sabbath, that it should be a day of cessation from all worldly business. The truth is, that cessation from business, under all dispensations, is essential to the very existence of a sabbath—it is this that constitutes it a sabbath. This is a day which the Creator of the universe has set apart as a rest for all his creatures, for man, and as many of the inferior animals as are subservient to his use, and sharers in his toil. The sabbath is to the other days of the week what night is to day, and winter to summer. Were no such rest allowed, neither man nor beast would be able to sustain the unabated waste of labour for any great length of time. It is probable that, with the rest of the sabbath both man and beast are capable of doing as much work as they could do without it. Cessation from labour, then, is an indispensable part of sabbath observance; on that day we must give up the usual occupations of the week, whether bodily or mental. "Six days shalt thou labour and do thy work, but the seventh is the sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work, thou nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates." The rest of the sabbath is made obligatory upon all classes of men, —they must all give up the common employments of life on this sacred day. It is true that from this universal rest of the sabbath there are certain exceptions usually comprised under the head of works of necessity and mercy; but we should take great care that the works which are allowed to break in upon the rest and quiet of the sabbath be really works of necessity.

In these cases we ought not to judge and feel as if we felt anxious to get rid of the obligations of the sabbath. The writer to whom we have already alluded as opposed to the sabbath does not object to its being continued during the Christian dispensation, on the ground of the strictness with which it was observed among the Jews, for he says, "the leading object of the sabbath was not religion in our sense of the term, but relaxation." A portion of the day, he thinks, was spent "in rational recreation, in visits to friends, pleasant walks, social pastime, the song and the dance." It would be curious to learn from what portion of the Scripture he has gained this information.

This gentleman, too, we are very sorry to be obliged to say, acts very disingenuously in quoting Parkhurst as an authority for the meaning of the Hebrew word קָדַשׁ, a derivative of which is translated "hallowed" in Exod. xx. 11. In order to confirm his statements that the sabbath was not required to be observed with religious solemnity, he says, "according to Parkhurst, the Hebrew root, cited above, signifies to separate, without conveying the idea of hallowing or setting apart the sabbath for religious services." The Hebrew Lexicographer is so far from sanctioning this notion, that he says the word signifies to set apart, to separate or appropriate to sacred or religious purposes, to sanctify, consecrate. And among other passages in confirmation of this meaning, he cites Gen. ii. 3, the very passage in dispute, so that Parkhurst is decidedly opposed to this gentleman when quoted fairly. Gesenius says, קָדַשׁ signifies physical purity and cleanness, to be holy, sacred, sanctus; and that this is its meaning in all the kindred dialects. We, therefore, trust our learned opponent will exercise greater caution when he quotes lexicographers as authorities again.

The penalty denounced against the violators of the sabbath Exod. xxxv. 2, has been employed as an argument to show that it is an ordinance unsuited to the Christian dispensation. It ought to be remembered that the penalty was no part of the commandment itself, but merely a part of the civil polity of the Jewish nation, added for the purpose of restraining the presumptuous transgressors of those commands which God intended as the fundamental laws of the kingdom of Israel. Idolatry, adultery, blasphemy, filial disobedience, were all punishable with death, as well as sabbath-breaking. Now, would any one say that on this account these commandments are abrogated under the Gospel, and that the duties enjoined in them are binding only during the Old Testament economy?

We shall now consider the evidence which the New Testament writers have left on record of the change of the sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week. Some Chris-

tians object to the change of the sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week, on the ground that some of the passages which we adduce in favour of this change are not properly translated. For example, they think the phrases τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, in John xx. 19; and ἐν, δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, in Acts xx. 7; and κατὰ μίαν (ἡμέραν) σαββάτων, in 1 Cor. xvi. 2, ought each to be translated "on one of the sabbaths," and not on the first day of the week, as the authorized version renders them. Now, in confirmation of the correctness of the translation, "the first day of the week," let us examine some other portions of Scripture where the same phrases are employed. In John xx. 1, we have the phrase τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων; now, to translate this, "on one of the sabbaths" would destroy the meaning of the language altogether. The Evangelist, without doubt, intends to convey the idea that the Saviour arose from the dead on the first day of the week, and not on one of the Jewish sabbaths. In Matt. xxviii. 1, we are told in the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn toward εἰς μίαν σαββάτων, the first day of the week came, &c. Now, to translate this language, "on one of the sabbaths," would destroy its meaning altogether. In Luke xxiv. 1, and Mark xvi. 2, the same phrase is employed in reference to the resurrection of Christ, and which must be translated "on the first day of the week," and not on one of the sabbaths. In Luke xviii. 12, the pharisee says he fasted δὶς τοῦ σαββάτου twice in the week, for it would be nonsense to say a man fasted twice on the sabbath. The word σαββάτον, by a metonymy, is occasionally put to signify a whole week. These things being premised, let us now see what authority we have for observing the first day of the week as the Christian sabbath from our Saviour and his apostles. In John xx. 19, we are told the disciples of our Lord met for religious purposes on the first day of the week, being the day on which their master arose from the dead, and we are also informed that when they were assembled, "Jesus came and stood in the midst of them, and said, peace be unto you," plainly showing that he sanctioned their meeting. In verse 26 of the same chapter, it is said they met eight days afterwards, "and Jesus was also present and made himself known to Thomas, and said, 'peace be unto you.'"

We have no evidence whatever that the disciples met on the seventh day; on the contrary, from a variety of circumstances connected with the sacred narrative, it is exceedingly probable that they did not meet on that day. It appears that Thomas was absent from the first meeting, and that when those who were present saw him, that they told him what had occurred, and that he was deeply interested in the facts of the case. When

the disciples came together again, Thomas was with them. Now it seems quite clear that there was no meeting on the seventh day previous to the second meeting; for if there had been one, it is not likely that Thomas would have been absent. If there were a meeting, there is no evidence that the Saviour was with them. But it is certain that he honoured them with his presence when they met on the first day of the week. Now the question very naturally occurs, why the disciples in holding their weekly meetings for religious purposes met on the first day of the week and not on the seventh? Now, will any one have the confidence to affirm that it was the mind and will of Jesus that his disciples should observe the seventh day, and that they positively disobeyed him? In giving them their commission to go into all the world and preach the gospel to all nations, he directed them to teach them to observe all things whatsoever he had commanded them. Is it at all likely that in organizing a gospel church, the apostles began with contravening the wishes and commands of their Master? Whatever they did as inspired men must be regarded as in perfect accordance with the mind of their Master.

Now as there is nothing in the nature of one day in the week more than another to prevent the sabbath from being changed from the seventh to the first day of the week; as the bare change of the sabbath from one day in the week to another could not affect the great natural and moral question of the sabbath; and as, moreover, there are many strong reasons independent of the example of the apostles for the observance of the first day of the week as the sabbath of the New Testament dispensation—it is, we might say, probable almost to certainty that the day was changed by the Saviour himself. This position is very much strengthened by what Christ himself says in Mark ii. 28: "The Son of man is Lord also of the sabbath day." The meaning of this language most unquestionably is, that Jesus Christ who was invested with all power both in heaven and earth, had an absolute right over the sabbath. We have seen that the sabbath was really changed from the seventh to the first day of the week. Now whether the change was made by an express command of the Saviour, or by the united concurrence of the apostles, does not seem to be of much importance; because the apostles had the promise of the Holy Spirit to guide them into all truth. There is satisfactory evidence that the apostles statedly met on the first day of the week for religious services as Christians. If they did not hold their religious meetings on the first day of the week, it will follow that they observed no sabbath at all, for they certainly did not observe the seventh day as their sabbath. That the Jews in Judea and in the countries whither they had gone, kept

the seventh day sacred, all will admit; and it is also probable that the Jewish converts might have rested on the seventh day in mere conformity with the usages of their country, whilst they regarded the first day of the week as their sabbath. The heathen converts, however, were never taught to consider the seventh day as sacred to the Lord, either in Jerusalem or out of it. This is a point that can never be proved, and yet it must be proved before we are justified in giving up the first day of the week as a Christian sabbath. In Acts ii. 1, we have an account of a meeting on the first day of the week. That the day of Pentecost was on the first day of the week, is evident from Lev. xxiii. 15, 16. Here then we have the disciples of our Lord, in the space of forty-nine days, at three different religious meetings, and all on the first day of the week; and we have not the slightest intimation that they met at any time on the seventh day. What is the reason of all this? The plain inference is that the apostles considered resting and attending religious services on the first day of the week as equivalent to the full observance of the fourth commandment. Is it wise, is it safe, is it proper for us to say they were wrong?

Let us next examine another strong passage in favour of the observance of the Christian sabbath on the first day of the week; it is Acts xx. 7, where we are told that when the disciples were gathered together to break bread on the first day of the week, Paul preached unto them. On this verse the learned Dr. Neander says, the question arises whether Paul put off his departure to the next day because he wished to celebrate the Sunday with this church; or whether the church met on the Sunday because Paul had fixed to leave Troas on the following day. There is not the slightest evidence that the church at Troas on this occasion held a special meeting for the purpose of hearing Paul preach. On the contrary, it is recorded in the narrative of the occurrence, that they met on the first day of the week—the usual day on which Christian churches were in the habit of meeting for divine service; and the specific object for which the church assembled is mentioned,—not to hear Paul, but to observe the ordinance of the Lord's supper. The apostle waited at Troas until the stated return of the weekly sabbath, when he might have an opportunity of meeting with the church and preaching to them. "At all events," says Neander, "we must deduce the origin of the religious observance of Sunday from the peculiar circumstances of Gentile Christians. Nothing can be more unfounded than the statement, that the sanctification of the first day of the week as a day of sacred rest originated with Christ himself and his apostles." Now it will be admitted by all reasonable men, that Christ arose from the dead on the first day of the week;

then it follows as a necessary consequence that the apostles met on the same day, that is, on the day of the Saviour's resurrection: the next meeting was eight days afterwards; they met also on the day of Pentecost and at Troas, still on the first day of the week. How will you account for this uniformity, always meeting on the first day of the week? In no other way, we humbly conceive, than by admitting the divine appointment of the first day of the week in commemoration of our risen Lord. It will not invalidate the force of this reasoning to say, as some do, that it was about twenty-six years from the day of Pentecost to the meeting at Troas; for the distance of time between the two points only shews the uniformity of the practice of observing the Lord's day to greater advantage. Let us next look at the evidence for the observance of the Christian sabbath on the first day of the week which is contained in 1 Cor. xvi. 2. It reads thus: "Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store; as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come." Dr. Neander says this passage certainly might mean that every one should bring with him the sum he had saved (during the week) to the meeting of the church, that thus the individual collections might be ready for Paul as soon as he came.

But this would be making, he thinks, a gratuitous supposition not at all required by the passage. We are so far from agreeing with Dr. Neander that this would be a gratuitous assumption not required by the connection of the passage, that we are satisfied this supposition is the only way in which gathering could be prevented on the arrival of the apostle. Surely the assumption that each individual laid by him in his own house a certain sum, would not prevent gathering when Paul would come. The only way to prevent this, would be for each contributor to put his money according as the Lord had prospered him in business during the week, into the hands of a common treasurer of the church on the first day of the week, the regular day of meeting for religious services. We have in this passage also a reference to the ancient week; six days of labour and one of rest; the only difference being that the sabbatic rest was changed from the seventh to the first day of the week. The Christians at Corinth are required to contribute out of their profits during six days of labour, and to deposit their contributions on the first day of the week with the treasurer of the church; but no one is supposed to work or to earn anything on the first day of the week—this was a day dedicated exclusively to the honour of God. The Corinthian Christians, then, were in the habit of meeting on the first day of the week. They were heathen converts, and they must, therefore, have observed

the first day of the week according to the direction of the apostles who planted Christianity among them. Human tradition is in this case fairly out of the question. The Corinthians were taught to observe the first day of the week as the Christian sabbath by the apostles themselves. Mosheim says, in his *Church History*, that in the first century all Christians were unanimous in setting apart the first day of the week on which the Saviour arose from the dead for the celebration of public worship. "This pious custom, which was derived from the church of Jerusalem, was founded upon the express appointment of the apostles, who themselves consecrated that day to the same sacred purpose, and was observed universally, as appears from the united testimony of the most credible writers." In Rev. i. 10, we are told that the apostle John was in the spirit on the Lord's day. Every Christian at that time knew the day that was intended by the Lord's day. It was the day on which all Christians worshipped God; it was the day spoken of by David as the day which God hath blessed; it was the day on which the Lord arose from the dead; the day on which the apostles first met their risen Lord; the day on which Thomas thrust his hand into the wounded side of his Lord and his God; the day on which the Holy Ghost was poured out on the infant church; the day on which the disciples habitually observed the Lord's supper; the day on which the Christian churches met everwhere for divine service. In the apostolic age, the propriety of celebrating the first day was never called in question. Now as other matters of less importance often caused bitter contention, such as the eating of meats, circumcision, and the keeping of the Jewish festivals; and as no difference of opinion ever existed about the observance of the sabbath on the first day of the week, the strong presumption is, that this matter was settled by the Lord himself, and that the apostles had nothing to do but to observe it in honour of Christ's resurrection, and to teach all who loved the Lord Jesus to do the same. The writer on the Septenary Division of Time, &c., quotes with approbation the language of an anti-sabbatarian, who says that the six texts which we have already explained, "constitute the whole of the evidence deducible from Christian Scriptures in proof of the divine institution of a Christian sabbath." Now this is not exactly true; but waiving this, might I not ask these co-partners against the sabbath, how many acts of parliament a counsellor would require to adduce in favour of his case in order to prove it true? Would six be enough? How many witnesses would be enough in their estimation to prove the truth of a fact? Would six be sufficient? Our Saviour says that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established.

It is argued also against the perpetuity of the sabbath under this dispensation that the apostle Paul, in Col. ii. 16, 17, evidently appears to consider it as a part of the Jewish ritual, and therefore not binding upon Christians as such. The passage reads thus: "Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of a holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath, which are a shadow of good things to come; but the body is of Christ." From the fact that sabbaths are connected with new moons and other ceremonial observances, and that these ordinances are called a shadow of good things to come, it is almost certain that the apostle in this place does not refer to the seventh-day sabbath, but merely to the Jewish holy days. The sabbath was appointed in paradise in commemoration of the perfections displayed by Deity in the works of creation, and could not properly be classed with new moons, or called a shadow. But if the word sabbaths do include the seventh-day sabbath, it can only refer to the day; and it is true that it was abolished and the first day of the week observed in its room under the new economy, as we have already abundantly proved.

Rom. xiv. 1—6, is also adduced to prove the non-existence of a sabbath under the present dispensation, where the apostle is supposed to teach that all days ought to be esteemed alike. Now there is demonstrative evidence against this interpretation, unless it can be shewn that Paul taught one thing and practised another; for most unquestionably he observed the first day of the week in commemoration of his risen master, and did not therefore esteem every day alike. Dr. Neander says upon this passage, that Paul considered it the most genuine Christianity to think every day alike, to hold none as peculiarly sacred to the Lord. The very contrary to this statement of Dr. Neander is most undoubtedly true. It is quite surprising that a man of the acquirements of Dr. Neander should be the author of such a puerile observation; but *aliquando bonus Homerus dormitat.* The case on which the apostle adjudicates in Rom. xiv. 1—6, regarded Jewish ceremonial observances. The dedication of the first day of the week to religious purposes, was never a subject of dispute among the primitive Christians. We must then, of course, understand the language of the apostle in reference to the matter litigated, and his meaning will then be that none of the six working days of the week is holier than another. If a lawyer were asked his opinion on a disputed case, in making his reply he would never think of giving a decision on a matter that nobody ever called in question. The observations of the apostle in the passage in Romans regarding days have no reference whatever to the first day of the week, for it was everywhere acknowledged as sacred, but they must be understood solely

in reference to Jewish holydays. That the first day of the week was sacredly observed in the age succeeding the apostles, as well as in the apostolic age is proved beyond all doubt by the writings of the ancient Christian fathers. Thus Ignatius, in his epistle to the Magnes, about A.D. 100, just six years after the death of John, says, "Let every friend of Christ celebrate the Lord's day;" he uses the very same expression that the apostle John used *την κυριακην*, this day, that is the first day of the week, he calls the Lord's day, the day consecrated to the resurrection. Caius Plinius Cæcilius Secundus, born A.D. 62, his letter to Trajan was written 107 from Bythinia, just seven years after Ignatius, and eleven after John was in the spirit on the Lord's day. One of the crimes laid to the charge of the Christians in Bithynia and Pontus was, that they were wont on a certain day to meet together before it was light, and to sing a hymn to Christ as unto God. Now that this stated day was the Lord's day we think we have already proved. But it may be asked, what does this prove? Why, it proves that the Christians in Bithynia did not observe the seventh day. That the Jews, both in Jerusalem and Pontus, met on the seventh day for divine worship was well known, both to Pliny and Trajan; and if the Christians had met on the same day, the great probability is that Pliny would have said so. Justin Martyr, who was born about this time in Neapolis, says, "On the Lord's day, all Christians in the city and in the country meet together, because that is the day of our Lord's resurrection; then those who are willing give what they think proper for the widows and orphans." This quotation is from Calmet, and it throws a flood of light on 1 Cor. xvi. 2, and Rev. i. 10. Irenæus, a disciple of Polycarp in 167, says, "On the Lord's day, every one of us keep the sabbath." This is a strong proof in favour of the change of the sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week. The fact is there is no getting over it. Theophilus of Antioch, 162, says, "Both custom and reason challenge from us that we should honour the Lord's day, seeing that it was on this day that the Lord Jesus Christ completed his resurrection from the dead." Dionysius of Corinth, 170, says, "To-day we celebrate the Lord's day." Tertullian, 192, says, "The Lord's day is the holyday of the Christian church." From these quotations it is evident that the Christians, both in the first and second centuries, did invariably observe the first day of the week as the Christian sabbath. From scripture, confirmed by primitive usage, it is manifest that we are justified in observing the first day of the week as the Christian sabbath. W. N.

DAVIDSON'S INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

An Introduction to the New Testament; containing an Examination of the most important questions relating to the Authority, Interpretation, and Integrity of the Canonical Books, with reference to the latest inquiries. By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D. Volume III. The first Epistle to Timothy to the end of the Apocalypse. London. Samuel Bagster & Sons, 1851.

THIS volume, by far the largest of the three, completes Dr. Davidson's valuable and elaborate Introduction to the New Testament. The English student has now within his reach a companion to the study of the records of the Christian faith, such as did not before exist in our language. We say this, without designing, in the slightest degree, to disparage anything in the form of Introduction which may have been previously in use among us. But, premising it, we must aver that, until now, we have had nothing of the kind in the English language, so complete, so fundamental, so elaborate, and so exhaustive of the subject, as this of Dr. Davidson; a work in which extensive reading, minute investigation, accurate scholarship, evangelical sentiment, profound reverence for God's holy truth, and the results of the latest inquiries of English and German theologians and critics, are happily combined. We may add to the qualities enumerated, a spirit of manly independence evinced by the Author's invariable effort to reach correct results, without thinking for a moment of modifying his views by what he suspects or knows to be the *tabooed* opinions, theological or critical, of the community at large. Such a qualification is absolutely essential to all fair, dispassionate, and successful investigation. A timid regard for traditional theology, a slavish fear of disturbing the current of popular opinion, a dread of being oracularly pronounced "unsound" or "heterodox," by persons who presume that they are infallible arbiters in all matters of faith and sentiment, will utterly unfit a man, however great his talents or attainments, for being a faithful and efficient expounder in the department of theology or sacred criticism. "The fear of man bringeth a snare."

We make these remarks, not as an apology for ourselves or Dr. Davidson, as if we were conscious of any departure from evangelical sentiments—quite the reverse: for to evangelical theology, as opposed to Tractarianism, Neology, or any form of no-creed Christianity, we are firmly attached, as the only saving,

sanctifying, life-giving truth, "the truth as it is in Jesus;" but we make them to convey our deep conviction, that the successful investigator of truth must be free. He must be unshackled by popular opinion, and by particular forms or creeds that are the productions of men no wiser or better, and, perhaps, more ignorant than himself. He must feel his solemn responsibility to God; all his researches must be conducted as in God's sight; he must love the truth, and aim simply and earnestly to find it. This we believe to be the case with Dr. Davidson, whether or not he has in every instance reached the right conclusion.

The plan which Dr. Davidson follows in treating of each epistle considered in this part of his work is essentially the same as that observed in relation to the preceding epistles. The first epistle of Timothy may serve as an example: 1. The history of Timothy himself, so far as it can be gathered from the New Testament; 2. Time at which the letter was written; 3. State of the Church when Paul left it under Timothy's superintendence; 4. Object which the writer had in view; 5. Contents of the Epistle; 6. Agreement of the contents with the specified purposes of the writer; 7. Authenticity of the epistle. It need only be observed, that the same ability is displayed in discussing these several points as appears in the preceding volumes. Admirably does Dr. Davidson display his tact and knowledge, in examining the agreement of the contents of the Pastoral Epistles with the specified purposes of the writer, and refuting the various objections of German critics. These objections are fairly stated and thoroughly refuted.

Having examined separately the Pastoral Epistles, Dr. Davidson devotes fifty-three additional pages to the question of their *authenticity*. He first states the external evidence *in their favour*, which is shown to be most satisfactory and complete; and then states and examines the internal evidence alleged *against* them. The latter evidence "is far too weak to be put over against the early ecclesiastical testimonies adduced" in their favour. The opposition to them was neither produced nor directed by "critical principles," but was rather "prompted by doctrinal prejudices." The objections of modern German critics to their authenticity are also stated and thoroughly canvassed. Those of De Wette, "the ablest representative of that class of critics whose doubts are likely to remain longest afloat," are selected for examination, because "they are likely to be entertained by the more sober German scholars." They are all derived from the epistles themselves, and are of various force; but whether strong or weak, they are manfully encountered and utterly demolished. It were hard to understand how

the most sceptical, having read Dr. Davidson's able disquisition, can force themselves any longer to doubt the authenticity of the pastoral epistles. We shall give one extract from this part of the volume, not simply as an example of the nature of the objections referred to, and of the mode in which they are answered, but as much for the sake of the sound exposition it contains :—

"Again, in Titus iii. 10, we find the following: 'A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject.' Here it is asserted that *αἱρετικός* is a late word, and the idea denoted by it a late one. It points to a time when the opposition between orthodoxy and heterodoxy in the Christian church became prominent. It is affirmed that the term in question signifies a person causing, or belonging to an *αἵρεσις*, which latter term is not used by Paul with reference to doctrine, according to De Wette.

"The true original meaning of *αἵρεσις* is a *sect* or *division*, and of course, *αἱρετικός* is one who promotes a division, sect, or party. This he may do from various causes. He may maintain *corrupt practices*, and on the strength of them form a faction in the church; or he may entertain *erroneous doctrines*, and on that ground become the author of a party. We know that corrupt practices spring from corrupt opinions, and therefore the term cannot properly be restricted to one who, maintaining some religious custom, peculiar rite, or unusual practice, becomes by that means the originator of a faction. As long as opinions and practices are inseparable, the word must mean *one who forms a party, from any cause whatever;* the context determining whether doctrine or practice be the immediate cause. Where Paul uses *αἵρεσις*, the term denotes the *men* composing a sect, not their opinions. He does not, however, speak of the cause or causes of the sect-making. He classes heresies among the works of the flesh, without specifying any particular thing about which, when professing Christians quarrel and divide, they form a sect or party. Hence doctrine is *not elsewhere excluded*, as lying at the foundation of sect-making. If so, it should not be excluded here. If *αἱρέσις* signify a *faction* or *sect*, composed of such as renounce communion with others for any reason whatever, *αἱρετικός* will mean a *sect-maker* or *promoter*, one who makes or promotes a division. He may do so by adopting corrupt opinions or practices, or both. In the present instance, the allusion seems to be to both, mainly to doctrine. It is idle to say, that because the term is nowhere else used by Paul, it expresses a new and later idea; for the same idea lies in the corresponding *αἵρεσις*, which is Pauline.

"We are happy to find that this interpretation agrees with that given by Dr. Campbell. 'Αἱρετικὸς ἄνθρωπος,' says he, "must mean one who is the founder of a sect, or, at least, who has the disposition to create *αἱρέσεις*, or sects in the community, and may properly be rendered a *factious man*. This version perfectly accords with the scope of the place, and suits the uniform import of the term *ἄιρεσις* from which

it is derived. The admonition here given to Titus is the same, though differently expressed, with that which he had given to 'the Romans, when he said, 'Mark them which cause divisions,' διχοστασίας ποιοῦντας, make parties or factions, and avoid them.' "—Rom. xvi, 17. pp. 129, 130.

To the epistle to the Hebrews Dr. Davidson devotes no less than 133 pages. With this part of the volume we have been particularly pleased, especially with the discussion relating to *Authorship*, which occupies the greater portion of the space allotted to this epistle. It is a fine specimen of clear, dispassionate, investigation. Dr. Davidson first examines and readily disposes of the claims set up on behalf of Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Luke, Silvanus or Silas, and Apollos. He then approaches the question, "Was Paul the author of the epistle to the Hebrews?" External evidence on the subject is first examined. "The Pauline authorship was disowned in the Western Church till the commencement of the fourth century." But then, on the other hand, the epistle was "received by the Alexandrian church from the earliest period as the production of Paul." "In the Greek church out of Egypt the current of tradition was the same." And "in the Syrian church the prevalent opinion was the same as in the Greek." The evidence is copiously stated, and afterwards admirably and conclusively summed up in favour of the Pauline authorship. Having gone through the external evidence, Dr. Davidson proceeds to the internal, detailing the arguments for and against with his usual candour, not unfrequently setting aside arguments adduced in favour of the Pauline authorship as weak and inconclusive, while the arguments against it are examined at length and refuted.

But while Dr. Davidson contends, and as we believe, successfully, for the Pauline authorship of the epistle, he readily admits that the style is not like Paul's. We shall give his conclusions on this point in his own words :—

"There is little fear that any well-grounded objection can be brought against our position viz., that Paul himself did not put the epistle into Greek, from a comparison of several discourses which he uttered as they are recorded in the Acts, especially those before the Athenians, Festus, and Agrippa. If it were certain that the very words of Paul were given in them, there would be force in the comparison; but while the influence of Luke, the writer, appears in the dress given to such discourses, our conclusion is not affected by them. That the oratorical tone in some part of them is like that of our epistle may be fairly allowed; but the circumstance merely shows the probability of Luke's having to do with the diction of our epistle.

"After an attentive study of the present epistle, we are thus brought to the position, that it did not receive its present form from the

apostle Paul. It is better Greek than his. The style and manner of it are different."—p. 253.

The position thus stated by Dr. Davidson was also maintained of old by Origen, who was certainly a most competent judge of Greek style and language. Origen, in an extract from his *Homilies on the epistle to the Hebrews*, preserved by Eusebius, speaks thus:—"The style of the epistle with the title 'to the Hebrews' has not the rudeness of speech which belongs to the apostle, who confessed himself rude in speech, that is, in phraseology. But the epistle is purer Greek in the texture of its style, as every one will allow who is able to discern differences of style." Again he says, "the ideas of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged writing of the apostle. Every one will confess the truth of this who attentively reads the apostle's writings." Afterwards, he adds, "I would say that the sentiments are the apostle's, but the language and composition, ἡ φράσις κα᾽ ἡ σύνθεσις, belong to some one who committed to writing what the apostle said, and, as it were, reduced to commentaries the things spoken by his master. If, then, any church receives this epistle as coming from Paul, let it be commended even for this; for it is not without reason that the ancients have handed it down as Paul's. But who wrote the epistle God only knows certainly. The account that has come down to us is various, some saying that Clement, who was Bishop of Rome, wrote the epistle; others that it was Luke, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts." Origen's own belief, "was, that the sentiments and ideas of the epistle belonged to the apostle, some other person having written them down in the form and style they possess." The *sense* was the apostle's; the *phraseology* that of a "friend or disciple," who "*penned* the ideas with the apostle's sanction or by his direction."—pp. 188, 198.

In a question of Greek criticism like this, Dr. Davidson's view is certainly entitled to claim such support as can be derived from the authority of Origen, a critic and scholar of eminence, writing and speaking the language to which the question relates. Origen *may* be wrong, but surely he was better qualified to give a judgment respecting his native language than we are. That there is an essential difference of style between this and the unquestioned epistles of Paul is beyond doubt. It is obvious in the English translation, and cannot fail to strike the minds even of those whose attention has not been specially directed to critical investigations.

Although the proof of the Pauline authorship of this epistle establishes its canonical authority also, yet Dr. Davidson proceeds to corroborate his argument, by adducing additional proofs

bearing specially on this point. The testimonies adduced are numerous and cogent. The epistle was "used and acknowledged as *Scripture* by Clement in Rome, writing to the church in Corinth, *i. e.*, about thirty years after it was written; by Justin Martyr, and probably by the Syrian church," as it is "contained in the *Peschito*, or old Syriac version, made in the second century." "Such is the credit it had obtained" as early as "the middle of the second century."

As to the persons to whom it was addressed, Dr. Davidson proves satisfactorily that they were "Christian Jews alone," and Christian Jews residing in Palestine, to whose "state and predilections" the letter is "exactly suited."

The theory of the Aramean original of the epistle, and the arguments adduced to sustain that theory, Dr. Davidson examines and refutes. The only consideration he allows to have weight, is that "drawn from the parties to whom the epistle is addressed," whose vernacular dialect was Aramean, not Greek. But our author shews that by the time this epistle was written (viz. A. D. 63), the Greek tongue had "encroached much on the vernacular dialect of the Hebrews." Besides which, the destruction of the Jewish metropolis, and the fall of the Jewish system, were rapidly approaching, when "the Jewish Christians would be more closely incorporated with the Gentiles in one body, with one common tongue." To have written in Hebrew would therefore "have been almost superfluous;" while "to write in Greek was to facilitate an amalgamation of all believers both Jews and Gentiles. Wisely, therefore, the apostle "consulted at once the benefit of the Jewish Christians in Palestine, and of all future believers, by writing in Greek."—p. 386.

The analysis of the contents furnished by Dr. Davidson is so clear and satisfactory as to supply an excellent guide to the study of the epistle. The current of thought, with its various interruptions, is admirably traced.

Before entering on the consideration of the catholic epistles individually, Dr. Davidson devotes several pages to an inquiry into the meaning of the general designation under which they are all included. His conclusions are these: that at first the term catholic was applied to 1 Peter, 1 John, and Jude, in the sense of "*intended for a wide circle* of readers, as distinguished from Paul's epistles, which were addressed for the most part to particular churches;" afterwards, the epistle of James, the second of Peter, and the first and second of John being added, the entire collection was called *catholic*, as *being read publicly in the churches;* at a still later period, the term was applied to them in the sense of *canonical;* and subsequently, it was used

to mean *contributing to the maintenance and increase of the orthodox catholic faith.*" But the original idea of the word was, *intended for a wide circle of readers.*

Our author then proceeds to the epistle of James. The first question which here occupies him—a somewhat difficult one—is, which James of the three mentioned in the New Testament, is the author of this epistle,—whether James the son of Zebedee and brother of John; or James the son of Alpheus; or James the Lord's brother? After an elaborate examination of their respective claims, Dr. Davidson concludes that the first "died too early to allow of the supposition that he wrote the epistle," that "according to the view already advocated (in the author's preceding investigation), there is no room for choosing the last named; but that James the son of Alpheus, who is so prominent in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the epistle to the Galatians, as one of the three leading apostles, must be the writer of the present epistle."

The "characteristics of the writer of this epistle," and the peculiar genius of the epistle itself, are clearly indicated. Much light is thrown upon the epistle; its design being satisfactorily pointed out, and its wise adaptation to the spiritual condition of the class of Jewish readers for whom it was intended, discovered. The letter was designed for purely Jewish Christians standing upon the threshold of Christianity, babes in knowledge, as Dr. Davidson shews.

Our author regards the epistle of James as the earliest of all the epistles, assigning it to A.D. 45. The arguments adduced from the epistle itself in support of a later date, are stated and refuted. The common idea that James wrote after Paul, and with the special design of combating the perversion of the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, is ably and satisfactorily shewn to be unfounded. Dr. Davidson contends that James had no reference whatever to Paul's doctrine, but wrote to oppose the common tendency of the Jewish mind "to rest satisfied with intellectual knowledge, without corresponding practice, with the legal forms rather than with the life which alone gives them efficacy." James and Paul wrote independently of each other, but drawing from one and the same fountain of truth, whatever apparent discrepancy may exist between their teaching, it is nevertheless perfectly harmonious. The sentiments of both writers were substantially the same; but their manner of conveying instruction differed according to the mental idiosyncrasy of each, and the spiritual condition of the churches they had in view. They take opposite points of view from which to contemplate the requisites of

Christian character. The one arrives at the existence of faith through the medium of works evidencing it; the other having established the necessity of faith, arrives at the necessary conclusion, that where sincere belief exists, good works must unavoidably follow. When, therefore, they appear to contradict one another, especially in reference to the examples of Abraham and Rahab, the contradiction is removed by attending to the different ways in which they employ the term *faith*. James means by it a sort of theoretical belief, which does not influence the conduct,—a pharisaic monotheism,—a passive state of mind, possessing no regulating control over the whole life. This appears from his predicating πίστις of the devils; 'the devils also believe (πιστεύουσι) and tremble.' Paul again, means by it heartfelt trust and confidence in God. He does not apply πίστις to any other state of mind than that which must inevitably lead to holy conduct; nor is it likely that he would have attributed πίστις to the devils, as James does. In opposition to a righteousness relying on works merely, Paul insists on the inward principle as sufficient, and therefore he affirms that Abraham was justified by faith alone. In opposition to a vain faith, which did not penetrate the heart and quicken the will, James affirms that Abraham was justified by his works, *i. e.* his faith proved itself complete by those works; it coöperated with them. He proved himself a righteous man *in the eye of others* by the evidence of his faith in his deeds; whereas *before God* such an outward manifestation of the internal principle was unnecessary."—pp. 330, 331. Thus the apostles speak of different sorts of faith, and different kinds of justification,—Paul of vital trust in Christ, James of a mere theoretical belief, which he condemns,—Paul of justification before God, James of justification before men, the proof and declaration of the reality of faith and piety by means of works.

Although this epistle was originally classed among the *antilegomena*, and though "the Latin as well as the Greek church was little acquainted with" it, "and made little use of" it "till the fourth century;" though in comparatively recent times it has been doubted or rejected by members of the Greek, Romish, and Protestant churches, Luther calling it "a right strawy epistle," which opinion he never retracted; yet there are good grounds for believing its authenticity. These grounds are fairly stated by Dr. Davidson, who upholds and defends it, shewing that its rejection, or the scepticism that has existed concerning it, arises from "internal," or "doctrinal, not critical" considerations. The internal objections are given in detail and satisfactorily obviated.

In discussing the first epistle of Peter, Dr. Davidson gives, in the first place, a satisfactory history of its author. Among other things he considers, is the supposed *early* visit of Peter to Rome, together with his founding or governing the church there, which is set aside as unfounded and false. That Peter did visit Rome, and suffered there, Dr. Davidson maintains. To deny this he considers "hypercritical." "It is going from the extreme of the fabulous to that of the sceptical." He came to Rome in the reign of Nero, and suffered there about the same time that Paul was put to death. The Babylon from which this letter was written, was neither Rome, nor Jerusalem, mystically designated Babylon, nor the house in Jerusalem where the apostles assembled, as some have curiously imagined, nor Babylon in Egypt, nor Selucia on the Tigris, to which the name *modern* Babylon was given; but Babylon on the Euphrates, which is "the natural and obvious view." "The city was well known, and the mention of it would at once suggest its locality on the Euphrates. There were many Jews in it, sufficient in number to draw Peter thither, and to furnish him with a field for evangelical labour."

The persons to whom it was addressed were Jewish and Gentile Christians in the specified localities, who were "strangers and pilgrims" on earth, "absent from their home, *i. e.* heaven." That both Jewish and Gentile Christians are addressed, Dr. Davidson fully evinces from the epistle itself. Its supposed dependence on Paul's epistles, asserted by De Wette, is examined and shewn not to be real. Resemblance to Paul's epistles appears; but the "diversity far exceeds the similarity." The list of alleged parallelisms, when closely examined dwindles down to a very few examples. No resemblances present themselves but such as might be naturally expected in the case of the apostles, who were "imbued with the same spirit," whose "source of enlightenment was the same," whom the promised Spirit led into all truth, and to those minds the Old Testament scriptures were familiar, from which they were accustomed to quote, and the interpretation belonging to which "must naturally have been alike in all the apostles."

In reference to the second epistle of Peter, the only points to which we shall advert are its relation to Jude's epistle, and its authenticity. In regard to the former, Dr. Davidson first presents us with a long table of striking parallelisms. The relation between the two epistles appears peculiarly close. Whence has this arisen? From *the nature* of the parallelisms, they cannot be accidental. Four different explanations of the phenomenon of resemblance have been proposed. "1. Some suppose that

both writers drew from a common source. 2. Others think that Peter made use of Jude's letter. 3. A third class believe that Jude followed Peter. 4. Olshausen and Augusti derive the resemblance from conversation and epistolary correspondence between the writers." The second hypothesis is that adopted by Dr. Davidson. The arguments which he alleges in support of this view are these: (*a*) "The phraseology of Jude is simpler than that of Peter, which is more artificial, rhetorical, paraphrastic and amplified;" (*b*) "Expressions occurring in Jude's epistle are altered in a very singular manner in Peter;" (*c*) "Passages in Peter are so indefinite and general in their language as to be obscure without the light of the parallels in Jude;" (*d*) "The course of thought in Jude's epistle is firm and definite; in the second epistle of Peter it is unsteady, like that of an imitator;" (*e*) "The opponents described and denounced in Jude are distinctly pourtrayed; but in second Peter the picture is not clear;" (*f*) "It is not so probable that Jude should have extracted a very brief epistle, energetic and powerful as it is, from a longer one, as that the writer of the longer should have used the shorter." For the illustration and confirmation of these arguments we refer our readers to the volume itself. Taken together they possess considerable weight. Let them be candidly examined. In fairness to Dr. Davidson we must however give the conclusion of his general argument in his own words:—

> "The more we consider the question before us, the less likely does any mode of accounting for the striking similarity between the two writers appear, without assuming that Peter saw and read Jude's epistle. All circumstances that can be conjured up or conjectured for the purpose of explaining the coincidence, without this, are improbable and insufficient. But in adopting the originality of Jude, it is not necessary to suppose that Peter was a mere copyist. Along with the similarity, and intersecting it, there is a difference. Peter still appears as an original writer: his individuality is not obscured. The case is as if the perusal of Jude's epistle had made a strong impression on his mind, so that its phraseology as well as its sentiments became incorporated with his mental constitution."—p. 408.

On the examination of the authenticity of this epistle, Dr. Davidson enters with candour and impartiality; ever ready to admit the force of an argument even when directed against his own views, or to reject one when seen to be feeble or worthless, although intended for the support of what he regards as the correct opinion. The evidence for the authenticity of second Peter he regards as slight, and the supposed allusions to it found in the Fathers as dubious. By most of the fathers no reference is made to it: some place it among the *antilegomena*. "In

the western Church we do not meet with any notice of the epistle till Philastrius of Brescia received it into his canon towards the close of the fourth century." "In the Syrian church the earliest view taken of the epistle was unfavourable to its authenticity, as may be deduced from its omission in the Peschito." In the fourth century however, Ephraem received it along with the other catholic epistles. Some of the Greek fathers quote it. Clement of Rome probably refers to it. Dr. Davidson thus remarks on the evidence:—

"We do not feel that the external evidence is sufficient to disprove the authenticity of our epistle. Of course it is far from proving it. One fact of importance is shewn by it, viz., that the treatise was in existence before the time of Clement of Alexandria. It is quite probable, too, that it was not composed in his lifetime; certainly not at Alexandria, else he would not have made that use of it which he did. It must have appeared before his time; how long, it is impossible to tell. The silence of the earliest fathers is not a conclusive argument against its existence or authenticity, because that silence may be explained by a variety of circumstances. 'None of the shorter books of the New Testament,' says Olshausen, 'are referred to by the fathers, but with rare exceptions. Some books, on account of the nature of the argument, would furnish less opportunity for citation; and as a great part of the writings of the ancient fathers has perished, it might easily happen that in the writings now extant no mention would be made of a book which all the ancients might have read.'"—p. 418.

Dr. Davidson next proceeds to the internal evidence. Thirteen arguments *against* and seven *in favour* of the Petrine origin of the epistle are stated and examined. These are of various weight. The worthlessness of many of them is clearly evinced. The question is felt and acknowledged to be a difficult one. Leaning to the authenticity, Dr. Davidson yet candidly acknowledges his inability to answer some of the internal arguments against it. He confesses his doubts about it. We shall quote a few sentences from the summing up of the evidence which will clearly reveal the state of his mind on the subject:—

"Were we called upon to decide positively, either to admit the epistle as Peter's, or to reject it as supposititious, we should take the *former* alternative, believing it to be, on the whole, exposed to fewer objections. But the state of the question is doubtful. We will not pronounce the epistle supposititious. On the other hand, it is not easy to admit it as Peter's. *Evidence* does not justify the supposititious character of it. There is nothing in the epistle unworthy of an apostle; nothing inconsistent with the analogy of faith, or with other parts of the New Testament. On the contrary, it breathes an apostolic spirit. It is conducive to truth and godliness. With all this, however, we

cannot be sure that Peter himself wrote it. We are compelled to leave the matter in suspense, affirming positively and dogmatically neither on the one side nor the other. Judging on subjective grounds, we should receive it as apostolic, in opposition to objective difficulties. But our mind is not *wholly* satisfied respecting it. The evidence on both sides has been given: it is for each one to judge according to his ability."—pp. 443, 444.

This is candid and truthful. Yet there are some doubtless who will blame Dr. Davidson for not speaking more positively in favour of the authenticity. That were to blame him for not saying what he does not feel and think,—for not belying his convictions. The cause of God is the cause of truth, and by truth it must be sustained. We should reverence the love of truth in every man; and every man, especially every Christian man, should speak as he feels and thinks; his words expressing the varying states of his mind, affirmative, negative, doubtful. But to speak conscientiously demands courage; and this every sacred critic and theologian should eminently possess.

We may pass over the epistles of John with the single remark, that our author ably defends their authenticity. The analysis of the contents of the first epistle is admirable, clearly exhibiting its "unity and comprehensiveness."

We now come to the epistle of Jude. In considering its author, Dr. Davidson shews that the Jude of our epistle was not Jude the apostle, (not Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου of Luke vi. 16, or Jude the *son* of James;) but Jude the brother of James the less, of whom little or nothing is known. "But while there is reason for doubting the *apostolic authenticity* of Jude, there is nothing against its *authenticity*. It was written by *an apostolic man*, Jude, the brother of James the apostle; but *not* by *an apostle*." (p. 501.) The evidence on the subject, internal and external, is fully and clearly stated. "The earliest fathers appear to have thought little of the present epistle. They were either unacquainted with it, or did not value it highly." But that it is what it *professes* to be, Dr. Davidson makes evident. "It is difficult, if not impossible, to discover the end which any one could have had in writing the letter with a view to deceive the public. In that case he would have called himself an apostle. But the author has not done so. He pretends to nothing that he is not. The very obscurity of some parts; the difficulty, if not impossibility, of understanding certain allusions, and the unusual subjects introduced, combine to support the authenticity."—p. 504.

In treating of the Book of Revelation, Dr. Davidson discusses the following questions. 1. The designations of time which

occur frequently in it and the book of Daniel. 2. Its authenticity as an apostolic production. 3. Its canonical authority. 4. Time and place of writing. 5. Unity. 6. The purpose for which it was originally written. 7. Schemes of interpretation. 8. Its contents.

We need scarcely say that we have found this to be the most deeply interesting portion of the work, as it is certainly one of the most ably written chapters. Dr. Davidson does not follow the beaten track of commentators and critics, but has pursued a course of independent investigation. He indignantly spurns the yoke of "established traditions," which some are ready to impose on the necks of all who come to the examination of the sacred volume; a yoke which would impede, hamper, and depress all free research, and hold us down to the interpretations of Scripture proposed by our ancestors. To Prof. Bush, who appeals in the spirit of the *odium theologicum* to the views which he asserts the Reformers took of some portions of the Revelation, Dr. Davidson replies thus:—

"We know of no standard but the Bible: nothing that can serve to shew the truth of a religious tenet except the infallible word of God. Councils may change; fathers of the church may be mistaken; the Reformers were fallible; and shall we who enjoy the benefit resulting from the light and learning of past ages, stand still where they stopped, or appeal to them as our guides, just because they attained to eminence at a time when surrounding circumstances were unfavourable to the progress of truth? We were not made to sleep over the Bible, or stereotype those principles, civil and religious, which it is the glory of our forefathers to have transmitted to their posterity. While rendering our respect to the Reformers, and honouring the men of past times who defended the great truths lying at the foundation of Christian hope, we regard it as nothing less than popery in principle—that very thing in essence which we profess to abhor—to call up the names of illustrious dead as the infallible expounders of the Bible, or to give to our language the semblance of assuming, that to differ from current opinions is to disown Protestantism and to favour Romanism. When shall the various sections of the Protestant church learn fully, and act out with earnest honesty, the lesson of heaven: 'Call no man your father upon earth; for one is your Father which is in heaven?'"—p. 512.

In this noble and independent spirit Dr. Davidson prosecutes his task. He regards not the authority of great names, but the power of argument. Hence he dares to reject *in toto* that favourite theory which in prophecy multiplies a day into 360 days,—the year-day theory. "The plain and obvious sense of a day in prophecy, or in any other kind of writing," he maintains, "is a *day*." "A day just means a *day*, and a

year a *year*." Into the examination of the opposite view he thoroughly enters, bringing under review the various passages of Scripture which have been adduced in its support, to shew that it derives no countenance from them. The year-day theory will, we apprehend, be allowed, even by its warmest advocates, to be greatly shaken under the searching examination to which it is subjected by our author; and it must be admitted that the completeness of this able argument is much enhanced by the subject being considered apart from any peculiar theory of prophetic interpretation; from all collateral considerations and the detailed exposition of the passages of Scripture in which the designations of time occur. The argument is therefore unencumbered, unembarrassed, and most lucidly presented.

The "apostolic authenticity" of the Apocalypse is ably defended by Dr. Davidson. Both external and internal evidence is shewn to be in favour of its apostolic origin. "The early reception of the book by those residing in Asia, Africa, and Europe, testifies to its apostolic origin. The counter evidence is comparatively insignificant. It is notorious, for example, that the Alogi were not influenced by early tradition, or by critical reasons, to reject the Apocalypse, but by doctrinal prejudices. Caius's opposition also resolves itself into opposition to Montanism. Dionysius of Alexandria seems to have been largely affected by his dislike of the millenarianism of Nepos; though it must be acknowledged that he argued critically against it. It is worthy of remark, that no historical tradition of any early kind against its composition by John is ever appealed to. Why the *Peschito* wanted it, it is impossible to discover. But since the Syrian church in the fourth century received it, its exclusion from their ancient version must be considered as consistent with its canonical authority." (p. 548.) Papias, Justin Martyr, Melito, Theophilus, Apollonius, the churches of Vienne and Lyons, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and a host of later names, are all witnesses to the authenticity. Eusebius's "hesitating mode of speaking" about it, traceable to "his dislike of millenarianism," neutralizes itself.

Whatever difficulties may attach to the internal evidence, which is here very fully and satisfactorily stated for and against, that evidence goes, on the whole, to support the affirmative view. The peculiar nature of the book leads us to expect peculiarities of words, phrases, and style of composition.

On the question of authenticity, the authority of the Reformers is treated according to its worth. Will Prof. Bush plead that authority here? If so, of what avail will be his favourite year-day theory, when he shall find himself deprived of the chief

book to which he applies it? Luther and Zwingle denied the apostolic authority of the Apocalypse. Surely then, it were more judicious to refrain from wielding a weapon which quite as effectually slays him who employs it as him against whom it is aimed.

As to the *time* when the Apocalypse was written, Dr. Davidson adopts and defends the later date. The arguments adduced by Stuart and others in favour of an earlier date are examined in detail. There can be no question that the *external* evidence in favour of its composition in the reign of Domitian is superior to that which would refer it to a period so much earlier as the reign of Nero. It is on the internal evidence that those who contend for its early authorship mainly rely. Yet this evidence which we, along with others, deemed almost impregnable, has been sadly shaken by the sifting examination of Dr. Davidson's critical powers. Still we cleave to the early origin. We cannot undertake to answer the author's reasoning; but, admitting the Neronic date, we fancy we can explain some portions of this mysterious book; whereas if we accept the Domitianic date, all becomes uncertain and unsettled. We must therefore reinvestigate the point, with the assistance of Moses Stuart, Dr. Davidson, and some others. The reasoning of our author is very cogent, and perhaps the more so, as he once held to the early authorship himself; but has, by farther and more mature examination, been led to reject it. We invite the attention of biblical scholars to this part of the Introduction under review.

The last point to which we shall call the attention of our readers is the "*Schemes of Interpretation*" which have been applied to this book. These, as enumerated by Dr. Davidson, are four in number:—"the *preterist*, according to which the book refers to the triumphs of Christianity over Judaism and Paganism, represented chiefly by the downfall of Jerusalem and of heathen Rome,"—"the *continuous*, agreeably to which the book presents a progressive history, of which many things are accomplished, and others not,"—"the *simple futurist*, according to which the first three chapters relate to the actual churches existing in Asia Minor in the days of the writer, while the remaining prophecies refer to events yet future which are to precede or accompany the Redeemer's second coming,"—"the *extreme futurist*, agreeably to which *the whole book*, including the description of the seven churches, refers to what is still future." Rejecting the last as "too extravagant," Dr. Davidson confines his attention to the first three. The preterist theory, adopted with certain variations by many expositors Romanist and Protestant, is first examined, and a number of powerful

arguments stated against it. But those who desire to test this scheme, should read Stuart's most elaborate, and in many respects, valuable Commentary on the Apocalypse, as well as Lee's most unsatisfactory "Exposition," in his Dissertations on Prophecy, and he will have the most satisfactory conviction of its utter untenableness. Lee's Dissertation is an exposition where nothing is expounded.

The *continuous* scheme finds as little favour with Dr. Davidson as the preterist. He considers that it is based on assumption, proceeds on assumption, and is involved in endless difficulties. It is replete with absurdities, illustrations of which might be easily produced; and as attempted to be carried out by its various advocates, it continually contradicts and destroys itself. In the simple *futurist* scheme Dr. Davidson also sees insuperable difficulties—difficulties which ought for ever to prevent its adoption by thinking men. To the arguments alleged against the three preceding schemes of interpretation we simply invite attention, being unable fairly to represent them to our readers, unless we should quote the whole; as they are stated in a form so condensed.

Dr. Davidson proceeds to indicate his own views briefly of the Apocalypse, admitting, however, that "it is easier to find defects in prevailing schemes of apocalyptic interpretation than to propose a new and better one." The book is a "prophetic poem," and as such "its descriptions are of a general character, expressive only of the nature and magnitude of the subject." It "appears very unlikely that the history of the universal church is depicted" in it. "The attempt to identify the successive events of history with the successive descriptions of the prophecies, appears" to Dr. Davidson "utterly hopeless." A literal historical application of the prophecies, such as the three rejected schemes more or less imply, must not be looked for. The times are "*symbolic,* not *chronological.*" The "prophecies should not be understood as symbolizing the leading events of history. They shadow forth certain agencies which impede or advance the interests of the church of Christ." The description contained in them is "*general,* not *specific.*" The three cities mentioned are Jerusalem, pagan Rome, and the purified church of God,—the thousand years are not meant to be chronologically and literally understood. The number "points to a time when Christianity had triumphed over paganism." The beast does not denote "the papacy," but the "heathen power" as opposed to Christ and his religion. Hence the millennium began after the abolition of paganism in the Roman empire." The period described in the xxi. and xxii. chapters is taken to "denote

the heavenly state, and the church in her perfected condition."

We hope we have succeeded in stating fairly Dr. Davidson's views. To discuss these views is beyond the purpose of this analytical notice of the work, though it may hereafter be a subject for separate consideration. Indeed, many chapters of the book are eminently suggestive of topics demanding discussion. We add, however, a closing paragraph, from which our author's view of the general drift and scope of the book will appear:—

"The subject of the seer is the triumph of Christianity, *chiefly* and *primarily*, over heathenism, the persecuting, hostile power under which he himself and contemporary fellow-Christians were suffering, and over other opposing tendencies and influences. The apostle describes the destruction of antichristianism—the triumph of Christianity over it. This is the comprehensive scope of his predictions. The spirit of the world is symbolically represented as persecuting the followers of Christ—its enmity to him, and, consequently, to all who bear his name, is deep and determined. This personification of the antichristian world is equivalent, to a certain extent, to the genius of the Roman empire, or rather includes it. It should not be limited to that, either in comprehension or duration. The hostility of heathen Rome to the true religion is embodied in the descriptions; but it does not exhaust their significance. They embrace the leading tendencies which are opposed *in their nature* to the peaceful victories and universal dominion of Christ's kingdom on earth."—p. 632.

To this statement we might not be reluctant to affix our name; but in doing so we should feel bound to consider as comprehended in the view of the seer, or rather of the Spirit of God which moved him, all the forms of power, civil, political, or ecclesiastical, which, together or separately, lift themselves up against the cause of Christ and the interests of his true kingdom in the souls of men,—every form of Antichristianism which, by whatever name known among men, does actually, although more or less demonstratively, oppress and persecute the followers of Christ—the true subjects of his spiritual kingdom. Paganism, as the nearest and most pressing evil of that time, is, it may be acknowledged, kept chiefly in view; but as all power hostile to pure religion and vital truth, whether called Pagan, Moslem, or Christian, is the same in its real essence, and has but one parentage, it is all essentially Antichristian; all opposed to God and to his Christ, and must therefore, under this view, be held as embraced in the inspired survey. Over all Christianity is destined to reign, and to come forth out of every conflict "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."

After having, with strong interest, watched the progress of the present work from its commencement to the completion it has now reached, we close it with mingled feelings of satisfaction and regret. We have not concealed that this work, as an Introduction to the New Testament, takes its place at the very head of its class—that it is the chief among the books of its kind that exist among us. This alone were, however, not very high nor very adequate commendation. The work is in another and far higher sense the head. It is so in that sense in which any great work from the hand of a master impresses its character upon its age, and gives the tone to all future labour in the department to which it belongs. These are heads—fountain-heads—sources. Such there have been in art, in science, and in literature. But they have been fewer perhaps in theological literature than in any other—seeing that this literature is less conversant with invention than with explanation—astonishes less by things that are new, than by its manifestations of things that are old. Nevertheless there are, even in theological literature, some such master-works as these, which leave us not where they found us, which carry us up to higher fields, and give into our hands better instruments of labour—instruments which no workman can afford to neglect or dare contemn, without being left lagging far behind the claims of his age and generation.

To this foremost class and order, the work we now close undoubtedly belongs.

This is the source of the satisfaction with which we regard it in this its completed shape. And this satisfaction is mingled with no other regret than what is felt at the cessation of that enjoyment in the exercise of the critical faculty and of the higher judgment, which its perusal has afforded. This is a pleasure beyond all price to those who think in reading, and read that they may think; and, to the qualified, this alone will render the present Introduction not only one of the most valuable and useful, but one of the most interesting productions of modern Biblical Literature.

I. J.

WYCLIFFE'S BIBLE.

The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions, made from the Latin Vulgate, by John Wycliffe and his Followers. Edited by the Rev. Josiah Forshall, F.R.S. &c.; Late Fellow of Exeter College: and Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., F.R.S., &c., Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. Oxford: at the University Press. 1850.

The Delegates of the University Press at Oxford have often entitled themselves to honourable praise, and to the gratitude of the scholars of this country, for the generous munificence with which they have, at large pecuniary risk and often at the cost of known and willing sacrifices, facilitated the production of important works, which without their aid would never have seen the light. By publishing also at easy prices, they have rendered largely accessible productions,—biblical, ecclesiastical, historical, and classical,—honourable to our national literature, but which unaided by them, could only have been afforded at a charge that would have made them unattainable to most of those to whose use they are best adapted. Many examples of this are known and duly appreciated by the public, but as much perhaps is unknown; for it is the peculiarly English character of this great literary institution—and such the Oxford University Press is entitled to be called—that it seeks no trumpeters for its own high deservings and services, but is content to do good, and to reap but half the praise. It is the just complaint of this age, that since private patronage has ceased, it has been difficult to produce any works but such as may be so far adapted to the general public taste, as to ensure a sale extensive enough to clear the expenses of publication, if not to ensure to the author the remuneration to which his labours are entitled. But there are still many works, important for literature, and of great use to students, for which no general demand can be expected, and which therefore can only be produced at a risk to the author that he ought not to be expected to incur, and that indeed very few can afford; or at a price so high, to compensate for the limited demand, as to constitute a severe tax upon the resources of those to whom the work is necessary, and by whom it must at any cost be obtained. It is at this point, where public patronage fails, and for which private patronage has ceased to provide, that the Delegates of the University Press often step in, and, by their liberal aid, at once attenuate the risk of the

author, and enable the purchaser to realize the benefit intended for him. It is possible that, under the more general diffusion of high education, and a more extensive taste for real learning and scholarship, than can at present be said to exist, even where it might be most expected to be found, there might be a demand for works of learned labour and research, adequate to afford to the author security from loss, if not some portion of the reward due to his toils: but while this is not the case—and notoriously it is not in this country—the noble services of the Delegates of the Oxford University Press are admirably suited to meet the difficulty, though of necessity inadequate to its whole extent, and deserve to be mentioned with distinguished commendation.

These remarks are germane to the matter before us; for of this princely spirit in the delegates, the magnificent and truly important work before us is a remarkable example. The expenses of print and paper must have been so large, that no publisher would probably have been induced to undertake it, and the risk is far greater than ordinary private resources would warrant, or than the public would be justified in expecting, even from the most ample means, as an addition to the offering of the fruits of many years' labour. Nor probably would so large and long a labour, with such uncertainty as to the results of publication, have been at all undertaken, but for the encouragement afforded by the delegates. The editors gratefully acknowledge that, "first of all, their thanks are due to the Delegates of the University Press in Oxford, for the liberal patronage which, by providing for the expense of the work, encouraged them to commence their task, and has enabled them at length to bring it to a conclusion."

The task thus undertaken, and, with such encouragement, brought to a successful issue, was far more arduous than many would at the first view suppose. A slight inspection, however, suffices to shew that the editors have spared no pains to render the work complete. They declare that during the long period in which they have been engaged in their great undertaking, they have had to visit or consult very many of the principal libraries of the kingdom. They state that a considerable portion of their time during twenty-two years has been spent in accomplishing their task: but that "they will have no cause of regret if the result of their labours shall remove some portion of the disgrace which has long been attached to the English nation, for the continued neglect of its earliest versions of Holy Scripture, and if it shall serve in any important degree to illustrate the history and structure of the English language."

The work as now presented to the public, consists of four splendidly printed quarto volumes. Vol. I. contains from Genesis to Ruth; Vol. II. from 1 Kings to Psalms; Vol. III. from Proverbs to Maccabees; and Vol. IV. comprises the New Testament.

The versions now for the first time printed in an entire form, must be regarded as the earliest in the English language which embrace any considerable portion of the Holy Scriptures. Though never used in any public services of the church, they must have been widely circulated, as well among the clergy as the laity, from the period of their completion in the latter part of the fourteenth century, until their place was occupied by the editions of the reign of Henry VIII. The influence which they exerted upon the religious opinions and sentiments of the nation at large, was without doubt extensive. In the interval between the years 1382 and 1526, they diffused a great amount of Scriptural truth; supplied the opponents of the papal system with the most effectual means of exposing its abuses and errors; and thus laid a deep foundation for the reforms of the sixteenth century. To enable us to form a better estimate of the effect of these versions, and of the merit due to their authors, the editors, in their Preface, have given a truly valuable and interesting review of what had previously been done towards the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue. From this dissertation, we shall endeavour to condense some important particulars.

In the Anglo-Saxon period, the poem which bears the name of Cædmon, gives several passages of Scripture with tolerable fidelity; but the character of this composition precludes it from being ranked among the versions of Holy Writ. Adhelm, Bishop of Sherborn, who died in 709, is reported to have rendered the Psalter into his native tongue; and the Anglo-Saxon version of the Psalms, discovered in the Royal Library of Paris, about the commencement of the present century, is supposed to be at least in part his production. The first fifty Psalms are in prose and the others in verse. The Venerable Bede translated the Gospel of St. John, which he seems to have completed just as death put an end to his learned labours in 735.

The great Alfred, in his zeal for the improvement of his country, did not overlook the importance of presenting the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue. Yet what parts of the Bible he translated it is hard to determine: and all that is with certainty known is, that at the head of his laws he set in Anglo-Saxon the ten commandments, with such of the Mosaical injunctions in the three following chapters of Exodus as were

most to his purpose. Whatever might be the precise extent of this monarch's biblical labours, it is beyond question that soon after his day the Anglo-Saxon church had her own interpretation of those parts of Scripture which were in most frequent use. The Psalter ascribed to Adhelm, if it be not his work, certainly cannot be later than the ninth century; and to the same period may safely be attributed the Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospels, several manuscripts of which are still in existence. Besides this, the unlettered Saxon was afforded access to the narratives of the evangelists, by means of verbal glosses made in copies of the Latin Gospels. These glosses were written between the lines of the text, rendering it in the same order, word for word. Two of these glosses, apparently of the tenth century, are still in existence. Similar glosses had already been made of the Psalter. Two of these glosses, both of the ninth century, have been preserved and published. Glosses also occur of the canticles of the church and the Lord's Prayer; on portions of Scripture in the ritual of Durham, and on the more difficult words of the Book of Proverbs. Towards the end of the tenth century, Ælfric translated, with the omission of some parts, and the abridgment of others, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, a portion of the books of Kings, Esther, Job, Judith, and the Maccabees. He also drew up, in Anglo-Saxon, a brief account of the books of the Old and New Testament.

It thus appears, from writings still extant, that the Anglo-Saxon church must have had in her own tongue a considerable amount of scriptural instruction: and it is reasonably presumed that she possessed more of which we have no certain information, much of which, it is supposed, perished in the troubles and confusion attending the incursions and pillages of the Danes, and much, subsequently, through the disfavour shewn by the Normans to the Anglo-Saxon language and literature.

But before the year 1200 the Anglo-Normans had translated into their own dialect, in prose, the Psalter and Canticles of the Church; and towards the middle of the following century, they appear to have possessed not only a history of the Old Testament, in verse, as far as the end of the books of Kings, but also a prose version of the entire Bible. The knowledge of Scripture which was communicated to the higher classes of society by means of these productions, contributed, by satisfying the demands of those who were the more powerful, to delay any attempt to put the sacred volume within the reach of the great mass of the people; but it must be remembered that the Anglo-Saxon versions and glosses of the Gospels, and other parts of Scrip-

ture, still remained partially in use, as is proved by the copies now extant, transcribed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The earliest attempts at biblical translation assumed in English, as in most other languages, a poetical form. The Crinulum, which seems to have been written about the commencement of the thirteenth century, is a paraphrase in verse of the narrative of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. To a later period in the same century belongs a poem reciting the principal events of Genesis and Exodus, and before it closed the whole of the Psalter had been turned into verse.

The earliest version in English prose of any entire book of Scripture appears to have been made about the time that Edward the First ascended the throne. This was a translation of the Psalter by William de Schorham, vicar of Chart-Sutton, near Leedes, in Kent. It exists in a manuscript containing the Psalter in Latin and English, verse by verse. This translation had scarcely been completed, when another was undertaken by Richard Rolle, chanting priest of Hampole, near Doncaster, who died in 1349. Having written a Latin commentary on the Psalms, he was induced to translate the text, and to publish it with a commentary in English. Of this work many copies are extant, with considerable differences from each other. Another translation of the Psalms is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, in a MS. of the fourteenth century; and a note at the end, in the hand of the original scribe, gives the name of John Hyde as the owner of the book; and it has hence been inferred that he was also the author of the version. Our Editors incline to think that this version is rather a revision of Schorham's than an independent translation—but the specimens which they give seems to us scarcely to bear out this judgment:

Psalm i. 1, 3.

Schorham.	*Hyde.*
"Blesced be the man that ȝede nouȝt in the counseil of wicked; ne stode nouȝt in the waie of sinȝeris, ne sat nauȝt in fals iugement.	"Blyssyd be the man that hath noght go in the counseyle of wykkyd men; and hath not stond in the wey of synful men, and hath not syt in the chayer of pestilence, that is to seyne of vengaunce, or of fals iuggement.
"Ac hijs wylle was in the wylle of oure Lorde; and he schal thenche in his lawe both daȝe and nyȝt.	"Bot in the law of our Lorde the will of hym schal be; and in his law he schal haue minde day and nyght.
"And he schal be as the tre	"And he schal be as a trow

that hijs sette by the ernynge of waters, that schal zeue his frut in hijs tyme.

that is sett be syde the cours of watres; that schal zuld hijs frute in hys tyme."

Down to 1360 the Psalter appears to have been the only book of Scripture entirely rendered into English. But within twenty-five years from that date a prose version of the whole Bible, including as well the apocryphal as the canonical books, had been completed, and was in circulation among the people. For this invaluable gift England is indebted to John Wycliffe. It may be impossible to determine with certainty the exact share which his own pen had in the translation, but there can be no doubt that he took a part in the labour of producing it, and that the completion of the work must be attributed mainly to his zeal, encouragement, and direction. It was probably not until his later years that Wycliffe matured so extensive a design. He was led to the undertaking slowly and gradually, and it was not completed until after several preliminary efforts.

It is supposed that Wycliffe's first attempt at the interpretation of Scripture was his commentary on the Apocalypse. The fearful pestilence which between 1345 and 1349 swept away a large portion of the human race, and other calamities, arising as well from the strife of nations and parties as from the discord of the natural elements, cast a general gloom over society, and led to the prevalent impression that things were preparing themselves for their great consummation, and that Antichrist's personal reign was shortly to be expected. The feelings thus excited appear to have prompted what is regarded as the first effort of Wycliffe's pen, the *Last Age of the Church*. Of this production only one copy, and that incomplete, exists; but there is enough to show that the sentiments of the author were such as would naturally draw his attention towards the prophecies in the Apocalypse, and his exposition thereof appears to have been written shortly after. In this a paragraph of the text is first given, and then the commentary. The latter is lively and simple; and the translation of the text is literal, and sometimes slightly abridged.

The next exegetical work of Wycliffe appears to have been a commentary on the Gospels. That on Matthew has a long prologue, and a still longer epilogue. In the former the writer urges in strong language the propriety of translating Scripture for the use of the laity. The commentary runs into considerable length, but is entirely made up of extracts from the writings of previous expositors, and these mostly taken at second hand out of the *Catena Aurea* of Thomas Aquinas. They are chiefly from Ambrose and Bede, but occasionally from Augustine, Origen,

Chrysostom, and various others. The commentaries on Luke and John are of the like character, but none upon Mark has been found. The three appear to have been written and published at different times. The prologue to Luke shows the method Wycliffe took in these commentaries, and also evinces the great value which he set upon the holy Scriptures. After citing several texts, he says:—

"Herfore [a pore] caityf lettid fro prechyng for a tyme for causes knowun of God, writith the gospel of Luk in Englysh, with a short exposicioun of olde and holy doctouris, to the pore men of his nacioun whiche kunnen litil Latyn ether noon, and ben pore of wit and of worldli catel, and netheles riche of good will to please God. Firste this pore caitif settith a ful sentence of the text togidre, that it may wel be knowun fro the exposicioun; aftirward he settith a sentence of a doctour declarynge the text; and in the ende of the sentence he settith the doctouris name, that men mowen knowe verili how fer his sentence goith. Oneli the text of holi writ, and sentence of olde doctouris and appreuyd, ben set in this exposicioun. Whanne Y alegge Ambrose here, ether Bede here, vnderstonde on the same text expowned. Whanne Y alegge eny doctour, and telle not in what place, vndirstonde that Y alegge hym as Alquyn on Luk rehersith him. Ambrose, Jerom, Austyn, and Gregori ben wel knowun for gloriouse lyueris and trewe doctouris of holy chirch. Bede is an olde expositour of holy writ, and tellith no thing almest, no but the sentence of olde holy doctouris bifore hym, and he writith opynly and deuoutly and sum tyme sharply. Whanne Alquyn aleggith ony doctour and tellith not where, he takith hym on Luk, as he witnessith in his prologe. He aleggith seint Denyss the martir, seint Gregori Nasansene martir, and seint Cipryan martir; he aleggith myche Teofile, Crisostom, Basill, Cirille, Athanasie, Damassene, and Gregori Nycene; and alle these ben of a thousand ȝere ether more: and her bookis ben appreuyd, as the law witnessith, xv. d. *in fine*, and xvi. d. *confirmamus*. Also Alquin aleggith myche the grete Origen, Epiphanye, Eusebie, and Maximus famouse in omelies. These ben of a thousand ȝere and more, and famouse doctouris and noble lyueris. Also he aleggith Ysidre, Tite and [a] Greek doctour. Thes weren olde men and textual, declarynge wel the text. Whanne a sentence is set in this exposicyon and is aleggid for a glos, thanne it is takun of Alquyn aleggynge other doctours lesse than these biforeseid. If eny lernyd man se this exposicioun and suppose eny errour therynne for Goddis loue loke he wel his originals, and sette ynne the treue sentence of these doctouris; for men desiren no thing in this exposicioun, no but profitable treuthe for cristen soulis. Y sette shortly and pleynly, as Y may and kan, the sentence of these doctouris, and not barely her wordis, in as myche as thei declaren the text, and seyen treuthe groundid on holi Scripture ether quyk resoun, and accordynge with the blessid lijf of Crist and his apostlis; desirynge that no man triste more than thus to her sentence, nether to eny mannys seying, in what euer staat he be in erthe. Thus with Goddis grace

pore cristen men mown sumdel knowe the text of the Gospel, with the comyn sentence of olde holy doctouris, and therynne knowe the meke and pore and charitable lyuyng of Crist and his apostlis, to sue him in vertues and blys; and also knowe the proude and coueitouse and veniable lyuyng of Antecrist and his fautouris, to fle hem and her cursed dedis, and peynes of helle. For no doubte as oure Lord Jhesu Crist and his apostlis profesien pleynli, Antecrist and his cursid disciplis shulen come and disseyue many men by ypocrisie and tyrauntrie: and the beste armeer of cristen men azens this cursid chcuenteyn with his oost, is the text of holy writ, and namely the gospel, and veri and opyn ensaumple of Cristis lijf and his apostlis, and good lyuyng of men for thanne thei shulen knowe wel Antecrist and his meynee bi her opyn dedis contrarie to Cristis techyng and lyuyng. Crist Jhesu, for thyn endeles power, mercy and charitie, make thi blessid lawe knowun and kept of thi puple, and make knowun the ypocrisie and tirauntrie and cursidnesse of Antecrist and his meynee, that thi puple be not disseyued bi hem. Amen, gode Lord Jhesu."

It is a remarkable circumstance, to which, however, there are many parallels in literary history, that about the same time that Wycliffe was thus employed, another commentary likewise upon the Gospels, and constructed upon the same principles, should have appeared. The author is not known, but the preface shows that he knew of no previous exposition of the Gospels in English.

It is concluded that the next step in the progress of Wycliffe's design may be ascribed to his *Monotessaron,* or Harmony of the Gospels, a translation from the Latin of Clement, prior of the monastery of Lanthony in Monmouthshire, who lived in the 12th century. It seems to have been at first intended to attach to this Harmony portions of the Catholic Epistles, and important texts touching faith and practice, selected from other parts of Scripture; and this collection is, indeed, appended to some of the extant copies of the *Monotessaron.* This work appears to be the production of two different hands.

About the same period, and by another hand, was produced a curious volume, preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It gives a brief account of man's state in paradise, the fall, and the flood; and then goes on, in the way of a dialogue, to describe the calling of the people of Israel, their deliverance from Egypt, and their guidance to the promised land. It then treats shortly of the law, moral, civil, and ceremonial. Breaking off suddenly from the Old Testament, a few lines introduce the epistles of Peter, James, John, and Jude. After this the dialogue is continued by way of preface to an abstract of the several epistles of Paul, with the exception of that to Philemon. Then follow the Acts

of the Apostles, and the author next proceeds to the Gospel of Matthew, but goes no further than to the Lord's Prayer in chap. vi., with which the volume ends. The author intended to make, at some future time, a more complete translation, as the following passage in the dialogue last mentioned shows:—"Bote Yne may not at this tyme write to thee alle his pisteles, as thei stondeth; bote nathelesse, ȝef it be Goddes wille, thu schalt habbe thim heraftir."

Among the various essays to translate portions of the Scripture, the editors direct attention to one other, which, as being of the latter half of the 14th century, and also complete, deserves especial notice. It is a version of *the whole* of St. Paul's epistles. The Latin and English are given paragraph by paragraph; a few verbal glosses are admitted, but the translator otherwise keeps closely to the original. The apocryphal epistle to the Laodiceans is inserted in Latin, in its place after that to the Colossians, without any translation.

The authors who were thus engaged in preparing translations of the Scripture evidently anticipated powerful opposition to its circulation among the people, and regarded the task upon which they ventured as attended with personal danger to themselves. Hence, in part, arises the obscurity which attends the history of these translations; since the authors never make known their names, and are careful to avoid the mention of circumstances which might lead to their detection. On the same ground they frequently enter into a defence of their undertaking, and a refutation of the objections commonly urged against it. Of this nature is a remarkable tract, or rather series of tracts, found in a MS. belonging to the University of Cambridge. The style is not unlike that of Wycliffe, plain and forcible, and the tracts may possibly be his own composition. From this copious extracts are given in the work before us, from which we select a few merely:—

"Alle cristene peple stant in thre maner of folke. Sum kunne rede and vnderstonde as good clerkis and wel letterd men, and for hem ben ordeyned bookis of Ebruse, of Grwe, and of Latyn. Summe cunnyn nether rede ne vnderstonde, as lewid peple that kunnen no letter, and for hem God hath ordeinede his creaturis in heuene, in erthe and in the see, to schewe his grace and kuyndnesse to men and wymmen that han discrescion, weereby thei schulden lerne to loue God and drede hym, and kepe his commaundementis, and not by peynture and ymagerye madde by mannis hondus, for the Spirite of God seith in Dauith the profete, *confundantur omnes qui adorant sculpitilia, etc.* Summe ther ben that kunnen rede but litil, or nozt vnderstonde, and for hem ben ordent bookis of her moder tongue, to Frensche men bokis of Frensche,

to Ytaliens bokis of Latyne corrupte, to Duche men bokis Duche, to Englische men bokis of Englische; in which bokis thei mowen rede to konne God and his lawe, and to fulfille it in worde and dede, and so to slee synne in hem silf and ech in other, by ther power and kunnynge, wher thorouȝ thei mowe desserue eendeles blisse. And that [it] is leful to cristyn peple [to] rede and connen holy Scripture, in destruccion of synne and cresynge of vertu, it is opyne in many placis of Goddis law, both old and newe, for thus seith our Lord God, *Erunt verba hec*," etc.

The following is from the second tract of the series. After citing many texts bearing on the subject, the writer proceeds :—

"Sithen [thanne] men doyng iustly bodely almesse to nedy men schullen be saued, as Crist seith in the gospel, moche more they schullen be in hiȝ degre of blis, that ȝyuen charitably the greet almes of Goddis word, declaryng it ryȝtly to cristene puple. Cristen men owe moche to traueile nyȝt and day aboute text of holy writ, and namely the Gospel in her modir tunge, sith Jhesu Crist, very God and very man, tauȝt this gospel with his owne blessid mouth, and kept it in his lyf: and for kepyng and halewyng and confermyng therof, schedde his prescious blod, and ȝaf it writen by his gospeleris to his chirche in erthe, that eche cristen man reule his lyf therby: for if he kepe this gospel, he schal be saued, and ellis in no manner. And thouȝ he coude neuere other lawes maad of synful men, he may come sufficiently and esely to heuene. Alas! ho may for drede of God lette lewid men to knowe and kepe the gospel, and comwnly speke therof in mekenesse and charite, to distrie synnes and plaunte uertues in cristen soulis? But coueitous clerkis of this world replyen and seyen, that lewed men mowe soon erre, and therfore they schul not dispute of cristen feith. Alas! alas! what cruelte is this, to reeve al bodely mete fro al a rewme, for a fewe folis mowen be glotons, and do harm to hem self and othere men, be this mete take mesurably. As lyȝtly may a proud worldly prest erre aȝeyns the gospel writen in Latyn, as a symple lewid man erre aȝeyns the gospel writyn in Englische. Symple men owen not dispute aboute holy writ, wher it is soth or profitable for mannes soule, but they owen stedfastly bileue that it is verrely soth and profitable to alle cristen men. For with oute kunnying and kepyng therof, no man may be delyuered fro peynes of helle; therfor lewed men schullen lerne it of God principally, and by good lyuyng of hem self, and bisy traueile of studie, and in axyng trewe clerkis bothe of lyuyng and kunnyng, the verrei exposicioun therof, wher it is dark. For as seynt Austyn seith, the same truthe is seid openly in holy writ, whiche truthe is sette in derk figuris, profesies, and parablis. What resoun is this, if a child faile in his lessoun at the first day, to suffre neuere children come at lettrure for this defaut? who schulde be a clerk by this processe? Euery cristen man takith the state, auctorite and bond of God, ȝhe, in his cristendome, to be a disciple of holy writ, and a real techere therof in al his lyf, vp peyne of dampnacioun, and vp wynnyng of the blisse of heuene. What

Antecrist, dar for schame of cristen men lette lewed men to lerne her holy lessoun, so hard comaundid of God? Eche man is bounden to do so that he be saued, but eche man that schul be saued, is a real prest mad of God, as holy writ and holy doctours witnessen pleynly. Thanne eche lewed man that schul be saued is a real prest maad of God, and eche man is bounden to be such a verri prest. But wordly clerkis crien that holy writ in Englische wole make cristen men at debate, and sugettis to rebelle ȝeyns her souereyns; and therfor it schul not be suffrid among lewed men. Alas! how may they more openly sclaundre God, auctour of pees, and his holy lawe, fully techying mekenesse, pacience and charite, or ellis they moten seye, that the comwnte of cristen puple is obstinat in her synnes, as fendis ben; or ellis they moten seye that worldly prestis representyng the state of Cristis vickeris, ben in dispeir for her symony and othere robberis of cristen men, both in temporal goodis and spiritual. Thus the false Jewis, namely, hyȝe prestis, scribis and pharisees, cryeden on Crist that he maad dissencioun in the puple. Jhesu Crist, that deidest to conferme thy lawe, and for raunsome of cristene soulis, stoppe these blasphemyes of Antecrist, and worldly clerkis, and make thyn holy gospel knowen and kept of the symple bretheren, and encrese hem in feith, hope and charite, and meknesse and pacience, to suffre deth ioyfully for thee and thy lawe. Amen, Jhesu, for thy mercy."

From this account it will be seen that a very considerable portion of God's Word was already, from various sources, in circulation in the English language, before the complete version of Wycliffe was undertaken. There were probably other works of the kind, now lost; and all contributed to prepare the way for a more complete and correct version of the sacred volume. The New Testament was naturally the first object. The text of the Gospels was extracted from the commentary upon them by Wycliffe, to which were added the Acts, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse, all now translated anew. The similarity of style between this new portion and the Gospels, favours the supposition that it was the work of Wycliffe's own hand. Prologues were prefixed to the several books, agreeing with those commonly found in Latin MSS. of the fourteenth century. Short verbal glosses are frequently introduced into the text; as Matt. i. 2, gendride, *or bigate;* 19, iust, *or riȝtful;* publiche, *or lede ferther;* 20, sleepe, *or sweuen;* interpretid, *or expowned.*

The translation of the Old Testament seems to have been undertaken by one of Wycliffe's coadjutors, while that of the New was still in progress, or shortly after its completion. *The original copy* of this translation is still extant in the Bodleian library, corrected throughout by a contemporary hand. A second copy in the same library, made from the original previous to correction, has a note at the end assigning the transla-

tion to Nicholas de Hereford. This, as our editors point out, was the Nicholas de Hereford, D.D., of Queen's College, Oxford, who was in 1382 one of the leaders of the Lollard party, and it is not questioned that the authorship of the translation is rightly assigned to him. It is remarkable that both these copies end abruptly, in the apocryphal book of Baruch, breaking off in the middle of a sentence. The last words are "place of hem. The ȝunge" . . . Bar. iii. 20. It may hence be inferred that the writer was suddenly stopped in the execution of his work, probably from the summons which it is known that Hereford received to appear before the synod held at the Preaching Friars in London, in 1382, at an adjourned meeting of which, held at Canterbury on July 1st of the same year, he was excommunicated. Soon after that he left England, and was absent for some time, being kept in confinement at Rome, whither he had gone to prosecute an appeal to the pope. Meanwhile his translation was completed by another hand, not improbably by Wycliffe himself. It comprises, besides the canonical books, all those reckoned among the apocryphal, excepting the fourth book of Esdras. The prologues to the Old Testament, as in the New, are those usually found in contemporary MSS. of the Vulgate. The Old Testament has no marginal glosses, neither does it appear to have been the intention of Hereford to admit glosses into the text; those which occur in it previously to Baruch iii. 20, are the insertions of a second hand; but subsequently to this place textual glosses are frequent.

Wycliffe must have greatly rejoiced to see the completion of an object which it is evident that he had long and anxiously desired. Numerous passages both in his controversial and his pastoral writings prove the supreme authority he assigned to Holy Scripture, and the importance he attached to its general circulation. Yet the new version was not altogether satisfactory. The part translated by Nicholas de Hereford differed in style from the rest; it was extremely literal, occasionally obscure, and sometimes incorrect; and there were other blemishes throughout, incident to a first essay of this magnitude, undertaken under very unfavourable circumstances, by different persons and at different times, upon no agreed or well defined principles. These defects could not have escaped the attention of Wycliffe, and it is by no means improbable that he suggested, if he did not himself commence, a second or revised version of the whole Bible. But whatever part he might take in its origin, it is certain that he did not live to witness its completion. It was not published till some time after his death.

Both these versions are reprinted in the present edition.

That the one which has been described in the preceding paragraphs, is in a greater or less degree the work of Wycliffe, and is the earliest translation of the whole Bible in the English language, there can be no reasonable doubt. Yet the editors state, that when they commenced their labours the opposite opinion prevailed, and it was generally believed that the version which was later in point of date preceded the other. Indeed, from an early period, very confused and erroneous notions seem to have been formed regarding our vernacular translations of Scripture.

"Sir Thomas More, in his *Dialogues*, anxious to save the Romish party from the scandal of withholding the Word of God from the laity, maintains that long before the days of Wycliffe, the whole Bible had been translated into the English tongue, and vouches for himself having seen copies of this kind. Thomas James, though he had the opportunity of examining several MSS. of the Wycliffe versions, was led into a similar mistake; and he describes one of them as a Bible in the English tongue, long before the coming of Wycliffe. From him Archbishop Usher adopted the error, assigning the translation to the year 1290, or thereabouts. Henry Wharton, in his Auctarium to the Archbishop's work, which, it should be observed, was posthumous and unfinished, truly determined the respective characters and dates of the two versions; rightly giving the earlier to Wycliffe, and the later to the author of the *General Prologue*, whom however he erroneously conjectures to be John Trevisa. Dr. Waterland, who greatly assisted Lewis in obtaining information for his *History of the English Translations of the Bible*, was at first inclined to think that both versions were the work of Wycliffe, but afterwards concluded that the later version and the *General Prologue* were by John Purvey. Unfortunately having but little leisure for the investigation, he was induced by a comparison of the style and language employed in the versions, to reject the criterion of Wharton, and to take for the earlier of the two that which was in fact the later. Lewis adopted the opinion of Dr. Waterland, and interweaving in his narrative the information supplied to him much as it came to his hands, has compiled an account which is not only confused, but sometimes inconsistent with itself. Mr. Baber, when he reprinted Lewis's edition of the New Testament, which is not the version of Wycliffe, but of the later translator, repeated this mistake. He appears to have been misled by passages of Scripture in Wycliffe's *Homilies*, which he imagined generally agreed with the later version. The truth is, in these homilies Wycliffe translated from the Latin before him at the time, with no attempt at great exactness; and the passages which can be selected from them differ no less, or perhaps more, from the later, than from the earlier text.

"A very cursory examination of the two texts now published, will be sufficient to convince any one, who is qualified to form a judgment, that the version printed by Lewis is the later of the two. The other

text is found in those MSS. which are the earlier in point of date. These are comparatively rare, as, when superseded by a later translation, they would naturally become. In one or two MSS. which contain partly one text and partly the other, the early text occupies the first place. The language is rather the more antiquated, and the style more involved and difficult, whilst the variations of the second text are such as would arise from the alterations of a revising hand. But it is the *General Prologue* which is decisive of the question. The author who speaks of the Bible, *of late translated*, as requiring correction, in giving the rules which he adopted in order to make the required improvement, lays them down with sufficient precision to identify the corrected version without any chance of mistake. The method, he tells us, which he took was this: he first, with the assistance of several fellow-labourers, corrected the Latin text by comparison of old Bibles, doctors, and glosses. Secondly, he studied the text thus corrected with the gloss, and other authorities, particularly Lyra on the Old Testament. He then made special reference to the works of grammarians and theologians for the meaning of different words and passages. And lastly, he translated, not literally but according to the sense and meaning as clearly as he could; taking care to have many persons of ability present at the correction of the translation.

"This last process of avoiding too literal a translation, and rendering the English as plain or plainer than the Latin, is exemplified in several particulars. First, the author of the *Prologue* proceeds to say, an ablative absolute may be resolved into the verb with a particle prefixed, such as, *the while*, *for*, *if*, *when*, *after*, or *and*. Secondly, a participle of the present or preterite tense may be resolved into the same tense and a copulative conjunction. Thirdly, the relative may be resolved into its antecedent with a copulative. Fourthly, a word, though only once set in the original, may be repeated in the translation as often as the sense allows, and perspicuity may require. Fifthly, the word *autem*, or *vero*, may stand for *forsothe*, or *but*, or even *and*. Sixthly, when literal translation is impossible by reason of the different position of the words in Latin and English, the relative and antecedent may be interchanged, and the order otherwise required by the English idiom adopted. Lastly, he notices the difficulty of translating equivocal words, and instances after Jerome, the word *ex*, as signifying sometimes *of*, sometimes *by*, and the word *enim*, as sometimes standing for *forsothe*, and also for *cause thus*, *forwhi*; and likewise instances the word *secundum*, as being commonly rendered *after*, but signifying *by* or *up*. All these particulars very exactly agree with the version of which the New Testament was printed by Lewis and by Baber as Wycliffe's, and leave no doubt that that version is the one which the author of the *General Prologue* claims as his own."

The date of this later version must be determined by that of the *General Prologue*. This last is placed by Lewis, though not without some doubt and reserve, soon after 1395, a date which

is also adopted by Mr. Baber. But the present editors shew at some length that the arguments produced are not convincing, and advance good reasons for regarding 1388 as a more probable date.

With the second version is usually connected the name of John Purvey, who was the leader of the Lollard party after the death of Wycliffe. The present editors go somewhat fully into this matter. The author of the *General Prologue* identifies himself with the work to which it is prefixed; and it is shewn that the author of this *Prologue* was also the author of a remarkable treatise, designated *Ecclesiæ Regimen*, or *Thirty-seven Articles against Corruptions in the Church*, written it seems before 1395. "The style, language, arguments, manner of quotation, and authorities quoted in the two, have a resemblance so close as not to leave any doubt on the point." It is thus shewn that Purvey was the author of this treatise; "and it may therefore be regarded as undeniable that he was the author of the *General Prologue*, and consequently of the later version of the Bible to which it belongs." There are other testimonies which confirm this conclusion; and it is also rendered probable that Nicholas de Hereford, John Ashton or Aston, John Parker, and Robert Swynderby were the principal associates to whom Purvey alludes in the *General Prologue*, as aiding him in the preparation of this version.

The version thus put forth is everywhere founded upon the previous translation; and in the later books of the Old Testament, which were not rendered by Hereford, and in those of the New, it is little more than a mere revision of the former text, presenting but few substantial differences of interpetration. The principles upon which Purvey proceeded, have been already specified, so far as they are given by himself. They were designed to render the version more correct, intelligible, and popular; and it manifestly becomes more easy as the translation advances. There is one remarkable distinction between the Old and New Testaments, that in the first he has inserted numerous textual glosses, only occasionally omitting those of the earlier version, whereas in the New Testament he has made no such insertions, and has carefully excluded all the glosses which it previously contained.

The Bible thus completed by Purvey caused the earlier translation to fall into disuse. The new version was eagerly sought after and read. Copies passed into the hands of all classes of the people. Even the sovereign himself and the princes of the blood royal did not disdain to possess them. The volumes were in many instances executed in a costly manner,

and were usually written upon vellum by experienced scribes. This implies not merely the value which was set upon the word of God, but also that the scribes found a reward for their labours among the wealthier part of the community. The multiplication of copies must have been rapid. Nearly one hundred and fifty MSS. containing the whole or parts of Purvey's Bible, the majority of which were written within the space of forty years from its being finished, have been examined for the present edition. Others are known to have existed within the last century; and more, there can be no doubt, have escaped enquiry,—how many have perished it is impossible to calculate. But when it is remembered that from the first the most active and powerful measures were taken to suppress the version,—that strict inquisition was made for the writings and translations of Wycliffe, Hereford, Ashton, and Purvey,—that they were burnt and destroyed as most noxious and pernicious productions of heretical depravity,—and that all who were known to possess them were exposed to severe persecution;—and then, if there be taken into account the number of MSS. which in the course of four or five centuries have been destroyed through accident or negligence, it is not too much to suppose that we have now but a small portion of those which were originally written.

The effect of this circulation of Scripture among the people in their own tongue was just what might have been expected. Men reading with their own eyes the words of the Saviour and of his apostles, found a marked contrast between the principles which they inculcated and many parts of the system upheld by the Romish church. Which of the two should be rejected could not be matter of hesitation. The progress of religious truth met, however, with serious impediments. These chiefly arose from two sources: the extravagances into which some of those who embraced the new opinions speedily fell, and the wars and distractions from which England suffered during the greater part of the fifteenth century. Notwithstanding these obstacles truth maintained its own cause. The versions of Wycliffe and his followers continued to be read and circulated. They contributed largely to the religious knowledge which prevailed at the commencement of the Reformation; and at that period they supplied an example and a model to those excellent men, who in like manner devoted themselves, at the hazard of their lives, to the translation of Scripture, and to its publication among the people of the land.

In the present edition the two versions are printed in parallel columns, and the various readings obtained by the collation of different MSS. are exhibited in foot-notes. We give as a spe-

cimen a portion of the 6th chapter of Matthew, containing the Lord's Prayer:—

"'Take ȝee[h] hede, lest[i] ȝe
1 don ȝour riȝtwisnesse[k] before
men, that ȝee be seen of hem,
ellis ȝe shule nat han meed at[l]
ȝoure fadir that[m] is in heuenes.
2 Therfore when thou dost al-
messe, nyle thou synge byfore
thee[n] 'in a[o] trumpe, as ypocritis
don in synagogis and streetis,
that thei ben 'maad worshipful[p]
of men; forsothe Y saye to ȝou,
thei han resceyued her meede.
3 But 'thee doynge[q] almesse,
knowe nat the[r] left hond what
4 thi riȝt hond doth, that thi
almes be in hidlis, and thi fadir
that *seeth* in hidlis, shal ȝelde
to thee.

"CAP. VI.

5 "And[s] when ȝe shuln[t] preye,
ȝee shuln nat be as ypocritis,
the[u] whiche stondynge louen
to preye in synagogis and[v]
corners of streetis, that thei be
seen of men; trewly Y say to
ȝou, thei han resseyued her
6 meede. But whan thou shalt
preye, entre in to thi couche,
and the dore schet, preye[w] thi
fadir in hidlis, and thi fadir
that seeth in hidlis, shal ȝelde
7 to thee. Sothely[x] preyinge
nyle ȝee speke[y] moche, as he-
then men don, for thei gessen
that thei ben herd in theire
8 moche speeche. Therfore nyl
ȝe[z] be maad liche[a] to hem, for
ȝoure fadir woot what is need[b]
to ȝou, before that[c] ȝe axen
9 hym. Forsothe thus ȝe shu-

"CAP. VI.

"Takith[p] hede, that ȝe do 1
not ȝoure riȝtwisnesse[q] bifor
men, to be seyn of hem, ellis
ȝe schulen haue no meede at
ȝoure fadir that is in heuenes.
Therfore whanne thou doist 2
almes, nyle thou trumpe tofore[r]
thee, as ypocritis doon in syna-
gogis and stretis, that thei be
worschipid of men; sotheli Y
seie to ȝou, they han resseyued
her meede. But whanne thou 3
doist almes, knowe not thi left
hond what thi riȝt hond doith,
that thin almes be in hidils,
and thi fadir that seeth in hid- 4
dils, schal quyte thee[s]. And
whanne ȝe preyen, ȝe schulen 5
not be as ipocritis, that louen to
to preye stondynge in synago-
gis and corneris of stretis, to
be seyn of men; treuli Y seie
to ȝou, thei han resseyued her
meede. But whanne thou 6
schalt preye, entre in to thi
couche, and whanne the dore
is schet, preye thi fadir in
hidils, and thi fadir that seeth
in hidils, schal ȝelde to thee.
But in preiyng nyle ȝee speke 7
myche, as hethene men doon,
for thei gessen that thei ben
herd in her myche speche.
Therfor nyle ȝe be maad lich 8
to hem, for ȝour fadir woot
what is nede to ȝou, bifore that
ȝe axen hym. And[s] thus ȝe
schulen preye, Oure fadir that 9
art in heuenes, halewid be thi

---

[h] Takith *GYX pr. m.* [i] that *X.* [k] riȝtfulnesse *UV sec. m.* [l] of *O.* agentis *UV. sec. m.* [m] whiche *OUV sec. m.* [n] me *V.* [o] wit *OU.* with a *V sec. m.* [p] worscheped *OUV sec. m.* [q] thei doynge *K.* while thou doest *OUV sec. m.* [r] thi *AGMNOPQSUV sec. m. WXY.* [s] Om. *S.* [t] Om *OUV sec. m.* [u] Om *OUV sec. m.* [v] and in *MOUV sec. m.* [w] preye to *G pr. m.* preye thou *OUV sec. m.* [x] Sotheli ȝe *N.* [y] sey *Q.* [z] Om. *G pr. m.* [a] licly *KT.* [b] needful *OUV sec. m.* [c] Om. *G pr. m.*

[p] Take h. [q] riȝtfulnesse cu *pr. m.* xbgh. riȝtfulnessis r. [r] bifore *plures et αβ.* [s] to thee r. [s] But i.

len preyen, Oure fadir that art
10 in heuenes, halwid be thi name;
thi kyngdom cumme to[a]; 'be
thi wille don[c] as in heuen and[d]
11 in erthe; ȝif to 'vs this day
oure breed ouer other sub-
12 taunce; and forȝeue to[g] vs
oure dettis, as[h] we forȝeue to
13 oure dettours; and leede vs
nat in to temptacioun, but de-
lyuere vs fro[i] yuel. 'Amen,
14 *that is*[k], *'so be it*[l]. Forsothe
ȝif ȝee[m] shulen forȝeue to
men her synnys, and ȝoure
heuenly fadir shal forȝeue to
15 ȝou ȝoure[n] trespassis[o]. Sothe-
ly, ȝif ȝee shulen forȝeue not
to men[p], neither ȝoure fadir
shal[q] forȝeue to ȝou ȝoure syn-
16 nes. But[r] when ȝee fasten,
nyl ȝe be maad as ypocritis
sorweful, for thei putten her
facis out of *kyndly* termys,
that thei seme fastynge to men;
trewly Y say to ȝou, thei han
17 resseyued her meede. But
whan thou fastist, anoynte thin
18 hede[s], and washe thi face, that
thou be nat seen fastynge to
men, but to thi fadir that is in
hidlis, and thi fadir that seeth
in hidlis, shal ȝeelde to thee.
19 Nyle ȝe tresoure to ȝou tre-
sours in[t] erthe, wher rust and
mouȝthe[u] distruyeth, and wher
theeues deluen out and stelen;
20 but tresoure ȝee[v] to ȝou tre-
souris in heuene, wher neither
rust ne[w] mouȝthe distruyeth,
and wher theues deluen nat out,
'*or undirmyne nat*[x], ne[y] stelen."

name; thi kyngdoom come to[t];
be thi wille don[u] 'in erthe as in 10
heuene[v]; ȝyue[w] to[x] vs this[y] 11
dai oure 'breed ouer othir sub-
staunce[z]; and forȝyue to vs 12
oure dettis, as we forȝyuen to
our dettouris; and lede vs not
in to temptacioun, but delyuere 13
vs fro yuel. Amen[a]. For if 14
ȝe forȝyuen to men her synnes,
ȝoure heuenli fadir schal for-
ȝyue to ȝou ȝoure trespassis[b].
Sotheli if ȝe forȝyuen not to 15
men, nether your fadir schal
forȝyue to ȝou ȝoure synnes.
But whanne ȝe fasten, nyle ȝe 16
be maad as ypocritis sorewful,
for thei defacen hem silf, to
seme fastynge to men; treuli Y
seie to ȝou, they han resseyued
her meede. But whanne thou 17
fastist, anoynte thin heed, and
waische thi face, that thou be 18
not seen fastynge to men, but
to thi fadir that is in hidlis,
and thi fadir that seeth in
priuey[c], shal ȝelde to thee.
Nile ȝe tresoure to ȝou tre- 19
souris in erthe, where ruste
and mouȝte destrieth[d], and
where theues deluen out and
stelen; but gadere[e] to ȝou tre- 20
souris in heuene, where nether
ruste ne mouȝte distrieth[f], and
where theyues deluen not out,
ne stelen."

---

d to the *N*. *e* thi wille be don *UV sec. m* *f* so *N*. *g* Om. *U*. *h* as and *G sec. m*. *MNOQSUVX*. *i* fro alle *U pr. m*. *k* Om. *M*. O Amen *UX*. *l* Om. *OUX*. *m* we *O*. *n* and ȝoure *N*. *o* synnes *S*. *p* the synnes of hem *Q marg. sec. m*. *q* schal not *O*. *r* Forsothe *OUV sec. m.* *s* heued *O*. *t* here in *N*. *u* mogttis *N*.*v* Om. *N*. *w* nether *OUX*. *x* Om. *MOUV sec. m. X*. *y* neither *OU*.

t to *thee*, IK, *u* ielon C. *v* as in heuene and in erthe Q. in erthe as it is in heuene S. *w* ȝue thou A. *x* Om. b. *y* to C. *z* eche dayes breed e. *a* Amen, Amen, *that is, so be it* C. Amen, *that is, so be it* EMP *marg.* QUC *marg.* g. *b* trespas C. *c* hidlis IK. *d* distroien K. *e* gadere ȝe IQ. *sec. m.* tresoure K. *f* distroien K.

We cannot close this notice of the work without congratulating the able and learned Editors in having brought their long and patient labours to a successful issue, and thanking them for the noble monument of the early English translations of Scripture which they have erected. It falls peculiarly within our province to register and celebrate such undertakings, and there is no function of our office which we have greater pleasure in discharging.

THE SEPTENARY ARRANGEMENT OF SCRIPTURE.

It has long been noticed by attentive observers of Scripture, that the number SEVEN holds a conspicuous place, especially in the book of Revelation. But it has not been perceived that history, parable, and prophecy have been arranged according to a sevenfold division. It is purposed, therefore, to present *some* of the evidence in favor of this assertion. And it is believed that the following out of the principal will lend to others, as it has to the writer, much light in the investigation of Scripture, and the comprehension of the relation of part to part, besides furnishing a key to the memory.

Let us begin, then, with an instance which has been noted by others. At the opening of the book of Revelation we have seven epistles to seven churches. These seven are again divided, among themselves, into two groups of three and four, by the different place given to two sentiments which occur in each of them. In the three first the sentence, "He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches," precedes the promise given to "Him that overcometh." In the four latter the order is reversed.

I. But the septenary principle of arrangement holds with regard to the internal division of PARABLES. Let us take one in its simplest and yet most symmetrical form—the parable of the Two Sons.

1. A certain man had two sons.
2. And he came to the first, and said, Son, go work to day in my vineyard.
3. He answered and said: I will not.
4. But afterward he repented, and went.
5. And he came to the second, and said likewise.
6. And he answered and said, I go, sir.
7. And went not.

The arrangement here is of the following kind—The first is the general commencing statement, on which the whole is

founded: then to each of the sons in turn is given the same command, their reply is mentioned, and the result. The whole then is simply and beautifully symmetrical—and the division is into three groups, of one, three, and three.

1. General Statement.

First Son.
2. Command.
3. Reply.
4. Result.

Second Son.
5. Command.
6. Reply.
7. Result.

In the parable of the Lowest Seat—the division is also septenary.

1. "When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down in the highest room;
2. Lest a more honourable man than thou be bidden of him, and he that bade thee and him come and say to thee, Give this man place;
3. And thou begin with shame to take the lowest room.
4. But when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest room;
5. That when he that bade thee cometh, he may say unto thee, Friend, go up higher;
6. Then shalt thou have glory[a] in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee.
7. For whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted."

In the above parable the arrangement is also symmetrical, as follows:—

1. Jesus' advice. (Negative.)
2. Acting and speech of the host.
3. Result to guest. (Shame.)

---

4. Jesus' advice. (Positive.)
5. Acting and speech of host.
6. Result to guest. (Glory.)
7. General Principle.

When a parable concludes with a general principle as this does, it ordinarily comes last, as in the present case. The grouping here is threefold, and the divisions are, three, three, one.

To give the text in every case would too much prolong this paper; I will, therefore, deal more briefly with some of the longer parables. Let us take next that of Dives and Lazarus—

---

[a] Δοξα.

Luke xvi. 19. Will the reader take his Bible, and follow with his eye the passage?

(1.) The parable opens with a description of the splendors of a rich man's life, (ver. 19,) it then passes to the description of the life of a certain poor man,[b] (20, 21), and his death. (22.) Then follows the account of the rich man's death and burial, and his awakening in hell. (22, 23.)

(2.) While there he presents the request to Abraham, that Lazarus might be sent to him with a drop of water, but is refused. (24—26.) He pleads again that Lazarus might be sent to preach to his five unbelieving brethren, and is again refused. (27—29.) On Abraham's refusal he finally founds an objection, which is refuted, and the parable closes.

Here the arrangement is as follows—

1. Rich man's life.
2. Poor man's life.
3. Poor man's death.
4. Rich man's death.

5. Rich man's first request. For himself.
   Abraham's reply.
6. Rich man's second request. For others.
   Abraham's reply.
7. Rich man's objection.
   Abraham's refutation.

This arrangement into two groups of four and three—the four preceding, is, I believe, the most common. The four first take the preliminary part, the three latter carry the crisis and the conclusion. When a new party is introduced, as here, it is ordinarily at the fifth part. In many parables the arrangement of the four first parts is alternate. Had it taken effect here, the poor man would have been presented last, and this would have disturbed the order, and have made the parable longer. But as the rich man is the principal person, and Lazarus is only introduced as the test of his character, the parallelism is introverted—his history takes the *second* and *third* places, instead of the *second* and *fourth*.

The latter part is double throughout, consisting of a dialogue between Dives and Abraham; and as is usual, the seventh part differs somewhat from the two preceding ones, being an objection, and not, as the two former parts, a request. Similar are the three last divisions of the Prodigal Son.

Take again the parable of the Wedding Garment: Matt. xxii. Its divisions run as given under—

1. The King's first message. Result—Ver. 2, 3.

[b] Not "beggar," as in our translation. It is simply πτωχος. There is no account of his begging at all, much less of his making it his trade.

2. King's second message. Result—4—7.
3. Message to other parties—8, 9.
4. Gathering of guests—10.
5. The King's address to the intruder—11, 12.
6. The King's sentence—13.
7. The General Principle—14.

Similar in its septenary arrangement is that of the Unmerciful Servant: Matt. xviii.

The parable of the Good Samaritan has also the septenary division, mixed with the Saviour's question to the lawyer and his reply, on which is founded the general lesson with which it concludes: Luke x. 30.

1. The Traveller's calamity—30.
2. Conduct of the Priest—31.
3. Conduct of the Levite—32.
4. Conduct of the Samaritan (For his present wants) 33, 34.
5. Ditto—(For his future wants)—35.
6. Who was neighbour?—36, 37.
7. General Lesson—37.

The grouping here is different from the other cases.

Take as another instance of it in the parables, that of the Wicked Husbandmen: Matt. xxi. 33.

1. The Householder's preparation—33.
2. Servants sent. Result—34, 35.
3. Other servants sent. Result—36.
4. The Son sent—37.
5. The Husbandmen's counsel. Treatment of the Son, 38, 39
6. What will be done? Answer—40, 41.
7. General Lesson—42—44.

But there are some parables in which certain characteristic words occur, which identify the parts, being found only in the first four divisions, or only in the four last. Thus in the parable of the Ten Virgins.

Div.	Verses.				
1	1	The Virgins united.	Acts.	"Lamps."	"Bridegroom."
2	2—4	Divided.	Characters in Deeds.	"Lamps."	"Oil."
3	5—7	The Virgins united.	Acts.	"Lamps."	"Bridegroom."
4	8, 9	Divided.	Characters in Words.	"Lamps."	"Oil."
5	10	Wise and Bridegroom.	Ready.		
6	11, 12	Foolish and Bridegroom.	Unready.		
7	13	Lesson.			

In the above, the word "lamps," (more properly "torches,") occurs in each of the four first divisions, (verses 1—9) and in none of the three last; as the reader will see on inquiry. In the first and third divisions, the word "bridegroom" occurs, which is not found in the second and fourth—and the word "oil" occurs in the second and fourth divisions, but not in the first or third.

In the Labourers in the Vineyard, the characteristic word of the four first divisions is "*He went out;*" of the three closing ones, "*The Last*" is the characteristic.

Verse.	Div.	Characteristic Word.	Analysis.
1, 2	1	"He went out."	First order of Labourers.
3, 4	2	"He went out."	Second.
5	3	"He went out."	Third and Fourth.
6, 7	4	"He went out."	Fifth.
8	5	"The last."	Hire paid. Murmurs.
	6	"The last."	Answer of Master.
16	7	"The last."	Lesson.

II. But it is time to give some exhibitions of its employment in the arrangement of CHAPTERS, containing some special subject.

Let our first example be the Song of Moses in Deut. xxxiii.

1. Jehovah's character *in himself*—Verses 1—4.
2. Israel's character *in themselves*—5, 6.
3. *Jehovah*'s goodness *towards Israel*—7—14.
4. *Israel's* ingratitude *to Jehovah*—15—18.
5. Jehovah's recompense of their sin—19—33.
6. Jehovah's repentance at their calamity—34—42.
7. His mercy to Jews and Gentiles—43.

That beautiful chapter, 1 Cor. xv. is constructed on the same principle.

1. Christ's resurrection. Proofs—1—11.
2. *Doctrinal* consequences if *unreal*. 12—19.
3. Ditto—Consequences if *real*. Dominion. 20—28.
4. Human resurrection—*Practical* consequences if unreal. 29—34.

TWO QUESTIONS.

5. Resurrection. What its body?
6. As affecting the living and dead Saints? Its mode?
7. Triumph. Practical exhortation.

The First and the Fourteenth Chapters of Revelation will supply two other examples.

Rev. I.

1.	1—3	The Title.
2.	4—6	The Address.
3.	7.	He Cometh!
4.	8.	I am Alpha.
5.	9—11	John's account of circumstances of the Vision
6.	12—16	The Vision itself
7.	17—20	The Explanation

I would recommend this and the following instance to any one sceptical as to the reality of the divisions in question.

Rev. XIV.

1.	1—5	The First Fruits.	
2.	6—7	Gospel to the Nations.	1st Angel.
3.	8	Babylon is fallen!	2nd Angel.
4.	9—12	Woe to worshippers of the Beast!	3rd Angel.
5.	13	Blessed the Dead.	
6.	14—16	The Harvest.	
7.	17—20	The Vintage.	

III. But let us pass on to show that the completed Sermons of the Saviour and his Apostles are constructed according to this standard.

The Sermon on the Mount is divided into three chapters. It is also divided into three series of sevens, as the following analysis will show. Let us call them respectively, A, B, and C.

A.

1. The Beatitudes. 1—12.
2. Christians—salt, light, city on hill. 13—16.
3. Law fulfilled, not destroyed. 17—20.

4. Murder. 21—26.
5. Adultery. 27—32.
6. Oaths. 33—37.
7. Law of justice repealed. 38—42.

B.

1. Love of enemies. 43—48.
2. Alms. Chap. vi. 1—4.
3. Prayer. 5—15.
4. Fasting. 16—18.
5. Treasures on high. 19—21.
6. The single eye. 22, 23.
7. Anxiety rebuked. 24—34.

C.

1. Judge not.
2. Swine and pearls.
3. Ask and have.
4. Narrow gate.
5. False prophets.
6. Gifts alone vain.
7. The two builders.

No. 1 of B belongs to both A and B. It belongs to the first series, as it repeals a principle of the law; it belongs to the second, as it gives the relationship of *Sons of God,* which is the basis of the next chapter.

Take the Sermon of Pentecost, which appears naturally to arrange itself in seven parts. The fiery tongues and the many speakers in foreign languages, caused some to ascribe the scene to intoxication. Therefore No. 1 is engaged in—

1. Refutation of the false supposition. 14, 15.
2. Establishment of the true. Quotation. 16—21.
3. Connection of the scene with Jesus and his resurrection. 22—24.
4. The resurrection foretold. Quotation. 25—28.
5. Resurrection belongs not to David, but to Jesus. 29—32.
6. Ascension foretold not of David, but of Jesus. 33—36.
7. Exhortation.

The Sermon upon the cure of the Lame Man in the Temple is, in spite of its seeming simplicity, wonderfully arranged, as the following analysis will discover.

1.	12	Cure. Negative cause.	Exposition.	
2.	13—15	*Guilt. Aggravation.* Man's Depreciation / God's Glorification } of Christ.		Denial of Christ.
3.	16	Cure. Positive cause.		Faith in Christ.
4.	17—18	*Guilt. Palliation.* Man's Ignorance. / God's Foreknowledge.		
5.	19—21	Ground of Blessing. Christ.	Exhortation.	"Prophets."
6.	22—24	Ground of Wrath. Christ.		"Prophets."
7.	25—26	Ground of Blessing. Christ.		"Prophets."

Similar in principle is Stephen's defence: Acts. vii.

1. Abraham—Promises not fulfilled in him. 1—8.
2. Joseph rejected, exalted, reconciled to his brethren. 9—16.
3. Moses' design to rescue Israel rejected by them. 17—29.
4. Moses commissioned of God. Their actual deliverer. 30—36.
5. Moses foretells a prophet like himself. / Moses rejected after his commission from God. 37—43.
6. Not David, but Solomon builder of the temple. The temple disparaged. 44—50.
7. Concluding rebuke.

Whence it appears, that Stephen's discourse was not cut short as some suppose, but brought to its regular conclusion: and we may discern, I think, in the above analysis of it, how it was calculated to call forth the anger which was displayed immediately on its conclusion.

Abraham is presented as the subject of many promises, yet as not having received any accomplishment of them. Hence, it appears, that it was intended as an answer to the Jewish objection—How could Jesus be the Messiah, when he had died, and none of the lofty promises of dominion made to Messiah had been fulfilled in him? The example of Joseph follows, most pertinently. He was hated by his brethren, yet made ruler of Egypt; a time of trouble came, and he was reconciled to his brethren, and all gathered under his care. Thus then would

Jesus, though sold and rejected of the Jews, be the ruler of all things, and forgive the sins of his nation. Next follows the example of Moses, God's chosen deliverer for Israel, yet his first attempt to deliver them is refused. After a period of forty years, God commissions this rejected one, and he actually brings them out of their bondage. Might it not be then even thus with Jesus? At his first offer of deliverance he had been refused. Yet might he not be commissioned, even as Moses, by God? Might he not some time, though then the rejected stone, become the head of the corner? Moses' prediction of a prophet like himself is then noticed. Jesus' rejection therefore by Israel, far from being a proof against his Messiahship, was the greater resemblance to Moses. That ancient lawgiver was despised and refused by Israel too, not only before his open commission given of God, but after it, and idolatry was committed even in the camp of the chosen nation.

As to their excessive veneration for the temple, not David, though the man after God's own heart, but Solomon alone was permitted to build it. And even when built, it was not God's abode, his true indwelling being in the humble spirit. Thus Israel had ever resisted God, whenever he sent forth his deliverers, and had refused the prophets' messages. Was it any marvel then—was it any proof against Jesus' Messiahship, that they had rejected him?

The reader will find other examples of the same arrangement in Paul's address at Antioch of Pisidia (Acts xiii.), and in his defence before Agrippa (Acts xxvi).

IV. Let us now take examples of the use of the septenary arrangement in the Books of Scripture. And first in the *prophetic* books.

Let us select for the first example, Hosea. Its divisions, I suppose, are as follow.

Chap. i. The whorish wife.
Chap. ii. Israel accused. Repentance promised by God.
Chap. iii. The whorish wife.
Chaps. iv. v. Israel accused. Repentance waited for by God.

Chaps. vi.—xi. Repentance begun by man.
Chaps. xii. xiii. 1—14. Repentance required by God.
Chaps. xiii. 15, 16. xiv. Repentance granted by God.

Isaiah's divisions may be presented as under—

1.	Chaps. i.—xii. The Mystery and Day of the Lord.	Antichrist.
2.	xiii.—xxvii. The Gentiles. Day of the Lord.	Antichrist.
3.	xxvii.—xxxv. Mystery and Day of the Lord.	Antichrist.
4.	xxxvi.—xxxix. The Last Days.	Antichrist.
5.	Chaps. xl.—xlix. The Last Days.	True Christ.
6.	Chaps. l.—lx. The Mystery and Last Days.	True Christ humbled.
7.	Chaps. lxi.—lxvi. The Appearing and Glory.	True Christ exalted.

Is not the following the plan of Jonah? The book severed into two by his two commissions, and their different results, as tabularly presented below.

1. Jonah's first Commission. Disobedience.
2. His Punishment. The Storm and Fish.
3. His Prayer. Deliverance.
4. Jonah's Second Commission. Obedience.
5. His Preaching. Effect on Nineveh.
6. His Anger. The Gourd.
7. His Anger. God's Plea.

The book breaks off abruptly. Is there not prophetic beauty in this? as in the parable of the Two Brothers, or as it is commonly called (only one of the two brothers being noticed), the Prodigal Son. That is also so divided, as witness the following analysis.

1. 11, 12. Demand of the Prodigal.
2. 13—16. Departure. Subsequent Condition.
3. 17—19. Repentance.
4. 20. Return. Reception.
5. 21—24. Confession and Father's Reply.
6. 25—28. Elder Brother's Inquiry and Displeasure.
7. 29—32. His Accusation. Father's Expostulation.

In both Jonah and the Two Brothers, the Jews' jealousy of the Gentiles' reception to pardon and favour is seen; and God's reply to their jealousy. But each breaks off abruptly. The Jew is not satisfied. The feast waits till then.

The Revelation is constructed upon this arrangement. Its main divisions are threefold (as is declared ch. i. 19), which I denote by the letters, A, B, C.

Div.	No.	Chaps.	General Subject.	Heroes.	Nature.
A	1	i.	Seven Lamps.	Christ.	Symbolic.
B	2	ii. iii.	Seven Churches.	Christ.	Literal.
C	3	iv. xi.	Plagues.	Christ. (Antichrist.)	iv.—vi. Symbolic. vii.—xi. Literal.
	4	xii. xiv.	The Woman in heaven.	Antichrist. (Christ.)	xii.—xiv. Symbolic.
	5	xv. xvi.	Plagues.	Antichrist. (Christ.)	xv. xvi. Literal.
	6	xvii. xviii.	The Woman on earth.	Antichrist. (Christ.)	xvii. Symbolic. xviii. Literal.
C	7	xix. xxii.	The City in heaven.	Christ. (Antichrist.)	xix.—xxii. Literal.

Take also the scheme of the Hebrews:

		Chap.	
Argumentative.	1	i. ii.	Christ superior to *Angels*. In Divine Nature, ch. i. Human Nature, ch. ii.
	2	iii. iv.	Christ superior to *Moses*. In Dignity. In his "Rest."
	3	v.—vii.	Christ superior to *Aaron*. Personally. In Priesthood.
	4	viii.—x.	His Covenant superior. In Principle (viii.) Tabernacle (ix.) Sacrifices (x.)
Hortatory.	5	xi.	Faith.
	6	xii.	Afflictions.
	7	xiii.	Conclusion.

Let us now notice some of the historical books constructed on this principle. (1.) Take the Book of Genesis:

	Chap.		
1	i—iii.	The Creation and Fall.	Adam.
2	iv—vii.	Wickedness and Wrath. Flood.	Noah.
3	viii—xi.	Covenant with Noah.	Babel.
4	xii—xxv.	Abraham. Man of Faith.	The Father.
5	xxvi—xxviii.	Isaac. The Sacrifice.	The Son.
6	xxviii—xlix.	Jacob. The Pilgrim.	The Spirit.
7	xxxix—l.	Joseph. The Humbled and Exalted.	The Kingdom.

(2.) The following scheme will shew the main divisions of the Acts :—

No.	Chaps.	Scene.	Chief Actors.	Subjects.
1	i. ii.	Jerusalem.	Peter.	Jews.
2	iii. iv.	Jerusalem.	Peter.	Jews.
3	v—ix.	Jerusalem.	Peter.	Jews. Samaritans.
4	x—xii.	Jerusalem.	Peter.	Gentiles.
5	xiii—xv.	Antioch. Jerusalem.	Paul and Barnabas,	Jews and Gentiles.
6	xvi—xx.	Europe.	Paul.	Jews and Gentiles.
7	xxi—xxviii.	Jerusalem. Rome.	Paul.	Jews and Gentiles.

V. On the same principle the laws given to Moses (Ex. xx. 22—xxiii.), are arranged, as the following table will discover :

1	No gods of silver. Chap. xx. 22—26. The Altar. (Promise.) { i. Of earth. ii. Of Stone. } No steps.		First and Second Commandments, (Third omitted.)
=	JUDGMENTS.		
2	REST. The Seventh Year. { i. Man Servant. ii. Maid Servant. } Chap. xxi. 1—11.	PENALTIES.	Fourth Commandment.
3	INJURIES. { i. Extreme case. Murder. { By Man. { The Rule of Justice. By Beast. { The Rule of Justice. ii. Inferior cases. Ch. xxi. 12—36.	PENALTIES.	Sixth Commandment, embracing the Fifth.
4	THEFTS. Ch. xxii. 1—31. { i. Extreme cases. ii. Inferior cases. Oppression, &c.	PENALTIES.	Eighth Commandment, embracing the Seventh.
5	FALSE WITNESS. Enmity. Chap. xxiii. 1—9.		Ninth commandment.
6	REST. The Seventh Year. The Feasts. Chap. xxiii. 10—19.		Fourth Commandment.
7	PROMISES. Ch. xxiii. 20—33. { Mission of Angel. { Destroy Idolatry. No sickness nor loss. { No covenant with Idolators. Foes driven out. { Idolators.		First and Second Commandment. (Tenth omitted.)

Thus it is apparent that these statutes are applications of the preceding commands of the Decalogue.

The duty of Israel to God begins and ends the series. (Nos. 1 and 7.) The command and the promise of *rest*, follow next, and form an inner fold; (Nos. 2 and 6.) In No. 2 the *work* of the servant first is noticed, and then his *rest* in the seventh year. The curse brought in *labor*. The law seeks to bring *rest* before God, and between men. The fall made man hide himself from God. The law commands his *appearing* before the Lord God thrice a year. To *work* belongs *hiding* from God. To rest belongs the appearing before God when labor is complete. (No. 6.) But the law could not give rest by man's own labors, and therefore it ends with commands, and conditional promises, which, on transgression, introduce the curse anew. The seventh year is first treated of as between man and man, (No. 2,) and then in its relation to God. (No. 6.)

The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th divisions give the penalties of the law. The third section relates to anger, and its extreme result in the infliction of death. It thus skips from the fourth command to the sixth. But the fifth is also remarkably included; the spirit of anger as infringing the respect due to parents is included, with the authorized penalties. Inferior injuries either from man or beast are then treated of.

The 4th section deals with thefts. Thus again we have skipped from the 6th command to the 8th. But the 7th command against uncleanness is included in this series; apparently as a thing of secrecy, and an unjust advantage taken of another. (1 Thess. iv. 6th, the Greek, and margin.) In this manner the defrauding of God of his worship, or rendering it to another, seem to be included under the present section.

The tenth command is omitted, because it is occupied only about the inward thought, and so incapable of being the subject of infliction from man.

The third command is omitted, as being sufficiently clear in itself. But its penalty comes out afterwards.

A very singular point has yet to be noticed.

A very curious arrangement obtains both in Nos. 3 and 4.

The peculiar introduction of crimes against the fifth command into a section dealing ostensibly with those of the sixth, and crimes against the seventh command into a series detailing those against the eighth, is of itself not a little remarkable. But there is another peculiarity about it, which enhances the singularity of it still more, and proves it designedly done.

There is a group of three crimes, the first and last of the same character, and not harmonizing with the general strain of the section, the sorest instance of transgression being, in each case, placed last, the mildest first. But interposed between

these comes a case of crime seemingly of a different character from these, and diverse from the tenor of the section.

Thus chap. xxi. 15, we have—

1. *Smiting a father*—Lightest.
2. Stealing a man.
3. *Cursing a father*—Severest.

Again, in the cases of uncleanness or offences against the seventh command, which are introduced into the fourth section, (a section occupied in general about *thefts*,) we find a like arrangement.

Thus xxii. 16, we have—

1. *Fornication*—Lightest.
2. Witchcraft.
3. *Bestiality*.—Severest.

Thus, then, a commentary on *ten* commands is most remarkably distributed into *seven* sections. The third and the tenth omitted; the fourth repeated twice, the sixth and the fifth united together, and the eighth and the seventh; the ninth treated singly: the first and second considered together.

The same analysis will prove useful in a study of the remarkable resemblances which connect together the Epistle to the Ephesians, and that to the Colossians.

EPHESIANS.

	Chap.		
1.	i.	Spiritual mercies of the saints. *Jesus head of the body.*	
2.	ii.	*Evil former condition of the saints.* Internal. External.	
3.	iii.	*The Mystery.* Jew and Gentile one in privilege.	
4.	iv. 1—16.	The Gifts to edify the Body.	
5.	iv. 16—v. 21.	*The answering conduct required.*	Hortatory.
6.	v. 22—vi. 9.	*Wives, Children, Slaves.*	Hortatory.
7.	vi. 10—24.	The Armour of God.	Hortatory.

COLLOSSIANS.

	Chap.		
1.	i. 1—20.	The Gospel. Inheritance of saints. *Dignity of Jesus.*	
2.	i. 21—29.	State of the saints at first. *The Mystery.*	
3.	ii. 1—7.	Prayer that they might understand the Mystery and *have love.*	
4.	ii. 8—23.	Philosophy. Angel-worship. Will-worship. Asceticism.	
5.	iii. 1—17.	*Conduct suited to the risen with Christ.*	Hortatory.
6.	iii. 18—iv. 1.	*Wives. Children. Slaves.*	Hortatory.
7.	iv. 2—18.	Exhortations. Salutations.	Hortatory.

This is a very imperfect sketch of the structural and other harmonies to be found in the two. In each there are two prayers of Paul, in the first and third sections of each; the first for knowledge, the second for love to be granted to them.

VI. The Lord's Prayer again is a series of seven petitions.

1	Our Father who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name.
2	Thy kingdom come;
3	Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on the earth.
4	Give us to-day our daily bread:
5	And forgive us our debts, as we too forgive our debtors.
6	And lead us not into temptation:
7	But deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom.

Here again the division is into three and four: the three first our petitions for the glory of God: the four last for ourselves.

Perhaps this may serve to give force to the suggestion that seven is the sacred number, because it speaks of the conjunction of the human and divine; of the Creator and creature. Three expressing the divine nature; four the world. Four certainly is frequently used when the world is in question—four winds and four quarters of the earth.

It is also very observable, that while seven is the sacred number of the law, twelve appears to be that recurring in the final blessedness of the redeemed.

The New Jerusalem has twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels; the wall has twelve foundations; and on them the names of the twelve apostles. Its length, breadth, and height twelve thousand furlongs. The tree of life bears twelve kinds of fruits: The wall is 144 cubits high. The first-fruits are twelve times twelve thousand.

Now twelve as well as seven is a combination of four and three; only the one results from the addition of the two numbers; the other from their multiplication, which is a far more intimate union: The one is three *and* four: the other, three *into* four. May not this have the mystic meaning, that the creature will only stand unchangeably through its close and intimate alliance with the Divine nature?

VII. In the law of the sin-offering for ignorance, whether of the people or of the individual, it was commanded, that the blood should be (1) sprinkled seven times before the Lord;

(2) should be put upon the four horns of the altar; and (3) the rest poured out at the bottom of the altar.

Now this had its close fulfilment in the sacrifice of our Lord. Twice was he scourged. The crown of thorns was put on his head, and his head smitten with a reed. His hands and feet were four times pierced. Thus we get the seven *sprinklings* of blood. The four horns of the cross (God's wooden altar) were also bedewed with blood: the upper part from the pierced head; the lower from the nailed feet; the transverse beam by the hands on each side. And the rest of the Saviour's blood was *poured out* at the bottom of the altar by the soldier's spear.

VIII. The occurrence of Words seven times is also worthy of notice. This obtains especially in the Book of Revelation. As many of them have different renderings in our translation, they are given in the Greek below.[b] They are above 40 in number. Beside which, there are not a few occurring as multiples of seven.

In the first and second Epistle to the Thessalonians, the word 'coming' (*παρουσια*, more properly 'Presence') occurs seven times; four in the first epistle, three in the last. It may be regarded as the characteristic word of the two letters.

The meaning of the different arrangements of seven I have not investigated, but leave for some future inquirer. There are seven parables in which Jesus, because of Israel's rejection of the Holy Spirit, puts on the veil, (Matt. xiii.) There are seven in which he predicts the putting off of that veil by his return, (Matt. xxiv., xxv.) These are arranged differently. The first set thus—

1. The Sower.
2. Tares.
3. Mustard Seed, or 1.
4. Leaven 3.
   3.
5. Treasure hid.
6. Pearl.
7. Drag-net.

The other thus—

1. The Fig-tree.
2. Days of Noah.

---

b Αξιος. υπομονη. σαρξ. δεκα κερατα. μικρος. προφητεια. σημειον. ψυχη. καιρος. σεισμος. ετοιμαζω. βασιλεια. βασιλευω. ιματιον. δουλος αυτου. αβυσσος. εσχατος. φαγειν. εικοσι τεσσαρες. Ιησους Χριστος. πορνεια. νεφελη. τεταρτος. δρεπανον. τοπος. μακαριος. ακολουθεω. οξυς. ωδε. εκαστος. πιπτω spoken of worship to God. Θυμος, spoken of God's wrath. πορνος and πορνη together. χρυσος and χρυσιον. βρονται, directly used, and not in comparison. κρισις and κριμα together. πενθος and πενθεω. Jesus' coming seven times predicted.

3. Householder.
4. Stewards.
5. Virgins.
6. Talents.

or 2. 4. 1.

7. Sheep and Goats.

In the Epistles to the Churches, the arrangement is—

3. 4. The ordinary arrangement is 4. 3.

The place of the crisis is at No. 5; there the new speaker, if there is one in the parable, is usually introduced—as will be seen in the Parable of the Unmerciful Servant.

No.	Verses.	Analysis.	Characteristic word.
1	23—25.	Claim of the King.	Servant.
2	26, 27.	Patience besought. Pardon obtained.	Servant.
3	28.	Claim of pardoned servant.	Servant. Fellow-servant.
4	29, 30.	Patience besought. Debt exacted.	Fellow-servant.
5	31.	King and Culprit's fellow-servant.	Fellow-servant.
6	32—34.	King and Culprit.	Servant. Fellow-servant.
7	35.	Lesson.	——

There is but one parable, so far as I am aware, which requires eight divisions. This is the Sheep and Goats.

Its arrangement is symmetrical, and runs thus—

1	Gathering and Separation.
2	King's Address to Sheep.
3	Answer of Sheep.
4	King's reply.
5	King's Address to Goats.
6	Answer of Goats.
7	King's reply.
8	The award to each class.

May the Lord render useful this brief attempt to lead the minds of his people to "*rightly to divide* the word of truth."

P. Q.

THE REPHAIM, AND THEIR CONNEXION WITH EGYPTIAN HISTORY.[a]

CHAPTER I.

State of Palestine during the Patriarchal period.

Before we can hope to understand fully the political condition of Egypt and that of Israel, at the momentous epoch when the latter were "brought out of the house of bondage" to be made a nation among nations, we must ascend the stream of time some five centuries, in order to study the revolutions wrought during that interval in the condition of those people of Palestine who were the precursors of Israel in the land; and who, under the appointment of an overruling Providence, were the principal agents in working out—indirectly, the destinies of Israel,—and directly, those of Egypt. The two centuries preceding the Exode are a point in time when the history of these two nations unites; and we must look to Palestine for the connecting link between them.

Why—when Joseph's family entered Egypt (Gen. xlvi. 34)—was every shepherd such an abomination to the Egyptians, that the relatives of the king's greatest benefactor were objects of suspicion to his people from their manner of life and occupation? Why was the land of Goshen the only spot in all Egypt where they could be tolerated by the population? What revolutions subsequently brought on such a change of feeling towards the blameless and harmless Hebrews, that nothing short of their extermination could make the Egyptian monarch feel sure of his kingdom's safety? Why was he afraid that if they left the land, they would join his enemies? (Ex. i. 8—10.) And finally, *who were those enemies?*

Many and various solutions of these problems have been put forth from time to time; but nothing more definite than detached and imperfectly supported conjectures, has hitherto been offered in answer to the last and chief question of all—the key to the rest—Who were those great and formidable foes of Egypt

---

[a] In the *Biblical Intelligence* of the last number of this Journal, we noticed a paper on the Rephaim, and their connexion with Egyptian History, by Miss Fanny Corbaux, which had been read before the Syro-Egyptian Society, and a brief abstract of which appeared in the *Athenæum* for March 15. This lady's close acquaintance with the class of subjects to which this enquiry relates, is well known through her able and interesting communications to the Society just named; and it is therefore a peculiar satisfaction to us that our notice of the above paper has procured us the opportunity of laying the whole of this ingenious and valuable disquisition before our readers. What we now offer is the first portion of it.—Editor *J. S. L.*

whose power the Egyptian monarchs so greatly dreaded, although upwards of a century had elapsed since they were beaten out of the land?

It is very clear that the brief and mutilated fragments of Manetho which have survived the wreck of ages, appear to connect these aggressors of Egypt with Palestine. I trust I shall succeed in producing sufficient data to demonstrate that it is indeed to the history of a very remarkable, but hitherto disregarded primeval race, once extensively spread over that land, and called in the Bible the Rephaim, that we may look with confidence, both for the solution of the great problem in Egyptian history—and for a test of the great chronological problem in Scripture history, the synchronical connexion of Egypt and Israel by equally authentic accounts of corresponding events, described by the great Theban conquerors in the monumental records of their triumphs, on the one hand; and by the patriarch of history in the sacred annals of his people, on the other.

The historical fragment which forms chapter xiv of Genesis, inserted by Moses into the biography of his ancestor Abraham, introduces us to this people; and exhibits at the same time in so striking a light the political condition of Palestine at the epoch of his settlement in the land, that it will be desirable to have the narrative entire before our view for consideration.

Genesis xiv.

"[1]Now it was in the days of Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar,[b] Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goïm; [2]they made war with Bera king of Sodom, and with Birsha king of Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, Shemeber king of Zeboim, and the king of Bela, which is (now) Zoar; [3]all these were confederate in the vale of Shiddim,[c] which is (now) the salt sea.

---

[b] אֶלָּסָר *Ellasar.* In a very interesting paper read before the Geographical Society on the 14th April, Col. Rawlinson identified this name with the Λαρισσα of Xenophon, which he takes for Resen; and considers the mounds of Nimrúd, named in the inscriptions Rebekha, to be the רְחֹבֹת Rehoboth of Gen. x. 11, and only a suburb of "the great city" Resen or Larissa=Ellasar.

[c] שִׂדִּים In etymology, and especially in the identification of proper names written in one language, with their corresponding forms in another, a close adherence to the original orthography is of great importance. On this account I shall always render the Hebrew names of places to be hereafter indentified, by their radicals, without regard to the Masorite pointing, whenever a more ancient and authentic orthography of the names is found extant in the Egyptian records, to prove that the points give a wrong pronunciation.

In the present instance, I read *Shiddim*, the variation of ש from sh to s being unknown in early times. The same observation applies to my reading of שלם Shalem. Had Shiddim and Shalem been originally pronounced Siddim and Salem, Moses would have written them with a ם. Vide the two orthographies of the test-word *Shibboleth*, in Judges xii. 6.

[4]Twelve years they served Chedorlaomer, and in the thirteenth they rebelled. [5]And in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him, and smote the REPHAIM in Ashtaroth-karnaim,[d] the ZUZIM in Ham, and the EMIM in Shaveh-kiriathaim, [6]and the HORIM in the mountains of Seir as far as El-Paran[e] (Elath), which is near the desert. [7]Then they turned, and came to Ain-mishpat, which is (now) Kadesh, and smote all the country of the AMALEKITES, and also the AMORITES who were settled[f] in Hazazon-tamar.

[8]Then went forth the king of Sodom, the king of Gomorrah, the king of Admah, the king of Zeboim, and the king of Bela (now Zoar), and arrayed themselves in battle in the vale of Shiddim [9]against Chedorlaomer king of Elam, Tidal king of Goïm, Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ellasar, four kings against five.

[10]There were pits of bitumen in the vale of Shiddim. The kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled, and fell there, and the remainder fled to the mountain. [11]And they *(the enemy)* took all the riches of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all their provisions, and went their way; [12]they also took Lot, son of Abram's brother, and his riches, and departed; he was settled in Sodom.

[13]A fugitive came and told Abram the Eberite;[g] he was then dwelling in the terebinth-grove of Mamre the Amorite, brother of Eshcol and of Aner; these were in alliance with Abram. [14]When Abram heard that his kinsman was taken captive, he led forth his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen in number, and followed (the enemy) as far as Dan. [15]He stole[h] upon

---

[d] עַשְׁתָּרֹת קַרְנַיִם *The two-horned Ashtaroth,* to whom this city, metropolis of Bashan, was dedicated.

[e] אֵל פָּארָן *El-Paran,* Elath. The Septuagint version, though in some parts made from a faulty text, happens in this place to give us the key to a valuable emendation of the Hebrew reading, pointing to the identity of El-paran and Elath, by shewing that the Hebrew must have originally read אֵלַת פָּארָן the terminal ת of which has been acccidentally dropped. They translate ἕως τῆς τερεβίνθου τῆς φαράν "unto the terebinth-tree of Pharan," having evidently mistaken the final ת of the proper name Elath for the feminine constructed form of Elah, *a terebinth-tree.* And thus their translation—albeit an evident misinterpretation—proves the original reading *Elath,* and establishes the high antiquity of this important maritime city, ascending to an unknown period before the migration of Abraham. The situation of Elath confirms this reading; for the Israelite host passed this place and the contiguous fortress of Eziongaber, when they turned back from Kadesh to compass the mountains of Seir. Hence their route was the same as that of these Assyrian invaders, only reversing the direction.

[f] "Settled" seems to render more precisely than *dwelt,* the radical idea of ישב to sit down, settle, take up a *fixed* residence, as opposed to גור to sojourn, take up a *passing* residence, *Dwell* is ambiguous; it covers both these ideas, which the Hebrew distinguishes.

[g] הָעִבְרִי The Shemite descendants of Eber were known by this name among the Hamite races of Palestine and Egypt, to distinguish them from the Aramite Shemites their neighbours. It is remarkable that the Egyptians—and long afterwards the Philistines—invariably speak of the Israelites as the Ibrim or Eberites=*Hebrews.*

[h] וַיֶּחָלֶק עֲלֵיהֶם This expression has given rise to much variety of opinion as to its

them by night, he and his servants, smote them, and pursued them as far as Hobah, which is to the north[i] of Damascus: [16]he brought back all the riches, and brought back also his kinsman Lot, and his riches, the women, and the people.

[17]The king of Sodom went forth to meet him, after his return from smiting Chedorlaomer and the kings with him, in the valley of Shaveh, which is the royal valley; [18]and Melchizedek king of Shalem brought forth bread and wine, (he was priest of the Supreme God,) [19]and blessed him, saying,

'Blessed be Abram of the Supreme God,
Possessor of heaven and earth;
[20]And blessed be the Supreme God,
Who hath delivered thine enemies into thine hand.'

And he *(Abram)* gave him the tithe of all.

[21]Then said the king of Sodom, Give me the persons, and take the riches for thyself.

[22]Abram replied to the king of Sodom, I have lifted up my hand unto Jehovah, possessor of heaven and earth, [23]not to take of aught that is thine, from a hair-fillet even to a sandal-tie; for thou shalt not say, 'I have enriched Abram; [24]excepting what the youths have consumed, and the share of the men who went with me, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, let these take their share."

However unconnected with the remainder of the sacred history this chapter may appear, in its relating events which befell nations we never hear of again until we hear that they have ceased to exist as nations, its import becomes of inestimable value when we turn our attention to the circumstantial character of the account. Then, each incident included in this precious fragment of primeval history becomes doubly significant by the consequences it draws after it in the way of inference.

Firstly: We see a group of nations, whose settlements extend from the foot of Mount Hermon to the head of the Elanitic

---

precise signification. *To be smooth* or *slippery* seems the radical sense of חלק. Compare Gen. xxvii. 11, "My brother Esau is a hairy man, and I am a smooth man:" also Ps. xii. 2, "flattering lips;" Prov. vi. 24; Isa. xxx. 10, "smooth things," *i. e.*, flatteries: and in a reduplicate form, Ps. xxxv. 6, and Jer. xxiii. 12, "slippery ways." In Jer. xxxvii. 12, the marginal correction of the common translation, *to slip away*—instead of "separate himself," which has no sense—is very appropriate; the prophet was endeavouring to return by stealth, unperceived, among his people, and was accordingly accused of "falling away" (or deserting) to the Chaldeans. In the present passage, the sense of this expression is the same; the writer seems to imply that Abram *slipped in*—glided by stealth on the enemy during the night, to take them by surprise. "He stole upon them."

[i] מִשְּׂמֹאל לְדַמֶּשֶׂק The quarters of the compass are conventionally referred by the Hebrews to the position of a spectator fronting the rising sun. Since קֶדֶם *the front*, is the east, and תֵּיכָן *the right hand*, is the south,—שְׂמֹאל *the left*, must be the north, and אָחוֹר *behind*, the west.

Gulf, at open war with another group of nations resident beyond the Euphrates, among whom the king of Elam takes the lead. Thus the power of Shinar, precursor of the great Babylonian empire, was at that time so inconsiderable, that its king acts here only the secondary part of subsidy to the state of Elam.

Secondly: We see that although the Emim were no more than a section of this national group, the confederate princes of their five chief cities formed at that early period a sufficiently powerful body of people to withstand these four Asiatic kings, and to be evenly matched against them. This speaks very decidedly in favour of their power and importance relatively to their adversaries.

Thirdly: We learn from the part taken by the king of Sodom in the proceedings after the victory, that this city was the metropolis, for its site is called "the Royal valley;" and he himself must have been chief among the confederate Emim princes, for he claims the persons of the captives rescued by Abram, as his subjects; and takes upon himself to dispose of the recovered booty, by his munificent offer of the whole to the deliverer of his people. Such a claim and exercise of authority can only be the privileges of one whose supremacy is admitted: the metropolitan chief and head of the tribe.

Fourthly—and what appears very extraordinary—the king of another district leaves his metropolis in the centre of Palestine, and goes forth to the land of the Emim, to meet Abram and his people, who were escorting home Lot and the other rescued captives. Brief as are the terms of the record, the transaction in question obviously refers to a solemn public ceremony of thanksgiving, at which this king officiates in a sacerdotal character, and fulfils religious rites of which he and Abram partake in common. He not only prays for the Divine blessing on Abram, but returns thanks to God for his victory; although it does not appear, as far as that narrative shews, that his own immediate subjects had either been endangered or implicated in the war. What then could his relation be to the people in the Royal valley of Shaveh, whom the danger and the deliverance so nearly concerned?

But, what is more extraordinary still, and certainly implies that this king of Shalem did stand in some acknowledged relation of superiority to the people of Sodom, is, that he receives as a matter of course the tribute of a tenth of the spoil recovered from the enemy. He receives it, as St. Paul very clearly intimates (Heb. vii. 1—7), in virtue of a prescriptive right analogous to that under which the Levitical priesthood afterwards received their tithe. For mark: "Abram gave him *a tithe of*

all," immediately after the religious ceremony; this was before *all* the spoil had been offered to himself by the king of Sodom. So that at the time he is said to have given *"a tithe of all,"* it was not yet his own to present as a *personal* gift. We can hardly avoid inferring from this, that Melchizedek must have received it through the hands of Abram, in virtue of a sacred pre-existing right, acknowledged by all parties present, and by the king of Sodom the very first. This duty fulfilled, the residue is to be divided. A share of it was in justice due to Abram and to his allies, in return for the benefit they had rendered to the people by its recovery and the rescue of their captives. The king of Sodom offers him the whole without reserve: "Give me the persons, and take the riches for thyself." But the patriarch, unwilling to place himself under obligation to a people with whom he did not wish to keep up any personal intercourse, declines any share of the wealth for himself; and that in terms which admit the right of the giver: "I will not take of aught *that is thine*." He only avails himself of the Emim chieftain's generosity to secure his Amorite friends a just reward for their personal assistance.

What then was the position of this king of Shalem towards the Emim tribes, that such a right should exist on his part, and that the others should so scrupulously fulfil its claims? And finally, on considering over these circumstances, we ask ourselves, What were these nations whom we find spread over so large a part of Palestine at this early age, occupying so conspicuous a position in its political affairs; united by so striking a bond of federal discipline, which implies a systematic national organization of no short standing; and yet of whom we hear no more in Scripture, until Moses informs us that they have almost wholly disappeared? (Deut. ii. 10, 11, 19—21; iii. 1—11.) What was their origin—their history—their end?

The reversion of their lands to Abram's posterity was prophetically announced to the then childless patriarch, just after these events, when they were yet "a great, numerous, and haughty people;" when the land was full of them, and they were its lords. Where shall we read their whole history, so as to follow up the succession of events whereby, under the inscrutable dispositions of Providence, the fulfilment of that promise was finally accomplished?

Not in the sacred annals alone. But these give us the key to that history. They give us the names of this people—of their tribes—and of their cities; we can thereby learn their geographical distribution. In the opening of the Mosaic record, they are displayed once to our view, while in the plenitude of their

power. At its close, they are mentioned again as fallen—dispersed—lost!

But the monumental records of ancient Egypt abundantly supply the missing links of this broken chain. I propose to shew how, in these, we not only may recognize the same names, and trace them to the same lands; but also how the very people live again before our eyes, their appearance, their costumes, their arms, their gods, depicted on her sculptures; their deeds recorded on her tablets. These tell the tale of a long, inveterate national struggle between the two giant powers of primeval antiquity. In these we may learn how and when this ancient people of Palestine were cast down from their lofty position as conquerors and rulers of Egypt—pursued into the heart and to the very recesses of their native domains—and there cut up piecemeal, tribe by tribe, during a fierce conflict of three long centuries; till they were at last brought so low in the scale of nations, as to yield before the conquering Hebrew host and be scattered to nothing in a single battle, even before these had crossed the Jordan to enter the land of Canaan.

CHAPTER II.

Geographical distribution of the Mizraim.

It is now generally received among ethnologists that the original settlers in the valley of the Nile were an Asiatic race. The final establishment of a large tribe in the remoter regions of a newly colonized country is always a work of time, the natural effect of a gradual advance from the starting-point, according to the necessities of an increasing population. We therefore must not be surprised at an attempt to trace, in the various tribes comprehended under the name of Rephaim in the most ancient parts of the Bible records, and resident in southern and eastern Palestine, a people identical with or nearly related to the primitive colonists of Lower Egypt, who are included in those records under the general denomination of Mizraim.

Two Asiatic races, both Hamitic families, would appear to have established colonies in the valley of the Nile, simultaneously, but advancing from opposite directions. The Cushites of northern Arabia, after forming a line of settlements along the shores of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, entered the African continent that way, and founded an empire in Nubia; from thence extending far into Upper Egypt. For all these lands are denominated "Cush" in the Bible. Meanwhile, another Hamitic family, the Mizraim, having entered Lower Egypt through the

intermediate tract of eastern and southern Palestine, ultimately extended their settlements up the Nile.

How far southward the Mizraim may have reached before they came up with the Cushite colonies, and to what extent the ancient Egyptians of the Thebaid may be considered a mixed race, must remain a matter of conjecture. Where such a mixture has taken place, whether from gradual and peaceful amalgamation of two neighbouring stocks, or whether from subsequent conquest, it becomes very difficult to draw the exact line of demarcation between them, from their physical peculiarities. But a record of the original boundary between these two ambitious rival races of Egypt seems preserved by the Biblical names of their lands. Migdol and Syene are quoted in Scripture[j] as the "Dan and Beersheba" of Mizraimite Egypt, its two opposite extremities; beyond this, Cush or Ethiopia begins; and all this country is generally included under the designation of Mizraim, whether the whole remained under the dominion of the Mizraimite race or not.

The religious institutions of ancient Egypt shew evident traces of having resulted from the blending of two races originally as distinct in their religious ideas as in their physical peculiarities. Their pantheon exhibits a tendency to separate each tangible manifestation of a Divine attribute, or of a power in nature, and to set apart each of these impersonations as a distinct object of reverence and as a peculiarly local deity; the cosmogonic system thus framed being found strangely blended with another system of astronomical worship quite inconsistent with it, though very consistent in itself. This mixture is as old as the Egyptian nation known to us by its traditions and monuments since the era of Menes. The Sabean[k] or Cushite form of star-worship, in thus adapting itself to the indigenous religion of Mizraim, betrays both its originators and its relative age. It has all the appearance of being the after-idea arising out of a previously-formed methodical system, and superimposed on ano-

---

j Ezek. xxix. 10: "I will make the land of Mizraim utterly waste and desolate מִמִּגְדֹּל סְוֵנֵה וְעַד גְּבוּל כּוּשׁ from Migdol to Syene, and to the frontier of Cush." *Migdol* is the Magdolum of the Antonine itinerary, a frontier-fortress twelve Roman, or rather less than ten geographical miles, south of Pelusium. Syene, now Asouan; the Masorites were sorry geographers; and here, they have pointed סוֵנֵה *Seveneh*, as though the ה were a final of the proper name, instead of the determinative particle of direction, "to Suan." *Syene* was the separation of Upper Egypt and Ethiopia or Cush.

k For some highly interesting and judicious remarks on this subject, consult Sir Gardner Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, part ii., vol., i., chapters xii. and xiii. This author, however, supposes that the Sabean may have been the fundamental system. But the local character of the Egyptian Gods would rather indicate the contrary hypo-

ther whose parts had been casually brought together.[l] It may be regarded as the recent addition made by the powerful hierarchy of a dominant race, under whose sway were first united the detached tribes of the older possessors of the land, and their distinct, though analogous, objects of local worship; and it argues that this race did not actually displace those whom it superseded in power, but rather sought to conciliate them and amalgamate them with itself.

Manetho gives seven dynastic lines representing "the hereditary chiefs who held authority in Upper and Lower Egypt after Menes, either conjointly or separately. These are the Thinites, Memphites, Elephantines, Heracleopolites, and Thebans, referable to Upper Egypt and the Heptanomis; and the Xoites, and Phœnician, and other shepherd kings, referable to the Delta and the provinces beyond the Egyptian frontier. Moses (Gen. x. 13, 14) likewise gives the names of seven tribes descended from the original family of Mizraim. From this coincidence in numbers, various attempts have been made to identify the two lists, and thereby assign to the primitive tribes of Moses a definite geographical position in the valley of the Nile. But in these attempts, one main main feature of the case was overlooked; that the period of Cushite ascendancy, with which Manetho's lists and the empire probably begin, put an end to the former state of things; that in those parts of Upper Egypt where an amalgamation of the two races may have taken place, this union must have blotted out the names of the submissive one as rulers or heads of dynasties, even though it left the mass of the primitive population standing; so that in fact, one list ends where the other only begins; and that on this account, a full identification of the two lists must be as much out of the question, as to identify our list of Norman kings of England with the petty rulers of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy who preceded them.

---

thesis. It is very remarkable that in Eusebius's version of Manetho, Menes is represented as a conqueror; and moreover, according to a tradition reported by Diodorus Siculus, b. i., c. 45, he is said to have changed the simple customs and the religion of the Egyptians.

[l] The incongruous pedigrees and relationships of the Egyptian divinities strongly illustrate this. The subject has never been more fully and ably set forth than in the excellent analysis of the Egyptian pantheon, in the Chevalier Bunsen's *Egypt's place in Universal History*, to which the reader is referred (vol. i. sect. vi.). All the gods appear ultimately resolvable into Osiris and Isis, and were probably only so many local forms of these two primitive impersonations—of various degrees of antiquity—afterwards subdivided into new forms, on the formation of new tribes; and subsequently reunited into a genealogical system as these tribes gradually merged together into larger states; their respective divinities being then represented as parents of the new local gods appointed to preside over the newly-formed states.

It being thus premised, in order to avoid confusion hereafter, that under the name of MIZRAIM, as a land, in Scripture history, we are to understand the land originally colonized and civilized by the Mizraim, whether they continued under the government of rulers of that race or of any other,—we may now endeavour to ascertain the extent of the primitive Mizraimite settlements, with the help of the few casual references to them which the Bible affords. This will so far be useful to our present history, that some of the genuine Mizraimite nations survived the subjugation of their kindred, long after the formation of the Memphito-Theban kingdom; earnestly contending for their independence, and successfully maintaining it during many centuries. The tribes whose destiny I propose to trace out, will be found to constitute a highly important member of the series. So that by distinguishing which were the Mizraimite tribes belonging to Egypt proper, and which may be those referable to the country beyond, a material progress will have been made in our present enquiry.

1. The Ludim, לוּדִים. — These are associated by Ezekiel (chap. xxx. 5) with Cush and Phut, the Egyptian Ethiopia and Lybia, as among the multitude of Egypt who were to be taken away. Jeremiah (chap. xlvi. 19) likewise mentions these three nations as allies or subsidiaries to Pharaoh-Necho. Thus—although not a leading tribe—they still formed, in the time of the prophets, a distinct family in the compound Egyptian nation. This gives us no clue to their geographical position.

2. The Lehabim, לְהָבִים.—The original location of this tribe is equally obscure; and as it is never mentioned again in Scripture, its destiny remains unknown.

3. The Anamim, עֲנָמִים.—From the very slight resemblance between this and the royal family name Amenemha recurring in the 11th and 12th dynasties of Manetho, some incline to recognize in this tribe the original stock of the Thebans. If the remote verbal coincidence be more than accidental, it might suggest the original location of the tribe governed by a line of rulers who assumed the older tribe name in token of their supremacy; but this is too doubtful to be worthy of much attention.

4. The Naphtuhim, נַפְתֻּחִים. — This name very satisfactorily identifies the tribe that bears it with the original Memphites, whose capital, "the dwelling of PTAH," Na-Ptah, is contracted by the Hebrew prophet into Noph. After the failure of the first Thinite line of Manetho as sovereign rulers of Thebes and Memphis, three successive Memphite dynasties occupy the supreme position in the empire.[m] The Thebans only succeed

[m] This point is clearly demonstrated by Chevalier Bunsen's ingenious collation of

to these. We thus obtain a tolerably long intermediate period of genuine Mizraimite supremacy in Egypt, which includes the era of the pyramid-builders, and only terminates with the accession of the 11th and 12th dynasties of Thebans, when the southern race resumed a temporary ascendancy.

The Pathrusim, פַּתְרֻסִים.—The original location of this tribe in the valley of the Upper Nile is placed beyond a doubt by the prophetic references to the name. Ezekiel, in particular, points out their position by the alternate parallelism of ch. xxx. 14, which would seem to make Pathros equivalent to Upper Egypt:

> "I will put fear in the land of Mizraim,
> And make Pathros desolate:
> I will put fire in Zoan, (capital of Lower Egypt)
> And execute judgments in No. (Na-Amun, the dwelling of Amun, Thebes, capital of Upper Egypt.)

The Casluhim, כַּסְלֻחִים.—We cannot assign a place to this tribe from the etymology of their name. But we are further informed that "out of them came the Pelishtim," and since this fixes the origin of the Philistines as a member of the Mizraimite nation, it may assist us in determining the original location of the family to which they belonged.

The Caphtorim, כַּפְתֹרִים, were most probably a family settled in the Delta. In treating of the Philistines hereafter, we shall have occasion to refer in greater detail to the migration of a people from Caphtor (Deut. ii. 23), who settled near them in southern Judea, and joined them in extending their possessions northward at the expense of their weaker Canaanite neighbours. The district thus occupied is called in the conquests of Joshua "the land of the Goshen," (Josh. x. 41; xi. 16; xv. 51;) which was also the name borne by the eastern part of Lower Egypt in the time of Joseph, and before. The people expelled from Lower Egypt by Amosis, who took refuge among their kindred of Palestine, would appear by this to have brought with them into the land in which they settled, the name of the land they had left.

---

the chronological list of Theban kings given by Eratosthenes, with the early dynasties of Manetho; whereby it appears that the third dynasty of Memphites follow—as kings of Thebes, and consequently as supreme rulers over all the Egyptian states—immediately after the four successors of Menes, whose Thinite descendants continue in the subordinate position of local sovereigns until the eighteenth dynasty of Thebans, save a short interval of supremacy in the beginning of the twelfth. It is remarkable that the pyramid-builders, and after them the conquering shepherds, who fill up this interval, are traditionally stated to have again disturbed Egypt by innovations in religious matters.

We may then sum up our comparison of the Mosaic tribes of Mizraim with the more recent Manethonic dynasties, as follows: Out of seven we can identify three whose national institutions and rulers remained comparatively unaffected by the superseding power of the south, and this advantage they owed to their more northern situation. The Naphtuhim are referable to the Memphites, the Caphtorim may be represented by the Xoïtes and shepherds of the Delta, and the Casluhim by the foreign Phœnician shepherds. We can find a place for the Pathrusim, but only as permanently subject to the Thebans. The original place of the Ludim and Anamim remains extremely doubtful, and that of the Lehabim is entirely lost.

CHAPTER III.

Geographical distribution of the Canaanites and Rephaim.

Before we endeavour to ascertain of what stock the Rephaim were, it is desirable to be well satisfied as to what they were not. For the destiny of this primeval nation has arrested but little attention on the part of biblical commentators; and a general idea concerning them, that they were a gigantic tribe of Canaanites, has thus passed current without awakening either doubt or enquiry. Their very existence, as a distinct nation, would seem to have been doomed to oblivion by the stratum of gratuitous error that has been permitted to overlay the scanty historical records yet extant of their fate; for although, in various parts of Scripture, there are many passages referring to them by their proper name רְפָאִים—the Rephaim, that name has almost invariably been mistranslated by *giants*. Certain individuals of this nation are incidentally quoted as exceptional instances of excessive bodily strength and stature, namely, the king of Bashan, and the Philistine champions slain by David and his kinsmen. Hence arose the strange mistake, originated by the Alexandrian Jews who translated the Septuagint, and, on their authority, perpetuated in our modern lexicons, that because some particular individuals of the Rapha race were of gigantic stature, a Rapha must necessarily mean *a giant*. But although our common English version has reproduced this mistake of the Septuagint, the two are sometimes at variance as to where it should be corrected; for in Gen. xiv. 5, the Septuagint has γίγαντες, *giants*, where the English, for once, has retained רְפָאִים correctly as a proper name, Rephaim; while in Deut. ii., the Septuagint has throughout the chapter rendered the proper name by Ῥαφαΐν, as it should be, where the English version

has put down *giants*. In this way, the historical value of the scattered notices referring to this ancient people has been disguised to the reader or commentator who merely follows these translations.

There is no etymological support whatever for the rendering of רְפָאִים by *giants*. If this word be taken for a Hebrew appellative, its root רפא, is, "to restore to a former state," "to heal;" hence, the noun denotes a *healer* or *physician*[n]—an idea which has no connexion or affinity with that of great personal stature, and therefore could not possibly have been employed to express *a giant*, in Hebrew.

This correction made, we shall find little difficulty in disposing of the common inference that the nation called Rephaim were Canaanites.

Firstly, we have direct though negative evidence to that effect, in the ethnographical sketch of Moses, Gen. x.; for no tribe of that name is included in his Canaanite list. This primeval record states (ver. 15) that "Canaan begat his first-born Zidon, and Heth;" and afterwards enumerates the nations that sprang from these two sons of Canaan, by their tribe-names, as "the Jebusite, the Amorite, the Girgashite, and the Hivite," who, from the subsequent notices of their position in Scripture, were the southern and inland tribes, and probably descended from Heth; and "the Arkite, the Sinite, the Arvadite, the Zemarite, and the Hamathite," who were the northern tribes, and probably all descended from Zidon.[o]

Now—had the Rephaim been Canaanites—if Moses enumerates, as separate nations, such unimportant tribes as the Girgashites and Perizzites, who never appear otherwise than by name once or twice in Scripture, is it likely that he would have excluded from the above list a tribe so considerable and power-

---

[n] הָרפְאִים. Participial form of the same root, has that sense in Gen. l. 2: "Joseph commanded his servants, the physicians, to embalm his father." In Egypt, the apothecaries were both physicians and undertakers. Herodotus, in *Euterpe*, chap lxxxv. to lxxxix. gives a full account of the processes they employed.

[o] The settlements of these tribes are well recognized and laid down in the best maps of ancient Palestine; this is far from being the case in the locations assigned to the Hittite tribes, which, on that account, I shall more particularly define. The Arkites עַרְקִי, Arvadites אַרְוָדִי, and Zemarites צְמָרִי, are represented by the known sites of the ancient Arka, Aradus, and Simyra; the Sinites, סִינִי, occupied the mountain district still called Jebel Sunnîn; and the Hamathites חֲמָתִי, the tract lying between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon, watered by the upper Orontes. The river Leontes appears to have been the original boundary of the Zidonians and Hittites, and after their respective families were spread abroad, northward and southward, the elder branches retained their central and primary seats, as the juniors moved on to found new settlements.

ful, that for more than five hundred years before his time, they had occupied, in central Judea and the transjordanic provinces, as extensive a tract of land as that of all the children of Heth put together? This circumstance alone should have made us pause to consider, before we so readily took this people's Canaanite extraction for granted. But when, in addition, we come to examine the geographical boundaries assigned to the Canaanites by Moses, both directly and indirectly, we shall soon convince ourselves that, whatever other origin we may ascribe to the Rephaim, the supposition of their being branches of the Canaanite stock must be entirely set aside. For his description of the Canaanite's limits, as existing in his time (Gen. x. 19), particularly avoids the country occupied by the Rephaim. "The border of the Canaanite was from Zidon, as thou goest to Gerar, as far as Gaza:" this gives the western limit. And: "As thou goest to Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim, as far as Lesha," (afterwards Dan, near the sources of the Jordan:) this gives the eastern limit—a line drawn by the western coast of the Dead Sea, and the river Jordan. The frontier thus described evidently leaves the southern boundary of Canaan undefined. We shall consider hereafter, in its proper place, how far the mixture of the Rephaim of Anak among the Amorites of this region, either as co-settlers or as conquerors, may have been the motive of this omission; the eastern frontier line is the geographical datum which most particularly bears on the question we are now discussing; and this is given in very precise terms.

Not less positive is the conclusion, deducible by inference from other passages in the history of Moses, that he entirely excludes the lands originally possessed by the Rephaim from all claim to be regarded as Canaanite ground. For instance, in Num. xxxiii. 51, he says: "The Lord spake unto Moses in the plains of Moab, by the Jordan near Jericho, saying, When ye are passed over Jordan into the land of Canaan;" . . . which clearly implies that the land the Hebrews were in at the time was not reckoned "the land of Canaan." Again, in Num. xxxiv. 11, 12, he defines the eastern frontier of Canaan more particularly by "the sea of Chinnereth, the Jordan, and the Salt Sea," which gives the same boundary line as "from Sodom to Lesha" of Gen. x. 19, and absolutely excludes the transjordanic provinces. Finally, in Deut. xxxii. 49—51, he says: "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Ascend this mountain of the Abarim, Mount Nebo, which is in the land of Moab, opposite Jericho, and behold the land of Canaan: . . . thou shalt see the land before thee, but thou shalt not go thither into the land

which I give the children of Israel." Now considering that the country he was in, when this was spoken, had been occupied by Rephaim, not only since the days of Abraham, but how much earlier than that we cannot know, this passage would be a singular contradiction of facts, if these Rephaim had been a Canaanite people. For Moses would actually have been standing on Canaanite ground at the very time he was being told that he should *see* the land of Canaan, but would not be permitted to *enter it!*

The same exclusion is implied in Gen. xiii. 12: "Abram settled in the land of Canaan, and Lot settled in the cities of the plain, and pitched his tent in Sodom;" and in the evident distinction made in Jud. xxi. 12, between "Shiloh, which is in the land of Canaan," and Jabesh-Gilead in the transjordanic provinces.

So determined an exclusion of these provinces from any right to be regarded as Canaanite territory is the more remarkable, that full a century before that time, the Amorites, who originally occupied Southern Judea jointly with the Anakim, had also formed a settlement among the Rephaim of the eastern district; and they ended by taking advantage of this nation's decay to seize on the portion of their lands lying between the rivers Jabbok and Arnon (Numb. xxi. 26). Yet, neither this earlier settlement of the Amorite colonists, nor their subsequent seizure of the land by force of arms, are permitted to affect the strict principle of ethnographical definition that guides the sacred historian. This forcible occupation of the Rephaim territory by a Canaanite tribe is so evidently regarded as a passing usurpation, as to constitute no more valid a claim to the land, on their part, than a similar forcible occupation of five Canaanite provinces by the Philistines had entitled these to have that part of the country "counted to them" (Josh. xiii. 2, 3). The original and lawful boundary of Canaan, eastward, was "from Sodom to Lesha;" therefore the subsequent encroachments of the Amorites beyond that line—though noticed *historically* in their proper place—are geographically and ethnographically disregarded here. The original and lawful boundary of Canaan, westward, was the coast-line extending to Gaza; therefore the five principalities of the Philistines and their allies of Goshen,—Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ekron,—are geographically and ethnographically "accounted to the Canaanites" whom the Philistines had subjugated.

The divine promise to Abraham concerning the ultimate extension of his posterity, and of their settlements, in the land of his migration, was to this effect:—

GENESIS XV.

"18 Unto thy seed will I give this land, from the river of Mizraim to the great river, the river Euphrates:
19 The Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites,
20 The Hittites, the Perizzites, the Rephaim, the Amorites,
21 The Canaanites, (the Hivites,) the Girgashites, and the Jebusites."

The primary disposition of some Canaanite tribes prior to the age of Joshua, may be gathered from a few incidental notices in the earlier portions of sacred history. Some others are not referred to, and there is accordingly a little difficulty in defining their place of settlement.

By the HITTITES, generally, we should understand all the junior branches of the two great Canaanite stocks;[p] but when the Hittites are mentioned in conjunction with the other branch tribes, we must then understand more particularly by that designation the elder tribe of the children of Heth, retaining its distinctive patronymic, according to patriarchal usage. Just as the general term, "the Canaanites," includes all the children of Zidon and Heth collectively; although when the name occurs among others as denoting a particular tribe, it should be taken as standing for the elder branch of the Zidonians. The elder Hittites would appear to have at first occupied the lands west of the sea of Chinnereth (Lake Tiberias) to the Mediterranean coast. The junior branches extended themselves from thence, southward, as far as the Mosaic limits of Gaza and Sodom.

The PERIZZITES, in the time of Abraham (Gen. xiii. 7; xxxiv. 30), and afterwards under Joshua (Josh. xvii. 15), are found established in the region west of Bethel.

The AMORITES occupied chiefly the western side of the mountain tract of central and southern Judea. Most of their cities, in the time of Joshua, lay in that part. But they also had settlements on the other side, as far as Hazazon-tamar (Engedi) by the Dead Sea, eastward, and Arad on the border of the desert, southward.

The name of the HIVITES is accidentally lost from the Hebrew text in this enumeration; but the Samaritan and Septuagint retain it. They were a very large tribe. They dwelt from "the land of Mizpeh under Mount Hermon," which appears to

---

[p] The sub-tribe of Hittites settled about Hebron were clearly Amorites, from the notice of Gen. xiv. Yet in Gen. xxiii., they are called "children of Heth." The Hivite wives of Esau are also called "daughters of Heth." Thus the Reubenites, or the Benjamites, would be equally called, in speaking generally, "children of Israel."

have been situated on the western flank of this great mountain, near the sources of the Jordan[q] (Gen. xxxiv. 2), extending their settlements southward as far as Shechem and Gibeon (Josh ix. 17), along the ridge of high land which forms the watershed of Palestine.

The GIRGASHITES are merely named, in the Old Testament; no indication of their locality is given. In Matt. viii. 28, the lands on the east side of lake Tiberias (the sea of Chinneroth) are called "the country of the Gergesenes." The mountain ridge extending southward from Mount Hermon, and enclosing the northern and eastern side of the lake-region, appears to have separated them from the land of Bashan belonging to the Rephaim. But they ultimately extended themselves in that land also. The parallel passage in Luke viii. 26, defines the scene of the miracle as "the country of the Gadarenes;" and Gadara, on the river Hieromax, the chief river of Bashan, is quite beyond the Mosaic limits of the Canaanite territory. This extension of the Girgashites, therefore, like the Amorite settlements in Gilead and Heshbon, must be regarded as an encroachment by the Canaanites on lands originally and properly belonging to another nation.

The JEBUSITES are only heard of—for the first time—under Joshua (Josh. x. 1; xv. 63), as in possession of Jerusalem; but it is very doubtful whether that was originally Canaanite ground, being part of the land of the Rephaim. This branch of the Hittite stock appears to have been very recent at that time, and inconsiderable as to numbers and extension.

All these Canaanite lands passed over by conquest to the power of Abraham's descendants, as also did the domains of the REPHAIM mentioned with them. As for the KENITES, KENIZZITES, and KADMONITES, which open the list, the race of Abraham succeeded the original tenants in the more peaceable but not less sure way of gradual substitution.

The KENITES, whose history will be given hereafter in its place, were a people whose lands afterwards formed part of the Edomite kingdom. Thus the fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham, in this respect, is very satisfactorily found. The

---

[q] Josh. xiii.; compare ver. 3 with ver. 8, and with Jud. iii. 3. This remark is important, because, generally, the Bible-maps place these Hivites on the other side of Hermon, in the land of Bashan. Unless the "valley of Mizpeh" had been west of mount Hermon, Joshua's army could not possibly have pursued the flying Canaanites thither, and "to the great Zidon," in the same expedition. The description in Jud. iii. 3, "the Hivites who dwelt in mount Lebanon, from mount Baal-hermon unto the entrance (or pass) of Hamath," confirms this. Hermon, חֶרְמוֹן, "the separation," divided the Canaanites from the Rephaim.

KENIZZITES are unknown, as they are not mentioned again in sacred history.

The land of the KADMONITES, or "children of the East" (Job i. 3; Jud. vi. 3), seems an indefinite geographical term for as much as Abraham knew of the extensive pastoral plains, or *wilderness* of uncleared and uncultivated lands that border on the great Syrian and Arabian deserts. This tract is tenanted exclusively by nomads during the grazing season, but has no fixed habitations. As Abraham "gave gifts to the sons of his concubines, and sent them into the east country" (Gen. xxv. 6), where they rapidly grew into a numerous and powerful body of independent and industrious nomads, we also recognize without difficulty the full accomplishment of the divine promise.

Thus only the territory of the REPHAIM remains to be defined, and its primeval occupants traced to their original stock, before we can see how completely, in this respect also, was the prophecy fulfilled,—when the posterity of the Father of the faithful extended their dominion "from the river of Mizraim to the great river, the river Euphrates."

The different tribes ascribed to the race called "the REPHAIM in the Pentateuch," are ultimately referable to three great geographical divisions forming as many distinct states; each state consisting of several minor provinces.

Firstly: The Rephaim of the northern district beyond Jordan, the ZUZIM, called by the Ammonites Zamzummim. The chief or royal tribe occupied the district of Bashan; the southern region of Argob was called Gilead by the Hebrews. The children of Ammon, who settled on the south-eastern border of the Zuzim, may be considered as part of this nation, but only politically and by adoption.

Secondly: The Rephaim of the western district—THE CHILDREN OF ʿÂNKʳ, (Anakim). These dwelt in the mountains of Judah and of Ephraim. The question whether they were the original possessors of the land they occupied, or whether—like the Philistines—they were only an intrusive race among the Canaanites, will be fully discussed hereafter in their history.

ʳ ענק. The orthography and etymology of this name are important. I here write the Roman equivalent of the Hebrew ע with an accent over the Â to indicate a peculiar pronunciation, something between an a and an o, like the a in fall, ball, &c., which seems to have been its original value, before the vowel-points changed it to a variety of other vowel-articulations. When initial or final in a word or syllable, this letter has a peculiar guttural force, which the Septuagint endeavour to render in Greek by a γ or a κ, and which I shall express by prefixing the sign of rough breathing, wherever, for etymological illustration, it becomes necessary to indicate this orthographic peculiarity in the proper names hereafter to be analyzed.

Thirdly: The Rephaim of the southern district beyond Jordan—THE CHILDREN OF SHETH (Shittim), whom the Moabites called Emim. In the subsequent account of this powerful state, I will explain the reasons for inferring that, besides the chief tribe, it comprehended also the Kenites of Petra and the Amalekites of Paran as kindred tribes. This people further included, among their political dependencies, the adopted colony of Moab, and a vast body of later settlers, Edomites and Midianites, who resided on their borders and were in close and friendly alliance with them.

Finally, there is monumental evidence that all the land of ARAM was under subjection to the Rephaim during the period comprehended in this history; Aram-Naharaim, or of the two rivers; Padan-Aram, or Aram of the plains; and the Horite district, or Aram of the mountains. By this preliminary sketch, some idea may be formed of the immense extension of power achieved by the ambitious race whose history we are about to trace; in which the Egyptian records supply the political, religious, and personal details that abundantly fill out the rapid but decided outline of their condition and destiny afforded by the patriarchal records of Moses.

CHAPTER IV.

Origin of the Rephaim.

In the geographical classification of the Mizraimite families, we found the "Pelishtim" mentioned as issued from the tribe named "Casluhim" (Gen. x. 13). We will now examine how far this statement may assist us in identifying the original settlement of the parent tribe.

In an account of the victories obtained by David and his brave kinsmen over certain Philistine champions noted for their gigantic stature, it is stated that they were sons of a certain Rapha of Gath, and brethren of the celebrated Goliath (2 Sam. xxi. 16—22). From this, it appears that a whole family bearing the generic name of REPHAIM are pointedly included under the particular denomination of *Philistines.*

This remarkable circumstance gives us a clue to the probable origin of all the Rapha race. Coupling it with the geographical position of the Philistines, with the part we subsequently see them bearing in the political movements of Palestine, and with the little we shall be able to recover concerning their local religion,—all these, taken together, are indications pointing to the

conclusion that the primitive Philistines of Gerar and Beersheba themselves were only a junior branch of the powerful tribe of Rephaim called Anakim, whose lands were immediately contiguous to Pelesheth.

Now the original affinity of the Philistines to the Mizraim of Egypt proper is placed beyond a doubt by their pedigree, as given by Moses. He states that "the Pelishtim came out of the Casluhim." Accordingly, if the Philistines are to be considered Rephaim, from the qualification of the Philistine champions of Gath, it follows that all the other Rephaim are likewise Casluhim tribes; that this Mizraimite family, for whom we cannot find a place in Egypt itself, may claim to be the original stock out of which branched out in succession the Rephaim of Bashan, elder and royal tribe, and its junior scions, enumerated, according to their geographical divisions and tribe-subdivisions, in the preceding chapter.

It may be urged against this hypothesis, that the qualification of Rephaim conferred by the sacred historian on the Philistine champions might be explained in another way, viz., they perhaps were only descendants of Anakim fugitives expelled by Joshua and Caleb from the mountains of Judah; and they might thus have been Rephaim without being necessarily Philistines. But why then should they be called Philistines in this account? why is Goliath of Gath also invariably mentioned as "the Philistine?" If the particular tribe-name of men who attracted so much attention in their day, must be stated by the historian, as well as the generic name of Rapha, why the wrong one? If the specific name of Anakim—once so familiar an object of popular awe to the Hebrews, as to be held up by Moses (Deut. ii. 10, 11; ix. 1, 2) for an example of what the other lost Rapha tribes had been—was so thoroughly lost sight of in the time of David, when the race had disappeared, can we suppose that the generic and unfamiliar name of Rapha would be preferred by the Hebrew annalist to distinguish supposed Anakim champions?

It seems much more natural to take the account as it stands, than to try to explain it away. The probability is much rather that the Philistine champions were called Rephaim, because the Philistines really were Rephaim by descent; and that, being the only people of this ancient race who retained their political standing in the days of Saul, they asserted the name as the ostensible ground of their bitter animosity against Israel, who had dispossessed their kindred, and now occupied their lands.

But such a supposition, that these champions might be refugees of Anak, is altogether gratuitous. For it is nowhere said that the Anakim, when expelled from the mountains of

Judah, fled to Gath, Gaza, and Ashdod. The statement is, that "they were cut off from the mountains of Judah and Israel;" that "there were none left" in the lands conquered by by Joshua; that "only in Gath, Gaza, and Ashdod, some remained" (Josh. xi. 21, 22)—the lands which the Hebrews were not able to take; and the form of expression, "*some remained,*" seems rather to imply the previous settlement of the children of Anak in those cities, than their subsequent flight into them. Now Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod, are among the five Canaanite cities of which the Philistines had become rulers in the time of Joshua, but which are geographically accounted to the Canaanites, their original possessors.

The easiest inference seems therefore to be, that the Philistines were at first a sub-tribe and dependency of the children of Anak, and thus Rephaim by descent; who, when they had grown sufficiently numerous and powerful, formed for themselves an independent settlement on the sea-coast at the expense of their weaker neighbours: that when Moses wrote, all the Mizraimite nations of Palestine were nearly exterminated, save this junior scion of the Casluhim parent stock, now in the ascendant; and that, on this account, the historian specially records their extraction from that nearly extinct family, "the Casluhim, out of whom came the Pelishtim," so well known to the Hebrews since the days of Abraham and Isaac, and with whom their fathers had so long been on friendly terms.

The very name of Rephaim, borne by this family of Mizraimites, bears witness to an Egyptian origin. By referring it to the Hebrew or Canaanite homophonous root רפא, it would be rather difficult to give a satisfactory explanation of it from its sense, "a healer," as we can of the descriptive epithets *Emim* and *Zamzummim* applied by their Eberite neighbours of Moab and Ammon to the two eastern tribes of this great nation. The fact is, that the resemblance between the name Rapha and the Hebrew root רפא rpa, is accidental, and therefore unmeaning. rpa is the purely Egyptian form of a very ancient word common to all the Hamitic languages, and denoting a chief, prince, or superior. In the Hebrew dialect, this word occurs also, but with the vowel transposed, both in the name of Abraham's royal ancestor, Arpa-Chasd אַרְפַּכְשַׁד, "the chief of the Chasdim," and in the Hebrew radical אלף, to take the lead, guide, etc., from whence are derived Aleph, *the leader,* first letter of the alphabet, and the title אלוף Allouph, leader, governor, by which the Edomite heads of families are distinguished in their pedigrees.

The remarkable evidences in favour of the Mizraimite descent of the Rephaim, deducible from their local pantheon, will

be fully set forth when we enter on the separate account of each tribe. We shall then find how strikingly the fragmentary indications of their worship which still survive, bear witness to the fact that what is common to the Rephaim and to the Mizraim of Egypt, in their religion, is fundamental to the system of both nations; what is different in both, has been engrafted from individual or foreign sources on the ancient and common foundation.

F. C.

MODERN JUDAISM.

Sermons preached on Various Occasions at the West London Synagogue of British Jews. By the Rev. D. W. Marks, Minister of the Congregation. Published at the request of the Council of Founders. London: Groombridge and Sons, A.M. 5611—1851.

A volume of English sermons by a Jewish preacher is somewhat of a curiosity in theological literature, and we anticipate that many Christian readers will turn to the book with eager interest for the solution of questions which the mere title will suggest to them. What is the form of a Jewish sermon! What are their favourite topics? what the views which Jewish teachers are in the habit of enforcing upon the attention of their hearers? What peculiarities of Jewish opinion may be gathered from them? And, above all, in what manner do they explain or speak of those points in which Christians are at issue with them?

These are questions which any Jewish sermons might excite. But Mr. Marks is the minister of that congregation of London Jews belonging to the increasing body at home and abroad who refuse to acknowledge the authority of the Talmud in matters of faith, and take their stand upon the sole and sufficient authority of the Hebrew Scriptures. We have, therefore, here the further questions—in what this modern phase of Judaism differs from the more current and popular system; and how far it has succeeded in bringing this religion into better conformity with the demands of the age, by shaking off the authority of the Talmudical traditions, by which the Jewish has so long been held in bondage? Indeed, the author acknowledges, in his brief preface, that it was in some measure for the purpose of casting light on this matter that the volume has been put forth.

"The ritual changes which have been introduced into our synagogue have, from various causes, led to misrepresentations concerning our opinions and practices; and in no simpler way can a denial be given to the unfounded statements which have been advanced, than by the publication of a number of discourses in which the doctrines uniformly urged upon the attention of the congregations are fully and plainly declared."—p. v.

The opening discourse, which was delivered at the consecration of this synagogue, enters somewhat fully into this subject, in the way of explanation and vindication. The preacher here contends, that among the Jews the spirit of the law had been crushed or lost beneath the weight of "unwholesome because unmeaning ceremonies;" and those observances, by which duty to God was designed to be manifested, had been made to supersede the duty itself. Form came to be confounded with substance, and an infinity of ceremonies as the final aim of religion, "receiving as secondary all that is moral, all that is spiritual, all that embraces the final salvation of man."

"Now since, in the progress of time, it has been the misfortune of our people to fall into this peculiar error, we, who purpose to rectify the evil, as far as it relates to religious worship, consider it a duty we owe to ourselves, and to our brethren at large, to declare, at the very outset of our career, that it is not a desire for innovation, not a want of respect for those institutions which our more immediate ancestors obeyed, but a paramount obligation, a deep sense of right which nothing can weaken; a conviction, resulting from long, cool, and serious reflection, that impels us to those measures which, in our inmost hearts, we consider the only means of arousing our brethren from that indifference to spiritual matters, into which they have unhappily sunk; and of preserving our sacred religion from the blight of infidelity, to say nothing of apostasy, which is making inroads amongst us."

The author next proceeds to state the views of this new school of Judaism on the all-important subject of the tradition known by the name of the Oral Law, and professedly contained in the Mishna and the Talmud.

"We recognize in them a valuable aid for the elucidation of many passages in Scripture: we feel proud of them as a monument of the zeal and mental activity of our ancestors; we hold it our duty to reverence the sayings of men, who, we are convinced, would have sacrificed their lives for the maintenance of that Law which God has vouchsafed to deliver unto us; but we must (as our conviction urges us) solemnly deny, that a belief in the *divinity* of the traditions contained in the Mishna, and the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds, is of equal obligation to the Israelite with the faith in the divinity of the Law of Moses. We know that these books are human compositions; and

though we are content to accept with reverence from our post-biblical ancestors advice and instruction, we cannot *unconditionally* accept their laws. For Israelites, there is but One immutable Law—the sacred volume of the Scriptures, commanded by God to be written down for the unerring guidance of his people until the end of time."

Mr. Marks reminds his hearers that in repelling attacks from without, the defenders of Judaism have invariably given up the point of considering the whole tenor of the Talmud as a work of a divine character, "as a condition without which the defence of Judaism were impossible." But he acutely argues that if this be a truth in controversy, "how can the authority of the Talmud be upheld for the purpose of justifying ritual observances, at variance with the commands of God, and the spirit of our own age and feelings, which are clung to with a tenacity worthy of a better cause, merely because they are found in the Talmud."

We are told that every attempt to give practical effect to the reforms, the necessity for which had been generally felt and acknowledged, was met by the allegation that no authority competent to judge in such matters, for the whole house of Israel existed. Our author admits that if the nation were still under the guidance of a legally constituted Sanhedrin, it would be the duty of every Jew to pay implicit obedience in practical matters to the head of that body for the time being. "But that tribunal has ceased: for fifteen hundred years we have been without a visible head, and therefore there exists not a shadow of reason for upholding the authority of human decisions pronounced by men who are not the judges in our days," (Deut. xvii. 9.) If we understand this rightly, the decisions pronounced before the functions of the Sanhedrim ceased are binding, but not those of later date; and this is entirely a larger concession to Talmudism than we were prepared for. However, our author argues that it is inevitably from the absence of the authority he indicates that every Jewish congregation must be authorized "to take such measures as shall bring the divine service into consonance with the will of the Almighty, as explained to us in the Law and the Prophets." The cry that the unity of Israel would thus be disturbed, Mr. Marks meets by contending that, although the great principles of the Mosaic Law have been everywhere held the same; yet since those days no absolute similitude of outward observances has been maintained in Israel. This is shewn by a curious instance,—

"Polygamy is, at present, almost as heinous an offence in the eyes of the Jew, in this part of the world, as the crimes prohibited in the Decalogue; and yet the Israelites of Syria and Egypt set at nought

the celebrated decision of Rabenu Gershon and a hundred Rabbins, without ever having been considered schismatic by the rest of Israel. So true is it, that no decrees, emanating in modern times from any authority whatever, have any binding force upon Israelites generally. Hence, then, the alternative of either taking the work of improving the mode of worship into our own hands, or of acquiescing in the continuance of a state in which the decay of Judaism becomes every day more imminent."

He then proceeds:—

"Not, then, to weaken, but to strengthen our faith; not to trespass against, but to consolidate the great principles of that law which our fathers tremblingly heard amidst the thunders of Sinai—this Synagogue has been established. Our unerring guide has been and will continue to be, the sacred volume of the Scriptures; by that *alone* have we endeavoured to regulate our principles. In matters relating to public worship, we desire to reject nothing that bears the stamp of antiquity, when that stamp is genuine, and in accordance with the revealed will of God; nor to condemn anything because it is new, provided the newness of the measure be consonant with the spirit of the religion given us by the Almighty through Moses; a religion so framed as to adapt itself to all our destinies, in all their various phases, whether politically glorious on the throne of David, or politically prostrate in the thraldom of dispersion."

Mr. Marks in proceeding clearly traces the evil which chills the heart of his nation, and renders necessary a vigorous stand for spiritual worship, to a lethargic indifference reaching close to the dark borders of infidelity. In this he remarkably confirms the statements which from time to time reach us from outside observers; some of whom speak without any specially theological interest in their state. There is, for instance, the testimony of Mr. Mayhew, in his work on *London Labour and the London Poor*, from which also we incidentally gather the views with which the common mass of the poor regard this new movement. The fact thus and otherwise indicated, strongly shake the common notion that the Jews are, as a body, essentially a religious people after their own mode. Considering, for instance, the importance attached to the observances of the sabbath-day, we may be surprized to learn that very many of the lower sort of Jews, especially those engaged in street traffic, rarely go to the synagogues on the sabbath, but spend most of the day in their favourite pursuit of gambling for small stakes.

The boys of the same order are, it appears, greatly ignorant of their own religion, though replete with the prejudices of Judaism. A Jewish gentleman told Mr. Mayhew that "they were Jews by the accident of their birth, as others in the same way, with equal ignorance of their assumed faith, are Christians."

One lad of this sort, who acknowledged that he did not go to the synagogue, though his father went "sometimes," is said to have "bristled up" when questioned as to what he knew respecting Joseph and other Old Testament worthies, and asked if the questioner wanted to make a Mushmet (convert) of him. In answer to other questions, the same lad says, "Pork! Ah! No, I never touched it; I'd as soon eat a cat; so would my father. No, Sir, I don't think pork smells nice in a cook shop; but some Jew boys, as I knows, thinks it does. I don't know why it should'nt be eaten, only that it's wrong to eat it. No, I never touched a ham sandwich, but other Jew boys have, and laughed at it, I know."

Further on Mr. Mayhew states that the synagogues are not well attended, the congregations being smaller in proportion to the population than those of the Church of England, "Neither during the observance of the Jewish worship is there any special manifestation of the services being regarded as of a sacred and divinely ordained character. There is a buzzing talk among the attendants during the ceremony, and an absence of seriousness and attention. Some of the Jews, however, shew the greatest devotion, and the same may be said of the Jewesses, who sit apart in the synagogues." Jews themselves acknowledge this evil. "It is shocking," one said. Another remarked, "To attend the synagogue is looked upon too much as a matter of business; but perhaps there is the same spirit among some of the Christian churches."

In short, a large proportion of the Jews are, as might be expected, merely nominally such, with little knowledge of, or real feeling in, their religion. "The street-Jews," especially, "including the majority of the more prosperous and most numerous class among them, the old-clothes men, are far from religious in feeling or well versed in their faith, and are perhaps in that respect on a level with the members of the Church of England;—I say of the Church of England, because of that church the many who do not profess any religion are usually accounted members."

But it is time to return to Mr. Marks's volume.

He enumerates the leading circumstances which have in his judgment produced the indifference he deplores; and which is, as he allows, shamefully evinced in the public worship of Judaism, the lifelessness of which he laments. Among these is the general carelessness in regard to the religious training and character of females, in regard to whom "certain customs, totally at variance with the habits and dispositions of an enlightened people, have been associated with our religious practices." In fact, it seems

as if Mr. Marks meant to say, that religion was regarded as a matter in the duties and privileges of which females had small personal interest or concern, or in which their position was altogether inferior. "It is true," he adds, "that education has done much to remedy this injustice; yet does its memory live in the indifference manifested for the religious instruction of females." This indifference he reasonably regards as one of the most fruitful sources of the laxity in the Jewish religion which he so strongly rebukes. In the extreme length of the prayers, and in the blending with them of heterogeneous opinions, and metaphysical disquisitions, that can have no affinity with prayer, Mr. Marks finds another serious evil. An over-fondness for opinions of by-gone times, and a veneration for every opinion and custom that claims antiquity, have in his judgment been equally detrimental to the interests of Judaism. "To such length have these prejudices extended, that many institutions which sheer necessity and not choice, had led our fathers to adopt, have been rigidly adhered to in our times, although the causes that produced them have long ceased to exist." This is instanced in the several Chaldee compositions scattered through the Liturgy, originally introduced with the view of rendering the prayers intelligible to those uninformed in the sacred Hebrew; but retained now that the Chaldee has become obsolete, and the Hebrew far better understood. It might have struck Mr. Marks that his argument would hold good for the Liturgy being in English, for while all British-born Jews understand that language, it is by no means the case that all understand Hebrew. The observance of double festivals—a practice which originated before the astronomical computation of the calendar was introduced, is another of Mr. Mark's instances; the unreasonable hour at which the morning service commences is another. And with the deficiency of pulpit instruction, he completes his list of "the principal causes which have depressed Judaism, and that have separated so many in Israel from their God."

To remedy these and other evils the West London Synagogue was founded; and the preacher gives the following prospectus of the improvements designed, and actually carried into effect.

"The time appointed for divine service is such as to enable the entire congregation, men, women, and children, to assemble prior to the commencement of prayer. The prayers will be read aloud by the minister only; appropriate psalms and hymns will be chanted by the choir, and responses made by the congregation. The reading of the Law will not be interrupted by the עֲלִיָּה, for as that institution has long lost its primary aim, the necessity for it no longer exists. Free-will offerings, unaccompanied by personal compliments, will be permitted

in the synagogue on the three festivals of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, as well as on such other days as occasions may require, after the book of the Law shall have been returned to the ark. It will be incumbent upon children of both sexes, connected with this synagogue, to be publicly confirmed in their faith at the age of thirteen years; the catechetical exercises joined with this important ceremony will embrace the whole of the principles of the Jewish faith. As prayer will be offered up in Hebrew only, and as it is indispensable that every Israelite should perfectly understand the supplications he addresses to the Supreme Being, I confidently hope that the sacred language will be generally cultivated by both sexes of this congregation. The holy festivals will be celebrated on those days *only*, commanded by God through our legislator Moses. The days commemorative of the great events of Jewish history will be duly observed."

The special importance of the introductory discourse has demanded more attention than any of the others will require. But before quitting the subject we may note that this "Synagogue of British Jews," situate in Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, is now the west end or fashionable synagogue, and counts the most aristocratic and best educated Jews among its congregation. The alterations here introduced are strongly protested against by the other Jews; and we have understood that the congregation has been excommunicated, although the excommunication has not been followed by any stringent results.

The sermons do not in form differ much from our own. There is always a text, which usually is given first, but is sometimes preceded by an introduction. They all close with a prayer of some length; and the absence of the formal divisions to which we are accustomed—"the three heads and a conclusion"—give them the easy aspect of exhortations rather than of set discourses.

Most of these sermons are of a simply practical character, and might with little if any alteration have been as well preached to a Christian as to a Jewish audience. These will not detain us.

The eighth sermon is entitled, "The Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul proved from the Hebrew Scriptures," and it is an interesting and valuable discourse, gathering together much that has been overlooked as bearing on this subject. We admit the value of the evidence as collectively taken, although we apprehend that the meaning for which Mr. Marks contends has been somewhat too forcibly excruciated from some of the texts which he adduces; and believing that "life and immortality" were not brought to light very distinctly before our Lord came, for whom the office was reserved of making clearly known many high matters before but obscurely indicated, we are less interested than a modern Jew must be in finding this doctrine clearly set forth in the Old Testament. We believe that it is there set forth

—we are sure it is to be found there; but by no means so distinctly or so often as Mr. Marks would persuade himself. Still, if he has more than can be proved to bear on the subject, the collection of instances is valuable, as containing all that can be produced from the Old Testament as bearing on the subject—and, as we have hinted, something more. Still, in such a case a redundant collection of testimonies is better than a deficient one. This sermon is altogether highly instructive and interesting, and we give one specimen of its quality.

"Let me now direct your attention, my hearers, to the passage 'he was gathered to his people,' which occurs very often in the Pentateuch, and which the learned Dr. Munk regards as one of the evidences of the belief entertained by the Israelites, from the earliest times, in a state of being beyond this life. It has been generally supposed, that 'to be gathered to one's people,' is an ordinary term which the sacred historian employs in order to convey the idea, that the person to whom it is applied lies buried in the place where the remains of the members of the same family are deposited. But whoever attentively considers all the passages of the Bible where this expression occurs, will find, says Dr. Munk, that being 'gathered to one's ancestors,' is expressly distinguished from the right of sepulture. Abraham is 'gathered unto his people;' but he is buried in the cave which he bought near Hebron, and where Sarah alone is interred. This is the first instance where the passage 'to be gathered to one's people' is to be met with; and that it cannot mean, that Abraham's bones reposed in the same cave with those of his fathers, is very clear, since the ancestors of the patriarch were buried in Chaldea, and not in Canaan. The death of Jacob is related in the forty-ninth chapter of Genesis in the following words; ויכל יעקב לצוות את בניו ויאסף רגליו אל המטה ויגוע ויאסף אל עמיו 'And when Jacob had finished charging his sons, he gathered up his feet upon the bed, and he expired, and was gathered unto his people.' It is equally certain, that the phrase, 'he was gathered unto his people,' cannot refer to the *burial* of the patriarch; because we learn from the next chapter that he was embalmed, and that the Egyptians mourned for him seventy days: and it is only after these threescore and ten days of mourning are ended, that Joseph transports the remains of his father to Canaan, and inters them in the cave of Macpelah, where the ashes of Abraham and Isaac repose. When the inspired penman alludes to the actual burial of Jacob, he uses very different terms. He makes no mention then of the patriarch 'being gathered to his people,' but he simply employs the verb קָבַר 'to bury:' ויעל יוסף לקבור את אביו 'And Joseph went up to bury his father.' The very words addressed by Jacob on his death-bed to his sons, אני נאסף אל עמי קברו אותי אל אבותי "I am about to be gathered unto my people; bury me with my fathers,' afford us sufficient evidence, that the speaker, as well as the persons addressed, understood the expression, 'being gathered to one's people,' in a sense totally different from that of being lodged within a tomb.

"But a stronger instance still may be advanced. The Israelites arrive at Mount Hor, near the borders of Edom, and immediately is issued the divine command, 'Aaron shall be gathered unto his people, for he shall not come into the land which I have given to the children of Israel. . . . Strip Aaron of his garments, and clothe in them Eleazar his son, ואהרן יאסף ומת שם And Aaron shall be gathered, and there he shall die.' No member of his family lay buried on Mount Hor; and still Aaron is said to have been there 'gathered to his people.' Again, Moses is charged to chastise severely the Midianites for having seduced the Israelites to follow the abominable practices of בעל פעור ('Baal Peor'); and this act accomplished, the legislator is told, 'that he will be gathered unto his people.' This passage certainly cannot mean, that Moses was to be gathered in the grave with any of his people. The Hebrew lawgiver died on Mount Abarim; and the Scripture testifies, 'that no one ever knew of the place of his sepulchre;' and still the term, 'to be gathered to his people,' is here likewise employed.

Sufficient instances have now been cited to prove, that האסף אל עמיו is to be understood in a different sense from the rite of sepulture, and that the Hebrews in the times of Moses *did* entertain the belief in another state of existence, where spirit joined spirit after the death of the body."—pp. 103—106.

In the sermon on "the Final Ingathering of Israel," our author points out that the prophetic writings refer to two distinct restorations or ingatherings of the Jewish people; the one a return of the tribe of Judah from Babylonia after a captivity of seventy years, and the other "the final ingathering of every branch of the house of Judah, including the ten tribes which were carried away from Samaria by Shalmanezer of Assyria." As a rule for distinguishing the two, the preacher directs it to be borne in mind that the former is seldom referred to by the prophets, without mentioning the country where the Hebrews are exiled or the monarch who is to order their deliverance. But the prophecies which bear upon the final ingathering of the twelve tribes of Israel are, he tells us, very differently worded, and usually connect with this event the coming of the Messiah. From Isa. ii. 4, he deduces "a very intelligible idea of the works of the Messiah." It is that

"He is to re-establish the temple, gather in the captivity, annihilate tyrannical force, secure the triumph of mind and dominion of love, and to bring into harmony all men as the equal children of one great Father. Agreeably to this prophecy, the universal recognition of the Messiah is not to depend upon accident, or the mere exertion of faith; his own works are to be his credentials, and no mortal will be able to resist the acknowledgment of his Messianic character, when he shall have executed the task which has been appointed to him by the Scriptures."—pp. 198, 199.

To this Messiah no divine character is allowed by the Jews. The title given to him in Jer. xxiii. 7, "the Lord our Righteousness," has, we are told, led many persons to suppose that the Jews expect the Messiah to be a divine person. This, we are assured, is not the case, and Mr. Marks undertakes to explain the matter thus :—

"The practised reader of the Hebrew Scriptures will be well aware, that when the sacred penman represents a great purpose of God as about to be accomplished, when an individual is indicated as being instrumental in effecting it, and even when a sign is given to mark its fulfilment, the name of Jehovah is found appended to the person who is chosen to be the Lord's instrument, or to the sensible sign which commemorates the great deed that has been performed."—pp. 200, 201.

After further enlarging on the prophecies which refer to the final ingathering of Israel, the author thus sets forth the reasonableness of the expectations which this people have founded on them :—

"From what has been advanced, you will have perceived, my hearers, that the doctrine of the final ingathering of the Jewish people is clearly set forth in our holy Scriptures. You will also have learned that this event is not to be accomplished by the ordinary means adopted by mortals for colonising any particular district; but that it is to be effected by the wonder-working hand of the Lord. If the fulfilment of the prophecies concerning the restoration of Israel should appear to any of us, brethren, beyond the pale of possibility, we ought not to be unmindful of the past history of our race. No one will question the fact, that the Israelites were enslaved by the Pharaohs, and afterwards freed from the yoke without a sword having been unsheathed, or a bow strung. To say nothing of the intervening period of Jewish history, comprising more than a thousand years, no one will seriously deny that Nebuchadnezzar carried into slavery a large Hebrew population, and that after the time which the Bible had fixed for the duration of the captivity, an edict was published and executed by Cyrus, setting free the Jewish slaves, and permitting them to return to Judæa. We have every reason to suppose that the accomplishment of these events appeared no less impossible to our fathers, than the final ingathering of all the remnant of Israel seems to us, yet they were brought about by God's infallible Providence. But, brethren, what is the entire history of the Abrahamic race, but a series of miracles? So wonderful indeed is the preservation of our people, that if we were to imagine a period—say for instance the close of the present century—when the house of Israel should lose every particle of their religious identity, and be no longer distinguished as at other times, it is next to certain that the men of the succeeding century would have great doubts, whether as a religious body the Jews had really survived the fall of Jerusalem, for the space of nineteen hundred years; and the argument advanced for entertaining the doubt would be, to a very great extent, a valid one, that the circumstance is contrary to general experience and to proba-

bility. We should therefore weigh well our words before we presume to set any limits to what is possible for the Almighty to accomplish for and through the Jewish people. Indeed the continued preservation of the house of Israel is in itself a great fact, and is well calculated to confirm us in the belief that it is one of the means which the Lord has wisely ordered to the end prophesied in the passage of our text. Scripture plainly tells us 'that God is not a man that he should lie, or the son of man that he should repent; but that what he says he will do, and what he speaks he will confirm.' Now the Lord hath given his word to gather in the descendants of the holy patriarchs; and for the purpose of performing this promise, and of placing the Hebrews in a condition *to be restored*, his gracious providence has constantly hovered about them; and he has made even the persecutions which they have suffered, conduce to keep them distinct in their marriages, distinct in their ritual observances, distinct in the language which they employ for praise, and prayer, and supplication to the Most High, distinct in everything which relates to their spiritual concerns. In this sense (and in this only) the Jews of the present day are as much 'a nation within a nation,' as they were at any period of their history before their political nationality was annihilated."—pp. 203—205.

To this he adds:—

"Without a future restoration, our history would be perhaps one of the greatest incongruities ever presented to the consideration of man; without a future restoration the problem of the continued identity of the Hebrew people would be almost incapable of being solved; without a restoration, we should have no connection with the past or with the future, but we should appear like a community which had been the sport of chance, and in regard to which Providence had no fixed design. But entertaining a full belief in this doctrine, we are enabled to discover why the Lord has so peculiarly dealt with our fathers and with us. A bright and glorious future opens to us, and we have a full view of the part which we are to fill in the closing scene of that great moral drama which the Jews have represented upon the broad theatre of the world. It teaches us that we are preserved for a time, when through our instrumentality or that of the Messiah who is to be born of our race, strife and contention for worldly advantages, and the ever-jarring discords arising from differences of religious belief are to cease; when the roar of the cannon will no longer be heard, and the sword will rust in its scabbard; when harmony and love and brotherly kindness and sympathy will universally prevail; or to speak in the highly wrought language of Hebrew poetry, when 'the wolf shall lie down with the lamb, and the leopard shall abide with the kid, the calf and the fattling and the young lion shall feed together, and the infant child shall lead them.' We connect our restoration with the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom, when the Hebrews will be conducted by an Almighty hand to that spot of earth, made memorable as the cradle of revelation,—to that hallowed hill, from which 'the Law' and 'the Word' are to go forth unto all the nations of the globe. Now as it is the Lord's declared will that the solid peace and happiness which he

has promised to mankind in 'the latter days' are to be accomplished through us, our minds, dear brethren, ought to be steadily directed to our vocation, present and prospective; and we should so conduct ourselves towards God and man, as to be accounted worthy of the spiritual agency which the Arbiter of the universe has committed to the race of Abraham."—pp. 205—207.

This passage is very suggestive. It appears from it that the modern Jews—at least those of the new school to which Mr. Marks belongs—do not regard the restoration of the Jews as an era for the vulgar triumph and dominion of their race over the nations of the earth; but one in which, restored to their own land, they shall complete their appointed mission by becoming the messengers of peace and the dispensers of spiritual benefits to all the nations, who will then be admitted to all the high privileges of the seed of Abraham. This is certainly a different view of the Jewish expectations for the future, from those which we have been accustomed to entertain, and points to the breaking down of those high notions of exclusive privileges, which was formerly—and signally in the time of our Saviour—the great stumbling-block in their way. To those who are conversant with the subject, there is much matter for serious reflection in the view which the more enlightened Jews thus appear disposed to take of their ultimate vocation. The dry bones are shaking in the valley of vision.

In these sermons there is little direct or indirect allusion to Christian doctrines. One of the most important has been noticed in the denial of a divine character to the Messiah; and, throughout, there is of course a quiet assumption that the Messiah has not yet appeared. The sermon "on the Mercy of God and the Efficacy of true Repentance," preached on the morning of the day of Atonement, is however rendered remarkable by a pointed rejection of the great central doctrine of the Christian faith, without which the religion of Jesus were but a name:—

"In the doctrines and lessons bequeathed to us by Moses and the Prophets, we can discover nothing of the gloomy tenet which sprang up in later times, that God's justice demands a *particular satisfaction* for sin, and exacts the full penalty in the form of a vicarious sacrifice. Agreeably to the teachings of the Scriptures, as they strike the Jewish mind, the only essential atonement which our beneficent and merciful Father requires for transgression, is repentance made manifest by unconditional and immediate amendment. This atonement offered, we should hold it at variance with biblical doctrine to urge the necessity of punishment *to satisfy the justice of God*, since nothing can be plainer than the instruction set forth in the passage of the text (Jonah iv. 10, 11), that the Lord withheld the rod of chastisement from falling on the people of Nineveh, because of the sincere repentance which they had made."—pp. 315, 316.

With such views as these, it is not surprizing that there is an observable absence throughout the volume of such notices of sacrifices, or explanations of their nature and objects, as might be expected from a Jewish preacher, in whose religion sacrificial institutions once occupied so prominent a place. There seems a general evasion of this subject, even when one might well calculate on its being produced. But for this there is very good reason.

There is so much that is to a Christian reader curious and interesting in this volume, that we may safely recommend it to the attentive perusal of those who wish to contemplate Judaism in its most recent as well as most softened aspect.

SCRIPTURE PARALLELISMS.

The theory of Scripture Parallelism, particularly as unfolded by Bishop Jebb in his *Sacred Literature*, appears to be one of the most important aids ever furnished to the interpreter of Scripture, and to be destined ere long, when its principles have been more fully investigated, to throw an entirely new light on many portions of the sacred volume. When we consider that we are thus provided with a clue by which to trace the train of thought followed by the sacred writers, it seems extraordinary that so few followers should hitherto have been found to tread in the path so successfully opened up by Bishop Jebb. One reason suggested by a writer in a late number of this Journal (No. XI., p. 189), as having probably led some to feel less interested in the further application of the theory to the elucidation of Scripture, is that, "of the many examples adduced by Bishop Jebb, there is scarcely one in which it has been the means of eliciting a sense *not known before*." Now, considering the immense variety of opinions thrown out by the host of commentators on almost every passage of Scripture, this is a severe test by which to try the value of any theory of interpretation; and it might be deemed a sufficient proof of its excellence if, amidst the perplexing multiplicity of conflicting opinions, it furnished a sure criterion for determining in many cases the true one. Still the theory in question has no need to fear the severe ordeal proposed: nay, I hesitate not to affirm that there are passages in Scripture, the true meaning of which cannot be eliminated without an accurate knowledge of the rules of parallelism: *e.g.* the distinction between τὸ χάρισμα and τὸ δώρημα in Rom. v. 15 and 16.

In the following passage, John v. 19—30, the meaning,

which attention to the parallelistic arrangement compels us to give to our Saviour's words in v. 17, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work," will, I believe, be found to be different from what has occurred to any commentator, ancient or modern, and to place our Lord's reply to the Jews in an altogether new, beautiful, and consistent point of view.

JOHN v. 19—30.

Verse.

19 **A** Negative: The Son can do nothing of himself, But what he seeth the Father do:
Positive: For what things soever he doeth, These also doeth the Son likewise.

20 a For the Father loveth the Son, And sheweth him all things that himself doeth;
b And he will shew him greater works than these, That ye may marvel.

21 **B** FOR as the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them;
22 Even so the Son quickeneth whom he will:
FOR the Father judgeth no man,
But hath committed all judgment unto the Son:

23 b That all men should honour the Son, Even as they honour the Father:
a He that honoureth not the Son, Honoureth not the Father which hath sent him.

24 c Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, Hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, But is passed from death unto life.

25 d Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, and now is, When the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, And they that hear shall live.

26 B FOR as the Father hath life in himself,
27 So hath he given to the Son to have life in himself:
AND hath given him authority to execute judgment also, Because he is the Son of man.

28 d Marvel not at this:
For the hour is coming,
29 In the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, And shall come forth:

c They that have done good, Unto the resurrection of life:
And they that have done evil, Unto the resurrection of damnation.

30 **A** Negative: I can of mine own self do nothing:
Positive: As I hear, I judge:
And my judgment is just:
Because I seek not mine own will,
But the will of the Father which hath sent me.

The occasion which gave rise to the weighty discourse of our Saviour, of which this forms a part, was his having healed an impotent man at the pool of Bethesda on the sabbath-day; on which the rulers of the Jews accused him of breaking the sabbath. Christ's reply to this accusation, according to the view suggested by the parallelistic arrangement which follows, is most conclusive and unanswerable. "My Father [it is that] worketh hitherto [in all that I do], and I work." The work of healing which you censure is not mine, but my Father's. If therefore you find fault with me, you find fault with my Father.

The interpretation usually put upon these words by all commentators so far as I am aware, is, that "as the Father had not ceased to work in carrying on the great operations of nature and providence, even on the sabbath-day, so the Son was authorized to perform works of mercy and goodness on the same day, without being justly chargeable with any breach of the Sabbath." The other interpretation, however, needs but to be mentioned to commend itself at once as the true one; and, did any doubt remain, it would be dispelled by observing its exact coincidence with the idea to which such prominence is given in the subsequent Introverted Parallelism, or Epanodos,[a] (v. 19—30,) by placing it first and last. The leading proposition, with which the Epanodos opens, is (v. 19), "The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do;" which is equivalent to "My Father worketh hitherto [in all my works], and [in concert with him] I work:" and the conclusion from the whole reasoning in the close of the Epanodos (v. 30) runs in the same terms. "I can of mine own self do nothing," that is, inconsistent with my Father's will. My work of healing therefore on the sabbath-day, so far from being a violation of God's holy sabbath, is, on the contrary, a work of my Father's and an attestation to my divine mission.

Let us now trace the course of thought as pointed out to us by the parallelistic arrangement.

Our Lord, instead of softening the enmity of the Jews by his first reply, had given them still deeper offence by the terms

---

[a] "The Epanodos is literally *a going back;* speaking first to the second of two subjects proposed; or, if the subjects be more than two, resuming them precisely in the inverted order; speaking first to the last, and last to the first. The *rationale* of this artifice in composition may be thus explained. Two pair of terms or propositions, containing two important, but not equally important notions, are to be so distributed as to bring out the sense in the strongest and most impressive manner; now, this result will be best attained by commencing and concluding with the notion to which prominence is to be given; and by placing in the centre the less important notion, or that which, from the scope of the argument, is to be kept subordinate." —Jebb's *Sacred Literature*, p. 335.

which he employed. By calling God "*my* Father," instead of "*our* Father," he had evidently implied that God was, *in a peculiar sense*,[b] his Father, thus, as they accused him, "making himself equal with God." So far from denying the justice of this inference, he reasserts it in the most emphatic manner, affirming, with the strongest asseverations,[c] that there was the most entire union, both of purpose and of agency, between the Father and himself. This he does, first *negatively* (v. 19, "The Son can do *nothing* of himself, but," &c.) by denying the possibility of his performing any self-willed act, which was not at the same time the Father's act; and secondly, *positively* ("For what things soever he doeth, these," &c.) by asserting that every power which the Father possessed, the Son possessed. The *negative* assertion is intended to remove the objections of the Jews, as if any act of Christ's, such as the healing the lame man on the sabbath, could be inconsistent with the mind of the Father, and a breach of his commandment: while the *positive* view is intended to elevate their minds, if possible, to an apprehension of the majesty of his person and office, and the honour and obedience due to him as the alone Mediator and Saviour.

These two topics accordingly are taken up, but in inverse order, and enlarged upon in the two central members of the Introverted Parallelism, **B** and 𝔹; the first of which, **B**, directs the attention chiefly to the person of Christ; the second, 𝔹, more to the Jews themselves,[d] to warn them of the awful responsibility under which they were now laid by his appearance in the midst of them, and the momentous consequences which would result to themselves from their acceptance or rejection of him.

B. *As regards me.*

I have said, (A, 2nd distich, "What things soever the Father doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise." Now (v. 20)

---

[b] Πατέρα ἴδιον ἔλεγε τὸν Θεὸν. John v. 18.

[c] "Verily, verily, I say unto you."

[d] Compare a similar division in John vi. 39, 40,

Verse 39. "And this is the Father's will which hath sent me,
[viz., with regard to *my* conduct,]
"That of all which he hath given me,
"I should lose nothing,
"But should raise it up again at the last day."

Verse 40. "And this is the will of him that sent me,
[viz., with regard to *your* conduct towards me,]
"That every one which seeth the Son, *and believeth on him* [and none else]
"May have everlasting life;
"And I will raise him up at the last day."

this arises from the perfect unity between me and my Father, and his love to me, which leads him to communicate to me, even in my mediatorial capacity, every power. Not only, therefore, has he imparted to me the power of performing such miracles as those you have heretofore witnessed, but he will manifest to me still greater; even his own two highest and most distinguishing prerogatives: the power (v. 21,) 1st. of imparting *life* (spiritual as well as bodily,) and 2ndly, of *judging*, or deciding the destinies of all mankind, (both here and hereafter, according as they believe or not on me.) And the object, he concludes, (v. 23) for which the Father had communicated to him all this dignity and authority was, that the same honour might be paid to him through whom the Father revealed himself, as to the Father himself. Whosoever, therefore did not pay him this honour, resisted the will of the Father, and did not honour him, however much he pretended it. This was in answer to the Jews, who pretended to be so jealous of the honour due to God, as to be indignant at our Saviour in any way trenching upon it, or pretending to claim an equality of honour and power with God.

This leads him naturally to the second part of his subject, viz., the duty of the Jews to believe on him, and the momentous consequences which were dependent upon their acceptance or rejection of his claims.

𝔹. *As regards you.*

I have ended by saying *negatively*, "He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath sent him." I now say *affirmatively*, "He that heareth my word," and so evidences his belief in him that sent me, can alone be saved.[e] On this is suspended your doom as to the two all-important points which I have mentioned, *life* and *judgment*.

V. 25. Now, I conjure you[f] to reflect, is the accepted time. Hear me, and your souls shall live, though dead in trespasses and sins: for the time is at hand, on the completion of my work, nay is already begun, when the spiritually dead (and as a pledge

---

[e] Compare John iii. 18, "He that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God."

It will be observed that verses 23 and 24 are so connected as to form a transition between the two stanzas 𝔹 and 𝔹. In verse 23 Jesus had said, "He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath sent him." This proposition is again taken up in the beginning of verse 24, with the difference only that it is now expressed affirmatively instead of negatively, "He that heareth my word, and (so) believeth on him that sent me," &c., which is equivalent to, "He that honoureth the Son, and (thereby) honoureth the Father," &c.

[f] "Verily, verily, I say unto you."

and emblem thereof, some of the naturally dead) shall hear my voice and live.

V. 26 and 27. For again I would repeat (see v. 21 and 22) as the main point on which I would have all your thoughts to centre[g]:—To the Son the Father directs you as the one to whom are committed by him the sovereign powers of *creation* and of *judgment*—life *now*, and deliverance from all fear of judgment *already*: (see v. 24.)

V. 28, 29. Which need excite no astonishment in you, when I farther assure you that the final *resurrection to life* and *judgment* of all are intrusted to me.

V. 30. I sum up, therefore, this part of my subject as I began:

1st. (negatively). "I can of mine own self do nothing," that is, without the co-operation of my father. Therefore the miracle which I have performed, so far from being, as you unjustly allege, a breach of God's holy Sabbath, is on the contrary a work of the Father's as well as of mine, and thus a proof of the truth of my pretensions.

2ndly, (positively.) If you reject it and me, then when I claim the high prerogative of the Father to *judge* you for your unbelief, I do but what the Father has already done. As I before said (v. 19, 2nd distich.) "For what things soever the Father doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise:" so now I say with peculiar application to you, "As I hear, [from the Father] I judge"—and as my work of healing on the Sabbath day was just, unless you will impugn the works of the Father himself, so "my judgment" of you "is just" also: because I pursue no private ends of my own, but act in entire accordance with the commission intrusted to me by my Father.

Having thus seen the structure and connexion of the whole Introverted Parallelism, let us next advert to the arrangement of its parts, which will be found to be constructed with equal nicety and care.

B and 𝔹 are themselves each Introverted Parallelisms.

First let us examine **B**.

The two distichs of v. 20 correspond to the two distichs of v. 23 respectively, a to *a*, and b to *b*, while the two central verses, 21 and 22, mutually correspond[h].

In verses 20 and 23 (especially in a and *a*,) we find one of those profound harmonies, which exist not so much in any paral-

---

g Marked out by these verses being the *central* lines in each stanza.

h Observe the two *co-ordinate reasons* introduced by For in each verse. See Jebb, 375—387. So also in verses 26 and 27; only that here the second For is exchanged for And.

lelism of words as of thoughts. In both distichs a and *a*, the subordination of the Son to the Father in one respect, as mediator and man, is prominently brought forward. It is the Father that *sheweth* him all things (a), that has *sent* him as his ambassador to men (*a*). Still in both cases, in what the Father *shews* to the Son, and in the treatment wherewith men receive him whom he has *sent*, our Saviour impresses earnestly upon his hearers that the Father identifies himself so completely with him that the Son could truly say, "All thine are mine, (= a), and mine are thine," (= *a*). Not only in good but in evil, the love and sympathy of the Father towards the Son are entire. Every good that he himself possesses, he imparts to the Son (a): every dishonour that is offered to the Son, he counts as done to himself (*a*).

The other two distichs, b and *b*, correspond in both, expressing the *end* which the Father has in view in the gifts which he imparts to the Son; in order, if possible, to overpower their minds with believing *admiration*, and *honour* of the Son—"*that* ye may marvel[i]"—"*that* all men should honour the Son."

In B the correspondences are so obvious as to require little remark. Verses 24 and 25 are parallel to verses 28 and 29. On the all-powerful voice of the Son of God depend everlasting life and judgment: verses 24 and 25, *in this world*: verses 22 and 29, *in the world to come.*

c and *c* are thus connected. Everlasting life and escape from judgment depend upon the conduct of individuals:

c)—on their *believing*, or *not believing* on the Son of God.

c)—on their consequent *works.*

In d and *d*, the last three lines of each quatrain answer almost verbally to each other.

Line 2. "The hour is coming."

„ 3. "The dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God,"

„ 4. "And shall be quickened thereby."

We are thus led to observe that in the first lines of each, the reiterated earnestness of Jesus' exhortations ("Verily, verily, I say unto you") corresponds with the "marvelling" unbelief

---

[i] The words in the original are ἵνα ὑμεῖς θαυμάζητε. This is one of the few outstanding instances still quoted as a proof of the *supposed ecbatic* use of ἵνα, "*so that* ye shall marvel." That it here retains, however, its usual *telic* use "in order that" is proved not only by the far nobler signification thus given to our Saviour's words, but by the parallelism, which requires that the same meaning should be attached to the word in verse 20 as in the corresponding distich of verse 23, ἵνα πάντες τιμῶσι τὸν υἱὸν.

which he discerned growing in their hearts, on their hearing such lofty claims preferred by so lowly an individual[j].

The two central quatrains of stanzas **B** and 𝔹 are extremely similar, verses 26 and 27 being almost a repetition of verses 21 and 22. Both stanzas, it will be observed, are divided into three parts; and here it may be as well to remark, for the benefit of the student of parallelism, one of the principal relations of the number *Three*, or the *Ternary division*, by far the most common in Scripture. It forms a perfect whole, consisting of a *Beginning, Middle*, and *End*, or, as the parts are usually denominated in compositions of any length, the *Introduction*, the *Main Subject*, or *Body of the Discourse*, and the *Conclusion*.

The first division will be found to have always something of an initiatory, introductory, preparatory character: the middle term or division marks the *medium* or *means* through which the final issue or conclusion is reached—the connecting link which stands *midway* between the beginning and the end, uniting the first steps with the last, the premises with the conclusion, &c.: while the third division marks *the end* to which the initiatory steps tend, and in which they terminate. Thus in the ternary division of **B**, the first quatrain, v. 20, indicates the great

---

j In accordance with the principles of the Gradational Parallelism, we may observe a regular gradation or advance in the meaning in the last stanzas, above the first to which they correspond, both in **B** and in 𝔹.

In **B**, the two parts of verse 23 rise above the two corresponding parts of verse 20.

a) Not only does the Father shew the Son all things, and impart to him every power that he himself possesses; but

a) even that which is the highest aim that he proposes to himself in all that he does—his own glory and *honour*—he desires to communicate in full measure to the Son.

In b) "that *ye* may marvel" is heightened in *b*) into "that *all men* should honour the Son," &c., and "*marvel*" in b) into divine "*honour*" in *b*).

In the two parts of the central quatrain, a similar advance is perceptible in verse 22 above verse 21. "Raising up the dead and quickening them" is the *initiatory* act in the great work of man's redemption; "judgment" is the *final* act, which shall fix his everlasting fate.

In 𝔹, the advance is equally evident from the *present partial* resurrection and judgment in verses 24 and 25, to the *final* and *universal* in verses 28 and 29. In order, if possible, to awaken the minds of his hearers to belief in him as the Saviour from spiritual death and judgment in this world, Jesus assures them that he was invested with what they regarded as the greatest work of divine omnipotence and glory, the power of raising all men to life at the last day, and judging an assembled world. It is what logicians term an argument *a majori ad minus*.

The advance too from *faith* to *works* is observable in verse 29 as compared with verse 24, and the appropriate place and character of each are briefly but distinctly indicated. Faith must begin the believer's life and introduce the great change (c): but it will avail nothing unless followed and proved to be genuine by works, since by these the eternal state of each will be decided at the last day (*c*).

Source from whose love all things are communicated to the Son, while the third, v. 23, as evidently marks *the end* for which these are communicated, viz., that equal honour should be paid to the Son as to the Father. But verses 21, 22, contain what forms the grand *central* point of the whole, the *means* through which the end designed is to be attained, viz., that the Son of God is in actual possession and in sovereign exercise[k], even as mediator, of the powers of Creator and Judge of all.

His possession of these exclusively divine prerogatives is, in short, the main point on which our Saviour desires the thoughts of his hearers to be *centred* in both departments of his argument; in **B** as the convincing proof the justice of his claims to equal powers and honour with the Father himself; in 𝔹 as the argument of all others best calculated to arouse his unbelieving countrymen to the danger of longer resisting him, in whose hands were the issues of life and of death. In the threefold division of the latter stanza (𝔹), the *introductory* character of the resurrection and judgment of the first division, verses 24, 25, as compared with the *final* resurrection and judgment in verses 28, 29, has already been noticed.

Still, closely resembling each other as are the central quatrains of both **B** and 𝔹, the variations in each are most significant, and admirably adapted to the peculiar object of each stanza. In verses 21 and 22, which are intended to draw the attention more directly to Christ himself, the points more prominently insisted upon are such as are calculated to elevate our ideas of the dignity of his person, and the sovereignty of his attributes. *Even as the Father doeth, so doeth the Son,* "quickening *whom he will.*" Not the Father, but *he,* shall be the immediate judge of all.

But in verses 26 and 27, where it is his more immediate design to direct the attention of his hearers to *their* duty towards him, and to lead them from acknowledged premises to the intended conclusion, he dwells more upon the derivation of his prerogatives from his Father, that they might be alarmed by the thought that if they "heard *not* his word" they were showing a disregard of "him that sent" him. (Compare v. 24. "As the Father hath life in himself, so *hath he given* to the Son to have life in himself: and *hath given* him authority to execute judgment, &c." And though in human form, which had been the reason of their opposing him on this occasion, and accusing him of blasphemy, "because that he, being man, made himself equal with God," he on the contrary assures them that the very rea-

---

[k] "The Son quickeneth whom he will."

son why the Father had committed those powers to him as mediator was, that he had humbled himself to become "the Son of man," and to be made in all things like his brethren, since thus alone could he redeem man's fallen nature, become a merciful and sympathizing High Priest, and a confessedly impartial Judge.

Lastly, we remark that there is a deviation from the regular form of the Epanodos in v. 30. Taken as a whole, indeed, this verse is parallel to v. 19; but the separate propositions in each do not follow the usual arrangement, 1, 2 : 2, 1, but are placed 1, 2 : 1, 2, or, in the present case, instead of Negative, Positive : Positive, Negative, the two last are like the first, Negative, Positive. The reason of this is evident. Had the discourse ended at v. 30, and our Lord's reply been only apologetical, intended principally to repel the objections of the Jews, he would have concluded as he began, with the negative proposition, "I can of mine own self do nothing" (unauthorized by my Father.) Our Saviour's design, however, was not merely defensive but aggressive, directed to convict the Jews of their great guilt in rejecting his claims. As he was, therefore, now about to leave the negative side of the argument, (= "*I* am not guilty,") and in the remainder of his discourse (31—47) to insist rather on the positive (= "But *ye* are guilty"), he reverses with propriety the usual order of the propositions, summing up in a single sentence the defence of himself, "I can of mine own self do nothing," and placing last, and in order to draw attention more particularly to them, dwelling, throughout the rest of the verse, on the proofs which he is now about to adduce of his right to pass judgment on their unbelief, and of the justice of his sentence.

Though I fear I may have already exhausted the reader's patience by the minuteness of my criticisms on this instance of the Introverted Parallelism, or Epanodos, I cannot refrain from trespassing a little longer upon it, and availing myself of the opportunity which this passage offers of rebutting the charge against Parallelism of its inutility in eliciting the true meaning of Scripture, and of exemplifying the great importance, for the correct interpretation of the sacred volume, of the Epanodos in concentrating the attention upon the leading point of the argument, by placing it first and last.

We have already seen that the true meaning of our Saviour's first brief reply to the objection of his adversaries, which had escaped all the commentators (v. 17, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work") is immediately elicited by attention to the equivalent words with which the Epanodos, in his more expanded answer, begins and ends, verses 19 and 30. In like

manner, the true meaning of the words, with which the second part of the discourse, in which he goes on to adduce in judgment the testimony for himself and against his opposers, begins, "If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true," (v. 31,) will, I think, be found to have been equally misapprehended. Comparing these words with the preceding, "*I* can *of mine own self*[l] do nothing," *i.e.* apart from the Father, a new light is immediately thrown upon the succeeding proposition, "If *I*[m] bear witness of myself," that is, apart from my Father, "my witness is not true." Neither in my *works*, nor in my *words*, Christ evidently means to say, do I stand alone[n]? "I can of mine own self do nothing," without the Father's doing it at the same time. So "if I bear witness of myself" without the Father's bearing witness of me at the same time, believe me not[o]: "my witness is not true." But I am not alone[p]: "there is another that beareth witness of me," even my Father.

In this verse, as usually interpreted, our Lord is represented as condescending to reason with the Jews on their own principles, and for argument's sake to admit that his testimony in his own behalf was not to be accepted, on the ground that no man is a sufficient witness in his own case, from the inherent untruthfulness of human nature. Nothing, I conceive, could be more entirely at variance with the whole scope of our Saviour's reasoning in what follows, the great object of which is to enforce upon the Jews the truth, indispensable for their acceptance of him as the Son of God, that the *Divine* alone can testify of the *Divine*. "I receive not testimony from *man*," (v. 34.) To facilitate your faith in me I indeed refer you to John (verses 33—35,) whom, for a time at least, you regarded as a messenger from God, and who bare witness to me." Nevertheless John, as John—as a mere man—can never convince you of my divine nature and office. "*Flesh and blood* cannot reveal my true glory unto you, but my Father which is in heaven," (Mat. xvi. 17. Unless you recognize the voice of *God* as speaking through John, you can never overcome your carnal prejudices against me, so as truly to believe that in my human form "dwells the fulness of the Godhead bodily." No—God alone can testify of God. Ye must "all be taught of God," John vi. 45. "No

---

[l] ἐγὼ . . ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ.

[m] ἐγώ, emphatically.

[n] Compare John xiv. 10, "Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? *the words* that I speak unto you, I speak not *of myself*; but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth *the works*."

[o] Compare John x. 37, "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not."

[p] See John viii. 16.

man can come to me, except *the Father,* which hath sent me, draw him," John vi. 44. "I have greater witness than that of John," John v. 36); more direct and immediate evidence of God's having spoken. The *divine works* which you behold, are my testimony. They are my Father's witness to me; they are my witness to myself[q], as being performed by the conjoint power of the Father and of the Son.

"I have greater witness than that of John:
For the works *which the Father hath given me* to finish,
The same works that *I*[r] do,
Bear witness of me that the Father hath sent me."
John v. 36.

Compare with this—

"*My Father* worketh hitherto, [in these works,]
And *I* work."

I bear witness in them to myself, by the almighty power and sovereign authority with which, as the Son of God, you have heard me, in my own name, command the evil spirits to go forth, and they obeyed; and say unto the leper, "*I will*[s]: be thou cleansed." "If I bear witness of myself," apart from God, and as a mere man; if my work of healing the impotent man were a human work, as your position of holding it a breach of God's law would require you in consistency to maintain, then, indeed, my witness that I am equal to God were not true. But if on the contrary this work, like all that I have hitherto[t] performed, is beyond question a work of divine power, then, as unquestionably, my witness is true. It is coincident with the Father's: it is no human testimony, "for I receive not testimony from man:" "I stand not alone," John viii. 16. "There is another that beareth witness of me," even my Father.

Regarded as a concession on the part of Jesus, this verse would be equivalent to a virtual surrender of the very point to be proved, which was that he *was equal with God.* It would have been descending from the lofty position which he had taken up, and to which he wished to raise the minds of his hearers, that they must listen to him with the same reverence, and pay to him the same honour as to the Father himself. It represents our Saviour as reasoning inconclusively. "Let it be granted that *I am but a man,* as you suppose, and that therefore

---

[q] Compare John viii. 18, "*I am one that bear witness of myself,* and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me."

[r] *I* is emphatical in the original, ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ.

[s] Whereas Moses' miracles were always prefaced, "*and the Lord spake unto Moses,* Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod," &c., Exod. vii. 19.

[t] ἕως ἄρτο, John v. 17.

my witness with regard to myself is not to be accepted: still I will prove to you, even on this supposition, that *I am God*, possessed of his very highest attributes." Our Lord's argument, there seems to be no question, must have been the very reverse. "I must bear witness to myself, if I am ever to convince you that I am the Son of God. Unless I bear witness to myself by works displaying a power, a wisdom, and a goodness, equal to those of the Father, you cannot and ought not to believe me." "If, indeed, I bear witness to myself" as a mere man without performing works equal to those of the Father, such as alone could prove that he was at the same time bearing witness to me, 'my witness would not be true:' but as, without doubt, my works can proceed from God alone, my witness is true."

This verse is thus brought into perfect accordance with ch. viii. 14, "Though I bear witness of myself, my witness is true,"[u] and there will be not even the semblance of contradiction between them.

In ch. v. 31, the proposition is stated hypothetically, "If I bear witness of myself" apart from the Father, then indeed "my witness is not true." But the Father does bear evidence along with me, my works being indubitably works of divine power, and therefore my witness is true.

In ch. viii. 14, the proposition is stated directly, "Though I bear witness of myself yet my witness is true:" for (however little you recognize my divine origin, as proceeding from, and again about to return to, the Father) "I know whence I come and whither I go." You regard me as a man, and you object that no man's testimony is to be accepted in his own favour. Should this be granted in the case of man, still the very opposite as I before argued with you, is the truth with regard to God. God alone can testify of God. My witness of myself is true, because I am God's Son who came forth from the bosom of the Father, and return to his bosom. "If I bear witness of myself" alone without the Father, then indeed my witness is not true: but "I am not alone, but I, and the Father that sent me." Now, in your law it is written that the testimony of even two *men*, (ἀνθρώπων) is true and valid, and though divine testimony is not to be restricted to the same rules, even this double testimony I can adduce to my divinity. "I am one that bear witness of myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me."

In ch. viii. there is no recall, on the part of our Lord, as

---

[u] The words in the Greek are exactly the same as in chap. v. 31, though our translators have here used "*record*" instead of "*witness*."

generally supposed, of any concession that he had made to the Jews for the sake of argument. Both parties maintain their original position. The Jews still obstinately persist in looking on Jesus as a mere man, and in closing their eyes wilfully on the manifestation of divine perfections which he was continually exhibiting; while our Lord is still anxiously endeavouring, as frequently throughout the intermediate chapters, to impress on their minds, that "spiritual things are only spiritually to be discerned," and that instead of listening to their own carnal reasonings, they should humbly ask of God himself to teach them (John vi. 45), and to give them willing minds to "do his will, that they might know of Jesus' doctrine whether it were of God, or whether *he spake of himself.*" John vii. 17.

J. F.

Edinburgh.

QUERIED TEXTS.—No. 1.

1 Tim. v. 11—13.

"But the younger widows refuse; *for when* (ὅταν) *they have begun to wax wanton against Christ,* (καταστρηνιάσωσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ) *they will marry* (γαμεῖν θέλουσιν), having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith. And withal they learn to be idle, wandering about from house to house; and not only idle, but tattlers also and busybodies, speaking things which they ought not."

Dissatisfied with the interpretation ordinarily given to the expression "*to wax wanton against Christ,*" (as though nothing more was meant by it than that these widows would be guilty of wantonness, and that wantonness was offensive to Christ; or nothing more than that they would grow weary against Christ of the services to which they had been appointed, or weary of the restraints of Christianity in general; and equally dissatisfied with that ordinarily attached to the expression ὅταν, "*when*" (as though all that was designed thereby was simply to indicate the *tempus quo; i. e.,* to declare that *when* they had waxed wanton, *then* they would marry)—I would suggest that we understand the "*when*" of these verses in the sense of *even when,* (a sense which it often bears,) and the phrase "to marry, *when they have begun to wax wanton against Christ,*" as denoting that so for the most part did these younger widows desire to remarry, that "*even when their wantonness or love had reference to men that were unbelievers, even then* they married."

The most appropriate translation of the word ὅταν *(when)* considered as a particle of time, is of course a simple *when.*

But being not unfrequently employed to denote not so much the *time when*, as the *circumstances under which* a thing is done, (as in Luke xvii. 10; 2 Cor. xii. 10; James i. 2, &c.) especially if those circumstances be such as to warrant the expectation of a result different from that which actually takes place, I would here understand it not as a particle of time, but as a particle of circumstance.

Our English *when* is often similarly used. For the reader's satisfaction I subjoin a few instances in proof.[a]

The expression "*they will marry*," as it stands in the original Greek, is in thorough consistency with this interpretation—the original being, not as the translation might lead us to suppose, the future γαμήσουσι (*they will marry*), but the present γαμεῖν θέλουσι (*they will to marry*). A present tense being the tense employed, the expression "*they will*," in the sense of "*they desire*," seems intended therefore not so much to inform us as to what they would hereafter do, as to assert with reference to what had been already done by them, that so bent were they upon remarriage, so deaf to all remonstrance, so reckless of appearances, so regardless of duty, that *even when*, or *even though*, they waxed wanton *against Christ, even then* they married. It speaks of the future only by implication. The ambiguousness of our English translation of this expression has no existence in the Greek.

For this reason then, if for no other, *even when*, or *even though*, would seem to be greatly preferable to the common translation "*when*," in order that the translation may adequately express the disposedness, and readiness, and eagerness, to remarry, which actually had been manifested, and which in the Greek is so clearly expressed by the use of the verb θέλουσι.

Various commentators have thought it not improbable indeed, that some of the widows referred to may "*perhaps*" have

---

[a] "*When, (i. e., even when)* there is nothing from without to disturb, a secret poison operates within."—Blair's *Sermons*, Serm. XXII.

"*When* the human condition appears most depressed, the feelings of men, through a gracious appointment of Providence, adjust themselves thereto."—*Ibid.*

"Every man may recollect instances of fondness and dislike which have forced themselves upon him; of a disposition to court some and avoid others, *when* he could assign no reason for the preference."—Johnson, *Rambler*, No. 160.

"He not only did not suppress this club at its beginning, but he encouraged it in every part of its progress; *when* Jacobin clubs under the very same or similar titles were making such dreadful havoc in a country not thirty miles from the coast of England, and *when* every motive of moral prudence called for the discouragement of such societies. *When* its proceedings had caused very serious alarm, he publicly treated these apprehensions with the greatest asperity and ridicule, and condemned and vilified in the most insulting and outrageous terms the proclamation issued on that occasion."—Burke, *Works*, vol. iv., p. 153.

remarried as supposed.[b] But I cannot find that any of them recognize in the expression that "when (even when) they waxed wanton against Christ they married," an express assertion of the fact—and yet if it be not there asserted that they did so marry, the supposition that they did so, however probable it may be as a mere conjecture, is a supposition without proof. The proof, the actual proof, of their so marrying, if to be found anywhere, must be found in the very words of the charge itself —in the charge that "*when (even when) they waxed wanton against Christ,* they married;" for if not to be found there, it is not to be found at all.

Others, proceeding upon the supposition that the widows in question were under some sort of an engagement not to remarry, (in order that the church might have the full benefit of their services during the whole of the remainder of their term of life,) think it most likely that the sin of these widows in reference to marriage was not so much that they had married unbelievers, as that they had dared to marry a second time at all. But the supposition, they did so bind themselves, is wholly conjectural, and is anything but probable. Nor is it probable that they would be expected or required so to do: nor probable that they should even so much as intend to remain unmarried. If the very apostles regarded themselves as free to marry (1 Cor. ix. 5), notwithstanding their more numerous and more important avocations, surely it would neither have been considerate, nor humane, nor Christian-like, to have expected of these young widows that they, in the prime of life, should continue single, and forego marital protection and support, merely in order that they might be able to give to the church the full complement of their minor and less important services. It might have been desirable upon many accounts that the widows to be selected should be such as were likely to remain unmarried. The words, "Refuse them, *because they will marry—marry even when they have begun to wax wanton against Christ,*" imply as much. Probabilities, however, are wholly against the supposition of promise, or vow, or stipulation of any kind whatever. The expression, their "*first faith,*" has indeed been insisted on

---

[b] "When they grow wanton, (though such a disposition be directly against the laws of Christ,) they will marry; and *perhaps to husbands who are strangers to Christianity*"—Doddridge *in loc.*

"Waxing wanton against Christ, *i.e.*, growing weary of Christ and of his service in the church, they will marry,—*perhaps to infidels,*—for they who are sons of the church will not easily give way to match with persons so devoted."—Mant and D'Oyly.

"They might *perhaps be tempted to apostatize from the faith by marrying heathens,* which seems to have been the case with some.—Scott *in loc.*

as giving some countenance to the opinion. But the ordinary interpretation of this phrase, which regards it as having reference to their faith as Christians rather than to any violated vow binding them never again to marry, appears to be the most natural interpretation. As the "*first love*" (Rev. ii. 4) of the Apocalyptic church at Ephesus was clearly their love to Christ, so is it most reasonable to conclude that the "*first faith*" of these widows is to be understood as denoting their faith in Christ. To violate a given pledge or promise may, it is true, be expressed in Greek by the phrase, *ἀθετεῖν τὴν πίστιν (violare fidem)*; but such a promise would scarcely be called a *πρώτη πίστις*. The added epithet, *τὴν πρώτην (their first)*, seems to compel us therefore to receive the common interpretation of this expression as correct. It has been further urged that in a preceding verse (verse 9) it is directed that such widows only should be chosen as had been the "*wife of one man.*" Inasmuch however as the church had not yet begun to forbid either to remarry or to marry (*vide* Rom. vii. 23; 1 Cor. vii. 39), nothing more appears to have been meant by this direction than that they should be such as during the life-time of their husband or husbands, had lived with those husbands throughout chastely and honourably; it being desirable for the credit of Christianity that none should be elected to honourable office in the church, who had not, at least since their profession of Christianity, maintained an honourable character.

It is well known that divorces followed by remarriage were common in these days both amongst Jews and Gentiles; but perhaps it is not so well known, or not so well remembered, that it was almost as common for the wife, upon light or insufficient grounds, to divorce or to leave her husband, and to be married to another, as for the husband to divorce the wife. For proofs, see *Whitby and Lightfoot*. Our Lord himself refers to these female divorces (Mark x. 12), as does also St. Paul (1 Cor. vii. 10, 11, 13). By "*the wife of one man,*" therefore, must have been meant, not the wife who, her first husband having died, had never had a second, but the wife who had never had a second during the lifetime of her first.

But not only do the common interpretations of the passage under consideration (whether the phrase, "to wax wanton against Christ," be understood as meaning simply to wax wanton, or whether as meaning to grow weary of the duties to which they had been appointed, or whether to grow weary of Christ and of the restraints of Christianity in general, or whether as denoting a desire to remarry in spite of an engagement to the contrary), appear to give an unsustained and weak meaning to

the phrase, "*to wax wanton against Christ;*" but they leave us also without any explanation at all, or without any satisfactory explanation of the precise force of the expression "*when,*" the grand difficulty of the passage—and the right interpretation of which is, I believe, the key to the right interpretation of the whole.

If the interpretation above suggested be correct, it would, it is true, have been easy for the apostle to have expressed the sentiment supposed with greater clearness. Instead of saying of these widows that they would wax wanton "*against Christ,*" he might, for instance, have said that they would wax wanton "*towards an unbeliever.*" But the latter expression, though it would have been less ambiguous, would also have been less Pauline. In Pauline phraseology, to marry a believer, is to marry "in Christ," or to marry "in the Lord." (1 Cor. vii. 39.) If then, in Pauline phraseology, to marry a believer is to marry 'in Christ' or 'in the Lord,' to marry an unbeliever must be to marry '*against Christ;*' and to wax wanton towards an unbeliever 'to wax wanton *against Christ.*' The fact, that so to speak of such marriages is agreeable to the style and manner of the apostle, taken in connection with the fact that the ὅταν *(when)* may be, and often is, employed in the sense of *even when,* will, it is humbly hoped, be considered as conclusive.

Upon these grounds then, I cannot but believe that the widows referred to were to be refused, not simply because they would wax wanton, nor simply because they would grow weary of the duties assigned to them, nor simply because they would remarry, but because such for the most part was the wantonness of widows of the class referred to *(i. e.,* of younger widows,) or such, for the most part, their desire to remarry, that even when the wantonness of their desire had reference to men that were unbelievers, even then they married.

Of wantonness, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, they may have been guilty or they may not. Probably they were not, at least, not guilty of known and open wantonness. Their conduct may have been spoken of as wantonness, (a word of great latitude of meaning,) simply and solely that their disposedness and readiness to remarry as they did, might, by a strong term, be the more severely censured. Had they been guilty of wantonness in the sense in which we commonly understand the word, their wantonness, if known, would of itself have been a sufficient reason why they should be refused, whether they consummated that wantonness by marrying with heathen men, or not. But whether guilty of actual wantonness or not, yet considering the idolatry and licentiousness of

heathenism, and the purity and spirituality demanded by Christianity, it is clear that in uniting themselves to heathen husbands they were guilty of gross sin. What Christian woman would choose to place herself by marriage under the authority of any man that was a heathen, unless she had already, at least in heart, renounced the Christianity which she had hitherto professed? "How," asks Tertullian, "can the wife serve two masters?—the Lord and a husband, that husband being a heathen. After whatever fashion she may pay her duties to her husband, the Lord she cannot satisfy, while she hath at her side a servant of the devil."—*In Uxorem,* lib. ii., c. 3.

One cannot but wonder indeed that these remarriages should have been so frequent as to render it necessary for the credit of Christianity, that so stringent a rule should be given as that the younger widows should all of them, without exception, be refused. But although the charge against these "younger widows" is expressed in general terms, it by no means follows that all of them, nor yet that the majority of them, had waxed thus wanton against Christ; nor does it follow that St. Paul expected that all would.[c] A very few instances would have been quite sufficient to justify the direction, "The younger (*i.e.,* all younger) widows refuse." The credit of Christianity demanded that none should be appointed to the discharge of prominent and special duties but such as might be depended on with confidence. If "to wax wanton against Christ," or to be "idle, wandering about from house to house, tattlers also and busybodies, speaking things which they ought not," (verse 13), was an evil peculiarly incident to the age of these younger widows, it was amply sufficient to justify the general charge, and constituted a sufficient reason why, as a general rule, no widow should "be taken into the number who was under threescore years old." It is quite possible, moreover, that the Christianity of a great majority of the widows referred to (of those of them, at least, who were the widows of Christian husbands) was merely nominal. Their Christianity may have been adopted rather from a regard to the convictions of their husbands than from any personal or heartfelt convictions of their own. The Christianity of such, their husbands dying, would of course be discarded without difficulty. Such would have but little hesitation in waxing wanton against Christ, and such would have as little in marrying against Christ.

In the above remarks not any notice whatsoever has been

---

[c] "Οταν (ὅτε ἄν), *i. e. when,* with the accessory idea of *uncertainty; i. q. whensoever, if ever, in case that, so often as.*" Robinson (Edw.) Lexicon, *sub. voc.*

taken of the words ἔχουσας κρίμα, partly because I am not prepared to sit in judgment on these widows, and partly because it is immaterial to the suggested interpretation of the other phrases of the verse whether we translate κρίμα "damnation," or whether "condemnation." I am however very much disposed to believe that the phrase employed is wisely and designedly indefinite.

British Museum. K.

ON THE EVANGELIZATION OF INDIA.

At the last meeting of the General Assembly (May last) of the Church of Scotland, Dr. Charles of Kirkowan (late of Calcutta) mentioned, when moving the adoption of the report on India Missions, in stating the circumstances of the conversion of the Koolin Brahmin at Calcutta, that "the convert had two wives, and it was an important question for the Assembly to settle how the missionaries were to deal with such a case;" and he suggested "that a statement of the circumstances should be drawn up and submitted to the Professors of Divinity and Church History at the University seats in order that it might be seen whether their researches enabled them to throw any light on the question," which was agreed to. "Another point," Dr. Charles also said, "to be considered was, that on the baptism of a Hindoo, his wife, according to *their religion and usage*, became a widow; and it was a question whether in such a case he was entitled to ally himself to another."

Any one at all interested in the evangelization of India must admit that these difficulties ought to be removed, and that it becomes every Christian to assist in doing so, seeing that they are of such a nature as to hinder the propagation among the heathen of the Christian religion "by whomsoever preached." With this object in view, the writer of the present article would request the reader's attention to the following considerations. *First*, Does the Christian religion (or the law of nature) forbid polygamy or does it not? If it does, one of the difficulties is removed, for then the convert must put away one of his wives; if, however, it does not forbid polygamy, then the convert can retain his wives till death. *Second*, Are the Old and New Testaments to be considered as containing the fundamental truths, doctrines, etc., of the only true religion fit for fallen man? If they are, then all other truths, doctrines, etc., by whatever religion maintained, must give way to the only true

religion contained in the Old and New Testaments; and consequently the second difficulty is also removed, as the convert *cannot* ally himself to another wife, his present one being still living, although it is against "the *religion and usage*" of his ancestors. If, on the other hand, the Old and New Testaments do not contain the truths, doctrines, etc., of the only true religion, then our missionaries are not entitled to hinder the convert from marrying again.

1. Does the Christian religion forbid polygamy? In all Christian countries, polygamy is universally prohibited, although allowed by all the religions which have prevailed in Asia. There is not, however, in the Scriptures, an express law upon the subject. Yet polygamy must be considered as opposed to the law of nature; and although it is true that Augustin and other Fathers, along with Grotius (*De Ju. bell. ac pac.* lib. ii.) maintain the contrary, still with Lord Kames we hold "that polygamy is a gross infringement of that law," for as he has well said in his *Sketches* (vol. i. s. 6.), "The equal number of males and females is a clear indication that Providence intends every man to be confined to *one wife*, and every woman to *one husband*." Now, "If," says Paley, (*Moral Philosophy*, b. iii.) "to one man be allowed an exclusive right to five or more women, four or more men must be deprived of the exclusive possession of any." Some writers have, however, denied this equality of the human species, *e. g.*, Montesquieu and Bruce; the former represents the number of females born in Asia to be greatly superior to that of the other sex; the latter says that there *is not* an equality in Syria and Arabia: but the best informed travellers deny the reality of this supposed inequality. Seeing then that polygamy is against the law of nature, are we justified in concluding that it is also against the law of God? We are; for although we have not an express command, yet it appears to be forbidden in the Mosaic law, Levit. xviii. 18, "Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister (or as it is rendered in the margin "one wife to another"), to vex her, beside the other in her life time." Commentators differ as to the exact meaning of this verse; Bishop Patrick, Clarke, Scott, Henry, and Denham (in Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, art. "Marriage"), understand it as meaning, "no man was to take two sisters as Jacob had formerly done;" but Matthew Poole and Dwight understand it as "the taking of one wife to another in her lifetime;" the former says, "The sense rather is, 'Thou shalt not take one woman to another," else here were a tautology of verse 16; and lest he should vex her, is also more likely to happen from marrying a stranger than a sister," (*Annota-*

tions). With this rendering we are inclined to agree. But it is in the nineteenth chapter of Matthew that we find the strongest argument against polygamy, "Have ye not read, that he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female" (*ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, a male and a female*). "For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and they two shall be one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder," etc. We have here a complete argument against polygamy; for besides Christ's authority, if in the beginning the Almighty created no more than a single pair, one of each sex, a male and a female; and if ever since, as we have already seen, both sexes are to be considered as nearly equal in number; then taking for granted that every male has a right to marry, it follows that polygamy cannot but be considered as opposed both to the law of God and to the law of nature; for where there is an equality, it is clear that no one can lawfully deprive others of their birthright by having more wives than one. This then being the case, it is evident that no missionary of the Gospel can allow any convert to possess two wives, as it is most decidedly forbidden by the religion which he professes. It may be asked, however, If the convert must put away one of his wives, which of them is he to consider as his lawful wife, seeing that both have equal claims? This we admit is a difficulty, as the missionary *must* insist on the convert possessing only one wife; for should he allow him to have two then he admits that the Christian religion allows polygamy, which we have shewn is not the case. When, however, we remember that the loss of caste, of all calamities the most dreadful that can befall a Hindoo, generally arises from abandonment of the established religion, we will at once see that the difficulty is one which can (if ever) very rarely occur. For what is loss of caste? Let the Rev. William Arthur, Wesleyan missionary, answer,—"According to a competent witness, a Hindoo, by losing his caste, is bereft of friends and relations, and *often of wife and children, who will rather forsake him than share in his miserable lot,*" (*Mission to the Mysore*). Now if this is the case, we are pretty sure that one of the wives has by this time forsaken the Brahmin, as we cannot possibly conceive of a heathen Hindoo doing otherwise. For it is not likely that both of the women are willing for his sake to sink into "the infamous tribe of the Pariah;" (another evil to be endured by those who lose caste, or in other words, change their religion) willing for his sake to be made to feel that their step defiles a room, that their touch infects the purest wares, and that they carry in their own body, no matter how clean, "a cursed incur-

able filthiness, which fills with disgust all who have proper human sentiments." But are we not wrong in supposing that one of the wives only has forsaken the Brahmin? Ought we not to say both, seeing that, according to Dr. Charles, "on the baptism of a Hindoo, his wife, *according to their religion and usage*, became a widow? Surely if this be true, the converted Brahmin is free from both of his wives, if they are unconverted. We say "unconverted," for if they were converted, the missionaries could have little difficulty in making one of them agree to separate.

2. Let us now proceed to consider the question, Is the Christian religion to be considered as the only true religion fit for fallen man? The answer to this question is most decidedly in the affirmative. Those then who are employed in propagating it, *must* not permit its doctrines to unite, so to speak, with any other religion. They must never on any account preach another gospel than that of "Jesus Christ and him crucified;" no compromise with superstition or idolatry; no surrender to the philosophy of the East; no permission to kneel to the Almighty and at the same time to sacrifice to Juggernaut. It may be said, however, that this is utterly impossible, that if we do not make some allowance for the prejudices of the people, their love of display, their great attachment to the religion of their forefathers, &c., we cannot expect the Christian religion to gain a footing in the beautiful regions of the East. Can it not? History, civil as well as sacred, declares that it *has* progressed and triumphed over religions far more powerful and far more fascinating than that of Brahma. It never sacrificed incense on the altar of a Jupiter or a Juno; it never permitted its true worshippers to rely for salvation on the "divine Plato," along with "the man Jesus;" it never allowed a Grecian or a Roman convert to observe any of the rites of the national worship. And why was this war against "the religion and usage" of their ancestors carried on? Just because Christianity is from its very nature a proselyting religion; it claims the exclusive possession of the truth, and denounces as criminal every other mode of worship. In consequence of this, instead of suffering defeat, it triumphed in the rude hut of the Indian (see *Neander's Church History*), as well as in the "palace of the Cæsar's:" everywhere, north, east, and west, the Gospel of Christ subdued the polytheism of surrounding nations; where there was a Christian church, there the temples were forsaken, and the markets overstocked with cattle, as few sacrifices were offered. Let then the Christian missionaries of the present day take courage. Their prospects are far more encouraging than those enjoyed by

the primitive church; there is no hostile government, no cruel decree, no patronizing of the national religion (for Lord Dalhousie has abolished the grant to Juggernaut). Why then should he talk of compromise and expediency, why then should he ask, "Can a heathen convert marry again, seeing that his wife is considered a widow?" Does he, in his preaching or teaching, leave out the command, "He that putteth away his wife, and marries another, committeth adultery," simply because it does not agree with the national worship? As long as his wife (for he, now a Christian, must consider her as such) is alive, he *cannot* marry again without committing adultery. If Christian missionaries and Christian churches desire to propagate the Gospel, they must remember that "the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible," is to be considered as their only standard, and that "there must be no garbling of that which is entire, no darkening of that which is luminous, no softening down of that which is authoritative or severe," to please any human system. But we must now conclude our imperfect remarks on the evangelization of India; we are of opinion, however, that those difficulties which we have just considered are scarcely of such a nature as to require the consideration of the Professors of Divinity and Church History in the Universities of Scotland! P. S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Dear Sir,—I beg through the medium of your pages to express to Dr. Tregelles, how highly I appreciate the courtesy with which he has replied to my remarks on the plan of his forthcoming Greek Testament, and the critical principles enunciated in his Prospectus.

I am glad to find that he distinctly recognizes the right of "internal goodness" to a place among the criteria for determining the true reading of a passage.

I am still doubtful, however, whether we are altogether at one as to the *precise* place to be assigned to it. Dr. Tregelles says that "internal goodness must never be allowed to prevail, in opposition to evidence[a]." Now, if by this is meant that we ought never to admit any reading into the text on the ground of mere *conjecture*, I perfectly agree with him; I can even conceive of a case where internal evidence, combined with the discrepancy of the MSS., might almost *demonstrate* the existence of an error, and where the true reading might be indicated with something approaching to certainty by the context. But if none of the authorities exhibited the reading thus suggested, I should not think myself warranted in adopting it, and that for two reasons: first, because there would still remain at least the *possibility* of my being mistaken; secondly, and chiefly, because if the principle of conjectural emendation were once admitted into *sacred* criticism, there is no saying where it would stop, and no calculating the disastrous consequences which might ensue.

But if, on the other hand, he means to say, that internal goodness can never be of sufficient weight to authenticate the reading of a *minority* of the MSS. and versions, I must beg leave to express my dissent from such a proposition. I cannot but regard internal goodness as entitled to higher consideration than that of a mere *make-weight* thrown in to turn the scales, when the documentary proofs on both sides are nearly equal. If the MSS. could be compared to the witnesses in a court of justice, each testifying to what he himself has seen and heard, —in other words, if all the transcribers had copied from the same exemplar, and that exemplar consisted of the very autographs themselves, the business of determining the true reading where the copies were at variance would be little more than a process of simple *addition* and *subtraction*, due regard being always had to the accuracy and honesty of the copyists. But where the text of the MSS. we possess has been derived through a number of intermediate transcriptions, and consequently exposed to many chances of error, the internal evidence assumes an importance, as compared with the external, in enabling us to distinguish the genuine from the counterfeit, which would not

[a] Journal, No. xiv. p. 463.

otherwise belong to it. The situation of the critic then resembles that of a jury (if you will allow the supposition,) listening to accounts of a transaction, not from the lips of the immediate witnesses themselves, but of parties whom these accounts have reached after having passed through several hands; in which case the jury, I should imagine, would often feel themselves justified in taking that version of the story which seemed most consistent with itself, without much deference to the mere *number* of those who vouched for it. In short, I believe that the multitude are not always right in this, any more than in other matters; that traditional readings have gained currency as well as traditional interpretations—(of both of which Dr. Tregelles has himself furnished us with an example, of the one in Matt. i. 18, and of the other in 2 Tim. iv. 1); and the internal goodness is the touchstone by which we are to detect the one, just as the careful study of the original is the means of unmasking the other.

Reference has been made to Griesbach, and Dr. Tregelles reminds me "that he denied most strenuously that any reading ought to be adopted on the ground of its internal goodness, unless, indeed, it were supported by at least some ancient testimony." True; every body at all conversant with the subject knows how extremely jealous that illustrious critic was of inserting any reading in the text without sufficient authority: but after expressing a very decided opinion on this point, he goes on to say—"but *the more internal marks of goodness any lection has, the fewer external proofs are required to support it.* It may, therefore happen that *a reading may possess so many and so manifest criteria of goodness, that it will be sufficiently supported by two witnesses*, if these belong to different classes[b], or even one *(Prolegom.)* Thus in the case of Acts xii. 24, alluded to by Dr. Tregelles, had only one good MS. exhibited the reading ἐξ Ἱερ., such is the force of the evidence furnished by the preceding and following context, that I should have considered it sufficient to have set aside the testimony of all the rest, and should have felt thankful to a watchful Providence, which amidst so general a departure from the integrity of the text, had preserved the true reading by means of this document.

Such are the views which I entertain of the importance to be attached to internal goodness as an aid in critical investigations. Great judgment and caution, as Dr. Tregelles justly observes, are requisite in order to our making a right use of it in practice; and care must be taken to do justice to both branches of evidence.

In regard to the passage which I selected for illustration in my former letter, (Rom. v. 1.) I see that I have unduly magnified the documentary proofs in favour of the common reading, by overlooking the fact (mentioned by Dr. Tregelles in his review of Tischendorf's Greek Testament,) that the MSS. F. and G. are transcripts of the same exemplar, and consequently entitled to only one voice in the matter. It should be remembered, however, that we have in this case *two* witnesses

[b] Referring to his System of Recensions.

instead of one for the reading of the MSS. from which both are derived; and although, in consequence of their *habitually* confounding the letters Ω and O, (a very *common* mistake among transcribers, and one very easily fallen into) little reliance could be placed on their single testimony, the suspicion of their having done so in the present instance is greatly diminished by their concurrence. I do not think much weight is to be attached to the testimony of the Latin translations that accompany many Greek MSS. besides *habeamus* in this case is the *very term* employed in the Vulgate.

Dr. Tregelles speaks of Chrysostom as ignorant of any such reading as ἔχομεν. We have evidence, however, of its being known long before his day, if we can trust the fidelity of Tertullian in his quotation of the passage:—"*Monet (Apostolus) justificatos ex fide Christi, non ex lege pacem ad Deum habere.*" (*Adv. Marc.* v. 13); upon which citation his annotator, Pamellius, remarks—*in his verbis legit auctor* ἔχομεν HABEAMUS, *pro eo quod alii* ἔχωμεν HABEAMUS.

But if I have unwittingly overstated the external evidence, Dr. Tregelles has still more understated, or rather misrepresented (with equal good faith, I doubt not,) the force and bearing of the internal. It was with no ordinary interest and curiosity that I turned to this part of his reply; for I felt that if a *consistent* and *well-grounded* exegesis of the reading ἔχωμεν could be given, the difficulties in the way of receiving it as the genuine reading would be almost wholly removed. Instead of this, however, my first emotion on perusing his explanation was that of wonder, which was soon succeeded by that of disappointment. He considers the term in question as an example of that usage of the subjunctive mood (referring to Mr. Green's Grammar of the New Testament Dialect,) "which is called its *deliberative* sense, when it is equivalent to the English auxiliary, *ought;*" and translates thus, —"having been justified by faith, we ought to have peace with God," understanding, as of course in consistency he must, the expression —"peace with God" of the *conscious feeling.*

That *obligation* should be denoted by the *subjunctive* mood in a principal sentence was a sufficiently startling announcement; but that such a sense should be conveyed by the *deliberative*, or as it is sometimes styled, the *dubitative* subjunctive was little better than a contradiction in terms. The office of the *subjunctive* mode is "to indicate the *possibility* of a thing in respect to its condition or circumstances," and it expresses,—"not a fact of actual occurrence, an actually existing state, or the like, but only the object of an *exhortation*, or of an *endeavour* or *purpose*, or a case of *possible* or *contingent* occurrence." Its *deliberative* use is in *doubting questions*, in which sense the Latin subjunctive is also employed—"when the person asks not for the purpose of getting an answer, but to express *perplexity*, *indignation*, and the like, or to imply *disbelief;* in which two last cases, of course, the appropriate but suppressed answer is, '*No;*' as τί ποιῶ; *quid faciam?* τί δρῶ; *quid agam?* τί φῶ; *quid dicam?* 'What should I do?' or 'what am I to do?' 'what am I to say?' ἀμηχανῶ * * * ὅπα τρά-

πωμαι, 'I am utterly at a loss which way to turn,' (Æsch. *Ag.* 1530, 1532); ἐγὼ σιωπῶ τῇδε; 'Am I to keep silence before this man?' the implied answer being, 'I should think not.' (Aristoph. *Ran.* 1132.) For fuller information, I beg to refer Dr. Tregelles to Matthiæ (§ 516), or to any respectable Greek grammar of the larger kind. I imagined that in such works as those of *Planck*, *Stuart*, and *Winer*, I was already in possession of all that was necessary for a competent knowledge of the peculiarities of the New Testament Dialect. Nevertheless, being at first taken somewhat by surprise, and having previously heard Mr. Green's work spoken of with commendation, "to make assurance doubly sure," I immediately ordered it home from my bookseller's. On inspection, I found, indeed, the words quoted by Dr. Tregelles, ending with the unfortunate term, "ought," by which he has been misled, (and which certainly is very much calculated to mislead any one not familiar with the idiom in question, or who does not stop to read the *examples* that follow;) but nothing new, not a word to indicate that there was any thing in the New Testament use of the deliberative subjunctive, materially different from its use in the classics. Then follows a list of twenty-one examples, mostly from the New Testament, in every one of which, as any one may see at a glance, the subjunctive stands in a question, direct or indirect, implying *deliberation*, *doubt*, or *disbelief*. Now, allowing that the term, "ought" is the most appropriate that could have been selected, (which I certainly think it is not, *shall*, *should*, or *am to*, suiting all the passages much better,) Dr. Tregelles will at once perceive the wide difference, both as respects the sense, and *usus loquendi*, between *ought* in a direct affirmation, and *ought* in a question—a question, too, of unbelief or uncertainty. The latter, in fact, in such a case as the one before us, is equivalent to a direct negation; so that if ἔχωμεν is to be considered as an example of the idiomatic use of the subjunctive to which Dr. Tregelles refers, we must translate not—"we ought to have peace with God," but "ought we to have peace with God?" the implied answer being "*No!*" Comp. Matt. xxiii. 33; xxvi. 54; Mark vi. 37.

The only other use of the subjunctive in principal or independent sentences (I lay out of view those expressions in which it follows οὐ μὴ as not bearing upon the case in hand[c], and because they are perhaps more properly viewed as dependent on something understood), is that which I formerly mentioned, viz., as an *imperative*, and that either affirmatively, or negatively (with μὴ.) I return, therefore, to my original position—"That this is the only way in which, in accordance with the laws of the Greek language, the reading in question can be understood." Such seems to be the sense of the interpretation of the Vulgate—*habeamus*, and of the Peschito Syriac Version, ܢܗܘܐ ܠܢ (Comp.

[c] For a similar reason I also omit the Homeric use of the subjunctive in leading sentences, with κε (or ἂν) expressed or understood, to express *possibility* or *purpose*; and after negatives, to denote *impossibility*.

Gen. i. 3), and so Origen explains the term in his commentary on the passage.

Now I do not deny that this gives a tolerably good sense, although somewhat unique, if we take *εἰρηνην* in the sense of a *felt peace;* nor did I for a moment intend to insinuate that the word may not have, and indeed often has, this force in other places: the ground which I took was, that taken in connection with the words, "towards God through our Lord Jesus Christ," which follow, it could scarcely be so understood here; and that even if it could, the introduction of an *exhortation* in the very middle of a chain of consecutive reasoning, such as is here pursued by the apostle, appeared to me very incongruous and unnatural. I need not however repeat what I formerly advanced on this head: I shall only add, that so strongly am I impressed with the incongruity referred to, that if the *textus receptus* had read *ἔχωμεν*, the study of the context would of itself have led me to enquire if any such reading as *ἔχομεν* existed, and whether it was supported by competent authority. Of this last point I must allow Dr. Tregelles to be the better judge.

If his explanation of *ἔχωμεν* be inadmissible, I need scarcely say that it is equally inapplicable to the V. L. *φορέσωμεν* of 1 Cor. xv. 49; nay it is, if possible, still more so; for if the subjunctive mood cannot directly express obligation in a case depending in some measure on our own exertions; still less can it do so in a matter over which we cannot be said to have any control. In other words, if *ἔχωμεν* cannot be translated "we *ought* to have," still less can *φορέσωμεν* be rendered "we *must* bear," which is the sense demanded by the passage, and requisite in order to make the reading in question equivalent to *φορέσομεν* ("we *shall*," not "*will* bear.") That the subjunctive is often nearly *equal* in force to the future, I admit, viz., in cases where our own *will* is concerned in the result; and hence the MSS. both of the New Testament and of classic authors often vary in such cases between one and the other (of which we have a good example in James iv. 15): but that it can ever, at least in an independent clause, express *more* than the future, as is assumed by Dr. Tregelles, is a proposition which I cannot admit, and which indeed seems to me subversive of all distinction between one mood and another.

Bengel indeed attempts to defend this reading in a somewhat similar manner, thinking that by it the apostle, instead of simply announcing the fact that saints shall bear the image of the heavenly Adam, expresses the divine decree (v. 53) to that effect, and the assent of his own faith thereunto; comparing the use of the subjunctive here with that in James iv. 13, 15. Now, as in the passages referred to, granting the common text to be correct (although this is by no means undisputed, particularly in reference to the latter half of v. 15, where, I believe, the MSS. are about equally divided between the subjunctive and future), the subjunctive *πορευσώμεθα κ.τ.λ.* is undeniably used in the *imperative* sense, which in the first person is often equivalent to a simple proposal,—"Let us go," or "we propose to go," &c.; so, if the

passages are parallel in respect to idiom and construction, we must here render "let us bear," which is not only quite admissible, but the only meaning the expression *can* have. Every one however must at once see the wide difference between a proposal to go into a neighbouring city for the purposes of ordinary business, whether God be regarded by us in the matter or not, and a proposal on the part of the apostle to the Christians whom he is addressing, to assume the glorified body which awaits the redeemed at the resurrection! Taken literally, such a proposition would be not only presumptuous, but absurd; taken metaphorically, as a mode of indicating the apostle's faith in God's promise that so it should be, it would certainly be one of the most extravagant figures ever made use of, even in the loftiest flights of prophetic rapture.

In such a predicament one might well be excused for feeling somewhat impatient to know the reading of the Vatican MS., of which it is to be hoped the edition of Cardinal Mai will at length put us in possession. In the absence however of the testimony of that valuable document, or in the event of its confirming the evidence of the other ancient witnesses, we must try if we cannot find some other way of getting over the exegetical difficulties which it presents; and as we cannot reconcile the reading with the ordinary interpretation of the passage, we must see if the passage will not bear an interpretation that shall harmonize with the reading.

Allow me, then, to suggest that the term εἰκων "image," is not restricted in its biblical usage to *corporeal* resemblance, but is also employed to denote *moral* likeness (as 1 Cor. xi. 7, compared with Gen. i. 26), and may perhaps be so used here. That all men by nature bear the moral image of their first progenitor, is not less a doctrine of Scripture (Gen. v. 3 with Rom. v.) than that God has predestinated his children "to be conformed to the (moral) image of his Son" (Rom. viii. 29). This, too, is a process which goes on in the present life (2 Cor. iii. 18), although it only reaches perfection in the future world (1 John iii. 2). It is also a process in which our own activities are and must be constantly engaged (1 John iii. 3); and hence may with the greatest propriety be made, as in point of fact it frequently is made, the subject of exhortation to those in whom by God's grace it has commenced: and that both by implication—as when we are exhorted to holiness, in which moral likeness to Christ consists; and directly—as when the apostle exhorts the Romans to "put on the Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom. xiii. 14), *i. e.* of course "his image."

But it may be asked, what has this to do with the subject of which the apostle is treating? and how does the supposition of its being alluded to in this verse fall in with the scope of his argument in the rest of the chapter?

As regards the first of these questions, it must be remembered that not only is there an intimate union and sympathy between the soul, and the body which it inhabits; but that it seems to be a law of the Divine procedure in regard to man, that the physical constitution of the one shall correspond to the moral character of the other: so that

the former became subject to death, when the divine image was effaced from the latter by sin (Gen. iii. 19); and it is only the restoration of that image to the soul, begun here and perfected hereafter, that can warrant the hope of a glorious and deathless body at the resurrection (Rom. viii. 16, and following verses, especially v. 23). A transition of thought from the latter to the former would therefore be quite easy and natural.

Let us now see whether such an allusion as that supposed agrees with the context, and can be conceived as forming a link in the chain of the apostle's reasoning. His object, from verse 35, seems to be to meet the objection to the doctrine of the resurrection arising from the corruptible character of our present bodies. With this view, he first shews by analogy that the resurrection-body may be very different from the body which we now inhabit; and concludes by affirming that just as there are "bodies terrestrial" and "bodies celestial" differing in glory, so there is a natural or *animal* (ψυχικόν), and a *spiritual* body (σῶμα πνευματικόν) (verse 44). In order still further to assist our conceptions, he then refers to the source from which each is derived, which he tacitly assumes (perhaps as implied in the previous proposition, verses 22, 23) to be *Adam* and *Christ* respectively; and proceeds to compare these in the order of their appearance, their nature, and attributes (verse 45), the origin and constitution of their (outward) persons (verse 47), and their effects (verse 48); for verse 46 should be included within parentheses and referred back to verse 44.

The one from whom we receive the animal body (σῶμα ψυχικόν) was a "sentient creature" (ψυχή) possessed of *animal* passions and propensities (the νοῦς, of course, not being excluded); "living" (ζῶσα), and so able only to *transmit* the life he himself enjoyed to those connected with him by natural generation: the other, from whom we are to receive the spiritual body (σῶμα πνευματικόν), is a pure "spirit" (πνεῦμα); moreover, "life giving" (ζωοποιοῦν), and, as such, able to *bestow* both corporeal and spiritual life even upon the dead (John xi. 25, 26).

The person of the one was taken from the earth (Gen. ii. 7); that of the other had from the very first a heavenly origin (Luke i. 35).[d] As to the term χοϊκος, and the corresponding ἐπουράνιος (which is the natural supplement, confirmed by the two following verses, on the supposition that ὁ Κύριος is an interpolation), it seems to me that they must be taken in one of two senses; either *morally*, as applicable to the soul or spirit, or *physically*, as referring to the body: for to suppose that they are used of *both*, would seem to render the next verse altogether without point, and meaningless. The common opinion is that which is best supported by etymology, and by the language of the apostle, in other parts of this chapter, viz. that they are to be taken as descriptive of the outward persons of the first and second Adam respectively. The one, in his outward frame, was "earthy:" his body was "made of earth," a χόος, which as it was χυτός (*heaped up*), so was it

[d] Compare John iii. 31.

λυτός (*capable of dissolution*); having in itself no principle of permanence, without an act of Almighty power, which would probably have followed upon his continuance in allegiance, but which he forfeited by disobedience, and so it became θνητόν (verse 54). That of the Saviour, on the contrary, although in other respects like our own, yet, as it had a heavenly origin, so, as the habitation of a sinless soul, it could not see corruption (Acts ii. 27); and is now a "glorious" and "heavenly" body (Phil. iii. 21), the fit habitation of a pure and celestial spirit. The terms χοϊκός and ἐπουράνιος will thus be parallel to ἐπίγειος and ἐπουράνιος in verse 40 (*suprà*).

The point of comparison in the 48th verse will then be *moral* character. As the "earthy" Adam, so all possessed of an earthy and corruptible body like his, have, through their connection with him, a soul tainted with sin, for which a frail and perishable body is but the appropriate receptacle; and as the "heavenly" Adam, so all who are to receive heavenly and incorruptible bodies like his, shall, by virtue of union to him through faith, be gradually purified from sin, and enter heaven with a "spirit" freed from all mundane passions and propensities, for which such a body—the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens"—is the suitable abode.

Here then we have both the ground of the allusion which I have supposed in the following (49th) verse, and the justification of the hortatory form which it assumes according to the reading of the Uncial MSS. For, if my exposition of the preceding verse be correct, it follows as a necessary corollary from what is there stated, that it is only in proportion as the moral image of Christ is formed in our souls, by our "conversation being in heaven," that we can expect him to "change our vile bodies, and fashion them like to his own glorious body," at his second coming: "And as we have borne the image of the earthly, (so) let us also bear the image of the heavenly." The case will not be altered as respects the connection of this exhortation with what precedes, if we adopt the other supposition, and regard v. 48 as having reference to *moral* character, (taking χοϊκός=ἐπίγειος just as ἐπίγειος is used for χοϊκός in 2 Cor. v. 1,) and of course the comparison in v. 49 as relating to *physical* character, or to the mortality and immortality of the body. For this view much might be said; but I have preferred that which seems least questionable.

Olshausen, in his *Commentary*, expounds the two latter verses (48, 49) in nearly the same manner as I have done. "The nature of the one," he says, "passes into that of the other; in the first Adam by natural birth, in the second through the spiritual:" . . . "the natural birth imprints the image of the fallen Adam in the soul; the new birth, the image of Christ, by whose sacred influence the body is glorified." He objects however to the reading φορέσωμεν, on the ground that "it includes in the idea that of *admonition*, which does not agree with scriptural doctrine;" since "regeneration can never be attained by striving, or even faith itself," &c. The invalidity of this objection will, I think, sufficiently appear from what I have already said, taken

in connection with the fact, which the learned commentator appears to have overlooked, that the apostle is writing to the "church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are *sanctified* in Christ Jesus, *saints* elect." (i. 2.) Compare further, in corroboration of what has been already advanced, 1 John iii. 2, 3, and Rom. vi. 19; which latter citation presents as close a parallel as could well be imagined to the verse under consideration viewed as an admonition.

On this passage, I have only further to remark, that the difficulty of conceiving the introduction of an exhortation in the middle of an argument, does not apply with the same force here as in the case of Rom. v. 1. The Apostle is no doubt pursuing a course of reasoning here, as well as in the context of the other example: the style, however, is much more lively in the chapter before us; there is a mixture of logic and rhetoric: various figures are introduced, as *Expostulation* (v. 12), *Anacoenosis* (verses 29, 30), *Prolepsis* (v. 35,) *Apostrophe* (v. 55; and above all, we have at least *two* indubitable instances of *Exhortation* itself (viz., in verses 33, 34, and v. 58.)

Dr. Tregelles speaks of my "*supposing* that the early Christians had not the same belief in the plenary inspiration of Scripture, as afterwards obtained currency." The statement which I made was, that it "was not until they were collected into one, that a belief in the verbal inspiration of the writings of the New Testament equally with the Old Testament Scriptures, began to be entertained," for which I referred to what I considered to be good authority, viz., *Hagenbach's History of Doctrines* (§ 32.) The opinions entertained by Irenæus on this subject are not sufficient to set aside this proposition: for, in the *first* place, it is to be supposed that Hagenbach speaks of the fathers of the first three centuries *generally*, and indeed, in another place, after remarking that "they were *generally* more inclined to admit verbal inspiration in the case of the Old than of the New Testament," he adds, "we find *some*, however, whose views on the inspiration of the New Testament writings were very positive," among whom he expressly mentions *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*, quoting the very passage from the writings of the former adduced by Dr. Tregelles; and in the *second* place the New Testament Scriptures *were* collected into one Codex in the time of Tertullian, with whom Irenæus was cotemporary.

I am very far from denying that the Fathers regarded the writings of the New Testament as inspired, and that some of them, as Origen, held very *strong* sentiments on this subject; nor do I suppose that any of them would ever think of "altering the *words* in which (that portion of) Holy Scripture has been given," *in his M.S.;* but I may take this opportunity of saying that their mode of *quoting* the Scriptures in their own writings, as described (for I cannot pretend to much personal knowledge of the matter) by Griesbach, Matthaei, Scholz, and others[e], —making every allowance for trusting to memory, paraphrasing, adaptation to the sentence into which the quotation was introduced, &c.—

[e] See Journal, No. xiv. pp. 456, 7, 8.

while it is difficult to reconcile with their professed belief in the *verbal inspiration* of the Word of God, betrays an indifference to the *words* (the *ipsissima verba*), which certainly augured ill for the *Biblical Criticism* of the ages in which they flourished.

I had some other remarks to make on Dr. Tregelles's letter, but I have already encroached too far on your space, and must therefore conclude. W. S.

Edinburgh.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL.

Sir,—It was well said by Dr. Hales, that the chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah is the "Gordian Knot" of those who have written on the subject; and it is with great propriety that this phrase is still employed by chronographers as applicable to the same period of Scripture history. The Rev. Daniel Kerr, whose article on the subject was inserted in a former number of your Journal, has given a list of twelve different calculations; and it would be easy to increase this list by the addition of several others. The different and conflicting calculations of chronologists, however, perplexing as they may be to the inquirer, present only a part of the difficulty with which we have to contend. Their variations from the sacred text, and their proposed alterations of the dates, are much more deeply to be regretted, and render this part of Scripture history much more embarrassing. Bishop Russell, for example, differs from the recorded dates of the books of Kings and Chronicles in twenty instances. Mr. Smith, in his *Sacred Annals*, differs from the Scripture dates in seventeen instances. Dr. Adam Clarke, in ten instances. And Mr. Kerr, in his table inserted in your Journal, in eleven instances; while at the same time his proposed alterations of the text are of the most startling description. The placing of the commencement of Asa's reign in the 21st year of Jeroboam instead of the 20th, and of the commencement of Hezekiah's reign in the 4th year of Hoshea instead of the 3rd, can present no great difficulty, since as the kingdom of Israel did not commence until two or three months after the accession of Rehoboam to the throne of Judah, Asa might begin his reign in the latter part of the 20th of Jeroboam, and Hezekiah in the latter part of the 3rd of Hoshea, although in a chronological table of entire years, especially when the commencement of those years in two cotemporary kingdoms does not synchronize, it is impossible to represent always periods of only a few weeks.

With regard to Jehoash, too, there is nothing very perplexing; for although the Hebrew text represents him as beginning his reign the 37th of Joash of Judah, yet some of the Septuagint copies read the 39th, and this seems to be the correct reading. But with regard to Uzziah of Judah, and Zechariah, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah of Israel, the alteration of Scripture dates presents matter for grave consideration, and there are but few biblical students, I should imagine, who will not seriously demur to such a summary method of dealing with the sacred text. The following are the alterations adopted. Uzziah is made to commence his reign in the 14th of Jeroboam II., instead of the 27th; Zechariah in the 28th of

Uzziah, instead of the 38th; Menahem in the 29th of Uzziah, instead of the 39th, and the duration of his reign is made to be eleven instead of ten years; Pekahiah in the 40th of Uzziah, instead of the 50th; and Pekah in the 42nd of Uzziah, instead of the 52nd, and the period of his reign altered from twenty to twenty-eight years. Such are the alterations proposed and adopted by Mr. Kerr, and proposed and adopted too, not only without any authority, but directly against the united testimony of the Septuagint as well as the Hebrew Scriptures, and of all the versions and copies extant; at least I am not aware of any version or copy by which his alterations are sustained, nor does he himself appeal to any. Had he been supported by the authority of the Septuagint, or of any other ancient version, in his alteration of the Hebrew dates, it would have become a legitimate question, Which is the true reading? But to make alterations against the united authority of all the versions and copies in existence, and to assume that they are all wrong, is certainly a bold step, and which nothing can tolerate, even in an isolated case, but the most imperious necessity.

In the instances under consideration however, the only assignable reason for altering the Scripture dates is, to avoid the occurrence of interregnums, which constitutes no necessity whatever; since the supposition of an interregnum contradicts no Scripture text, and violates no Scripture principle. It is true indeed that there is no record of an interregnum, but it by no means follows that therefore no interregnum ever existed; and I submit whether it is not far more consistent to suppose an interregnum, which violates no text, and which the dates seem clearly to imply, than to alter the Scriptures in the face of the united authority of all their versions and copies, and thus adopt an expedient calculated to unsettle and overthrow the entire canon of revelation. In constructing a chronological table of any period of Scripture history, we ought to construct it in accordance with the declarations of Scripture; and not to alter the Scriptures in order to make them quadrate with a scheme of our own devising. Had the books of Kings and Chronicles contained a complete history of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, it might have been proper to assume that, since an interregnum is not mentioned, therefore an interregnum was unknown: but the books of Kings and Chronicles are no more a complete history of those kingdoms than the Gospels of Matthew and Mark are a complete history of our Lord; and therefore it would be just as tolerable to assume that what is not mentioned in those gospels never occurred, and to alter their statements against the universal consent of versions and manuscripts, in order to make them comport with some conceived chronological scheme of our Lord's history; as to assume that what is *not* recorded in the books of Kings and Chronicles never occurred, and to alter that which *is* recorded so as to make it agree with a conceived chronological scheme of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. In studying the Scriptures in order to form any system, whether of morals, or doctrine, or chronology, our first business is, to settle the genuineness of the text; not by its conformity with the proposed system, but by the testimony of the most approved versions and manuscripts, and by its accordance with other express Scripture statements, of the genuineness of which there is no question: and having thus determined the genuineness of the text, we must

construct our system in strict accordance with it, however much the result may differ from our particular notions of what is fitting and proper. Assuming it then as a first principle that the Scripture chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah is correct, I beg to submit the following table, which avoids entirely, with one exception, those numerous and sweeping alterations of the Scripture dates which Mr. Kerr has found it necessary to propose and adopt.

JUDAH.		ISRAEL.		Year of Revolt.
1	Rehoboam 17	1	Jereboam 22	1
17	.. ..	17	.. ..	17
1	Abijah 3	18	.. ..	18
3	.. ..	20	.. ..	20
1	Asa 41, in the 20 of Jereboam ..	21	.. ..	21
2	.. ..	22	1 Nadab 2	22
3	.. ..	2	1 Baasha 24	23
4	.. ..	2	.. ..	24
26	.. ..	24	1 Elah 2	46
27	.. ..	2	Zimri 7 days, 1 Omri 12, & Tibni	47
31	.. ..	5	Omri alone	51
38	.. ..	12	1 Ahab 22 (20)	58
41	1 Jehosaphat 25	4	.. ..	61
17	.. ..	20	1 Ahaziah 2	77
18	.. ..	2	1 Jehoram 12	78
22	1 Jehoram 8	5	.. ..	82
25	4	8	.. ..	85
8	1 Ahaziah 1	12	.. ..	89
1	Athaliah 6	1	Jehu 28	90
6	.. ..	6	.. ..	95
1	Joash 40	7	.. ..	96
22	.. ..	28	.. ..	117
23	.. ..	1	Jehoahaz 17	118
39	.. ..	17	1 Jehoash 16	134
40	1 Amaziah 29	2	.. ..	135
15	.. ..	16	1 Jereboam II. 41	149
29	.. ..	15	.. ..	163
1	Interregnum 11	16	.. ..	164
1	Uzziah 52	27	.. ..	175
15	.. ..	41	.. ..	189
16	.. ..	1	Interregnum 23	190
38	.. ..		Zachariah 6 months	212
39	.. ..		Shallam 1 month, 1 Menahem 10	213
48	.. ..	10	.. ..	222
49	.. ..	1	Interregnum 1	223
50	.. ..	1	Pekahiah 2	224
52	.. ..	1	Pekah 20	226
1	Jotham 16	2	.. ..	227
16	1 Ahaz 16	17	.. ..	242
4	.. ..	20	.. ..	245
5	.. ..	1	Interregnum 7	246
12	.. ..	1	Hoshea 9	253
15	1 Hezekiah 29, in the 3 of Hoshea	4	.. ..	256
16	2	5	.. ..	257
6	.. ..	9	Samaria taken	261

Having already observed that Asa might begin his reign in the latter part of the 20th of Jeroboam, and that Hezekiah might begin his reign in the latter part of the 3rd of Hoshea, although as the years of the two series do not synchronize, it may not be possible, in a table of entire years, to represent the period of a few weeks; it follows that there is but one real discrepancy between the above table and the sacred Scriptures, namely, the reign of Ahab, which I cannot make to be more than twenty years, and yet the text states that he reigned twenty-two. This difficulty I cannot solve. It is to be hoped however, that as past investigation has removed other difficulties, so subsequent investigation will remove this, and render the whole perfectly harmonious and clear.

I am yours truly,

Barton-on-Humber,
June 7th, 1851.

N. Rouse.

TYPICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE GODHEAD.

Sir,—In an article, entitled "Letter and Spirit in the Old Testament Scriptures," in your Journal (First Series, No. XI.), and which contains many excellent observations on the types, the writer (L. M.) lays it down as a rule that "there is and there can be no typical representation of God the Father," and consequently he censures as incorrect the common idea that "Abraham giving up Isaac represents God the Father giving up his only begotten Son to death." The reason which he assigns for laying down this rule is, that God must be always *directly* and prominently brought forward as the grand centre of authority in that earthly and external system of religion with which the typical system is interwoven; and that "to have extended its figurative representations to the divine object of worship himself, if it would not have given a direct sanction to idolatry, would have destroyed the whole character of that system, as designed to maintain a testimony for the true God, and to secure at least an external submission to his authority among a carnal people."

This principle appears to be correct in so far as relates to the person of God *as then revealed*, and is indeed a necessary consequence deducible from one of the definitions given by the writer of the qualities necessary to constitute a type, viz., that it "can never represent anything *presently* in operation, but must always relate to something to be revealed in *future* time." But seeing that God hereafter was about to reveal himself by a new and holier name, which was to be put upon the members of the new covenant by its ministers "baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," was it not to be expected, nay, would it not appear almost an unaccountable deficiency in a typical system, in which, according to L. M. himself, "every truth in religion [of 'the good things to come'] has its proper typical representative, were we not to find, that the first and highest of all has been embodied in some appropriate form? I would humbly submit then for the consideration of L. M. and your other readers, whether we do not find this type in those three heads and fathers of the church and people of God, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and

Jacob; with whom God undoubtedly has condescended to connect his name in a very peculiar manner, styling himself often to Moses and others by the name of "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob."

The typical representation in the first two names is so striking, that it has been almost universally recognized.

In Abraham, we have the Father giving up "his Son, his only Son, whom he loved," unto death, as a sacrifice to be offered up on a mount in the land of Moriah.

In Isaac, we have the Son submitting himself voluntarily to do the will of his Father, shewing "himself obedient even unto death," bearing on his own shoulders the wood on which he was to suffer, counted dead in the sight of men, but raised again and returned to those whom he had left.

Their very names too are significant.

אַבְרָם Ab-ram, *i.e.* "High Father," as viewed in himself absolutely.

אַבְרָהָם Ab-raham, *i.e.* "the Father of a multitude," so called in reference to the Son of promise, and the innumerable seed that was to spring from him; "the Father of all believers," Rom. iv. 11.

יִצְחָק Isaac, *i.e.* "Laughter, or Rejoicing." "And Sarah said, God hath made me to laugh, so that all who hear will laugh with me," Gen. xxi. 6; as prefiguring him who is the cause of joy and rejoicing to all true believers.

May not then יַעֲקֹב Jacob, *i.e.* "the supplanter, wrestler," prefigure the third person in the Trinity, who, as Jacob supplanted אדם[a] Edom, the "profane," (Heb. xii. 16), supplants and takes the place of אדם,[a] the "old man," in believers, the holy wrestling with and casting out the profane?

After having thus wrestled and prevailed with man, the next most remarkable incident in Jacob's history is his wrestling and prevailing with God, when, as the prophet says (Hosea xii. 3, 4), "he wept and made supplication, yet by his strength had power with God and prevailed," in consequence of which his changed to יִשְׂרָאֵל "Contender or prevailer with God;" thus foreshadowing Him who was to be revealed as the mighty and prevailing Intercessor for the saints with God, who "helping their infirmities," strives and wrestles with him in prayer till he overcome, "making intercession for them with groanings which cannot be uttered."

If this view be correct, we have thus "three bearing witness on earth," corresponding to "the three that bear record in heaven:" and the offspring of each is the people of God, the church, the twelve tribes of Israel.

Edinburgh. J. F.

---

[a] The Hebrew letters which compose these two names are exactly the same, the only difference between them being in the vowel points, אָדָם Adam, אֱדֹם Edom. Those who are acquainted with Hebrew must be aware how extremely fond the Hebrews were of such allusions, especially in proper names.

A similar *paronomasia,* in which the words differ only in the vowel points, occurs, I am inclined to think, in שאול in the title of Psalm xviii., and in the sixth verse. Compare the connected Psalm xvi. 10, and Psalm xlix. 16, where the identical expression מיד שאול is found.

ON THE HYPOTHESIS WHICH IDENTIFIES SILAS WITH THE AUTHOR OF THE BOOK OF ACTS.

It will, perhaps, be expected by the readers of the "Journal of Sacred Literature," that some notice should be taken of the article "On the Authorship of the Acts of the Apostles," in the last number, by the writer of the article in a previous number, to which it refers. A very few words, however, will be sufficient by way of reply, as, in the second paper, the question is neither fairly met nor correctly stated, while the supercilious tone of the critic is assuredly not justified by any very conspicuous marks of superior learning or sagacity.

F. S. takes a great deal of superfluous pains to prove what no one doubts—that Luke was the author of the Gospel that bears his name, and of the Book of Acts. He asks "what are the reasons adduced by this author which are adverse to the supposition that Luke was the author?" and adds, "we can discover none." For the very plain reason that none are adduced, no such supposition being entertained by the author. Again he says: "It is rather too much to throw overboard the testimony of Irenæus, because he was a bad critic." The testimony of Irenæus is *not* thrown overboard, as regards "the main fact," that Luke was the author of the Gospel that bears his name; but his inaccurate account of the four gospels is cited for the very different purpose of proving that, while the churches had faithfully preserved the sacred documents, all authentic account of their composition, and every biographical record of the Evangelists had perished. A writer who tells us that Matthew wrote his Gospel while Paul and Peter were preaching the Gospel at Rome, and founding a church there, is to be suspected of error, not because he is "a bad critic," but because he contradicts historical fact.

This is not the only misrepresentation into which the writer's carelessness has betrayed him. Referring to the remark, that "everything forbids our supposing that the Gospel of the apostolic historian was the work of a mere compiler from written documents," he says: "We know of *no passage in the New Testament* where Luke, the beloved friend and fellow-labourer of Paul, is represented as a mere compiler, amanuensis," &c. The reader would be led to suppose that the author commented upon had expressed the opinion that Luke was a mere compiler, and that he had referred to the New Testament as proving this. Nothing can be further from the fact, as the slightest attention to the argument would shew. The author is controverting the very opinion which he is here so strangely represented as maintaining; and his object in identifying Silas with Luke is, to shew, that the Evangelist, instead of being a person "who never held any official public station," (as the author of the Article in *Eadie's Dictionary* supposes,) or of having written his Gospel under Paul's direction, as tradition relates,—was "a resident at Jerusalem, one of the apostolic company," a "prophet," and evidently possessed of peculiar information derived, apparently, from the mother of our Lord. St. Paul, it is

remarked, could not personally testify to any of the facts which Luke records in his Gospel, nor to those which occupy the first eight chapters of the Book of Acts. Your readers will judge how far the misrepresentation of my opinion is pardonable, after having placed before them the following sentence:—

"In the Silvanus of the Epistles and the Silas of the history, the 'faithful brother' spoken of by Peter, the beloved colleague of Paul, one of the chief men of the church at Jerusalem, like St. Paul, a Roman citizen, but of the Jewish nation, and a 'prophet,' or gifted instructor in the Christian church, who must, therefore, from his position and connections, have had every opportunity of obtaining 'perfect understanding of all things from the very first,' and have united every qualification for the task of an historian,—*I have pleased myself in believing, that we may recognize the Evangelist who is consecrated to our earliest and most hallowed aspirations, under the name of Luke.*"

As the writer has either not understood, or (which I am unwilling to suppose) has intentionally mis-stated the theory which he affects to consider, I am happily relieved from the necessity of replying to his irrelevant arguments. I find a series of dogmatical assertions, which rest upon no better foundation than the *ipse dixit* of F. S., who, for an anonymous writer, assumes rather too much the authority of the chair, and much more than comports with the modesty of the critic. When he supposes that the so-called difficulty has been discovered for the first time by "this author," he betrays either a very limited acquaintance with Biblical writers or a strange forgetfulness. Dr. Davidson refers to several German scholars as having discovered or felt the difficulty, and attempted to remove it, besides "Hennell, the deistical author," whom he represents as having "*embraced*" (in 1838) "the hypothesis which identifies Luke with Silas." With a writer who "cannot discover wherein the difficulty lies, that now it is pointed out," it would be a waste of words to argue.

J. C.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Life and Character of St. John the Evangelist. By the Rev. Francis Trench. London: Longmans. 1850.

This is one of the class of writings in which we have often declared the English theological literature to be singularly deficient; and it gives us sincere pleasure to notice various symptoms which indicate that this deficiency is likely to be in no long time very adequately supplied. In the present instance, Mr. Trench has produced an able and attractive work, written in a most genial spirit, and exhibiting (chiefly in the notes) all the research and learning which the task required. Nothing is wanting. Every point in the known and traditional history of the evangelist is fully

and calmly investigated. Some readers will peruse with the most interest those portions devoted to the Scripture notice of St. John; while others will turn with greater eagerness to learn the author's judgment upon the remarkable traditional anecdotes respecting this apostle. Scarcely from preference, but because these have been matters of large debate, we shall report the author's judgment upon the traditions.

On the tradition of the evangelist having been cast into boiling oil at Rome, Mr. Trench seems to hesitate, and declines to pronounce any decided opinion. We guess that the preponderance of his judgment is slightly against it; and he remarks that no record remains of any punishment of this kind being inflicted at Rome at the period alleged, for any crime or for any cause.

That St. John was in sojourn in the isle of Patmos, and that he was there "for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus," we learn from Scripture; that he was in banishment is a tradition, and Mr. Trench finds that it is supported by a number of probable circumstances which he states at length. In fact, we suppose there can be no doubt on this subject.

The story of John's quitting the bath when he understood that the heretic Cerinthus was within, saying: "Let us begone, my brethren, lest the bath should fall while Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within it, is next examined." After stating the evidence, Mr. Trench says:—

"I now quit this narrative without any hesitation in stating, that, for my own part, I consider it to bear all the marks of authenticity in its essential features; that nothing averse to its truth and credibility has been brought forward; and finally that nothing appertains to it inconsistent with John's spirit and character, if viewed in all its harmonious relations."

In this we acquiesce, chiefly in view of the apostle's own injunction to "the elect lady,"—"If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed." 2 John 10.

We should be very sorry, indeed, to forego the story of the young robber reclaimed by St. John,[a] and we came to this portion of Mr. Trench's investigation with some anxiety, lest he should have more to say against it than we could answer. We rejoice to find, however, that, with the slight reservation of "all things considered," he permits us to keep this pet story, allowing that "we may, without credulity, give this narrative its place, as a very probable fact in St. John's history, and as an available illustration of his character, bearing well the test of enquiry, and coming out more clearly after such investigation rather than the contrary, rather than involved in fresh doubts and difficulties, as is clearly the case with many anecdotes and tales of traditional connection with his name." With all this, Mr. Trench very properly administers a gentle rebuke to Milner for making the reception or rejection, on the part of the student, of this and other anecdotes, (the burning oil and the bath,) to which *he*

---

[a] The reader may see this story in *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Vol. II., p. 6, 7.

gives unhesitating credence, as a test of a right or wrong frame of mind. "It seems to me," he says, "that when Scripture ceases to speak, the balance of evidence as to each fact must and ought to establish its authenticity; and that quite independently of any deduction as to the mind of the student, similar to that of Milner."

The tradition which tells us of John's last and oft-repeated address to the members of the church, when, through extreme age and infirmity, he could say no more, as his public testimony, than this short sentence, "Little children, love one another," seems to our author to have "nothing in it inconsistent with the character of St. John; nay, very much the contrary; and the state of the church at the time corresponding with the narrative, confirming the special need, and, therefore, the special likelihood, of such an address as this."

In considering the time of John's death, the mind necessarily recurs to that saying of the Lord which went abroad among the disciples as if containing in it the prophetic declaration that St. John should not die. This is usually now understood to imply that John was not to die before the destruction of Jerusalem. Whether by the expression, "If I will that he tarry till I come," our Lord refers to any judicial coming in the destruction of Jerusalem, or to his second advent, Mr. Trench declines to discuss. It appears to him that the most simple, and at the same time most Scriptural interpretation of the Lord's hypothetic saying is, that even had he willed and determined St. John's continuance on earth unto the very period of his own coming (whatever sense that coming might bear) still this would not be a subject on which St. Peter, on an occasion like this, and just after that solemn charge which he had himself received ought to have thus prominently acted. "His enquiry was unauthorized, and especially so at the time. His whole mind and heart, his whole concern and energy should have been employed for himself, and therefore again he must hear the injunction of Christ, 'Follow thou me;' while as to St. John all was still left untold and undefined; and an halo of impressive and somewhat awful mystery was intentionally shed by the Lord himself around his future course."

The age of John at the time of his death cannot be well known, as we are ignorant of his years when he became our Lord's disciple. All accounts, however, agree that he reached an extreme old age. Indeed, it could not well have been otherwise, as there seems sufficient ground to conclude that he survived the death of Christ no less than sixty-eight years, even to the third year of the emperor Trajan. Our author concludes from the evidence, *first*, that he did not die *before* this period, and, *secondly*, that the time of his departure was at or very nigh, this date.

It may be a recommendation of this fine work to many that it is very readable, and written in a good and clear style. The learning is put into foot-notes. In them we observe an absence of references to German authorities, except such as wrote in Latin—but there are several books in the German language from which Mr. Trench might have derived much valuable assistance in his interesting undertaking.

Tortessus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Phönicisch-Spanischen Handels, sowie sur alten Geographie über haubt, von GUSTAV MORITZ REDSLOB, Doctor der Theologie und Philosophie, Professor der Biblischen Philologie und der Philosophie. Hamburg. 1849. 4to, pp. 52 (with a Map).

WHERE did the Tarshish or Tartessus of antiquity stand? Is there no clue to the precise site of this emporium of early commerce? These are the questions which Dr. Redslob brings before our attention. He first recounts the early celebrity of Tarshish, the marked importance which attached to it as a mercantile emporium, and then adverts to the remarkable disappearance of even its *name* from history. He notices the early allusions to the site of this city, as on a river, &c., and then inquires how far these particulars can be supposed to accord with any of the sites which have been brought forward as identical with Tarshish.

The ancients speak of Tarshish as outside the Pillars of Hercules. What points were these? Most would answer immediately, the Straits of Gibraltar. This is questioned by Dr. Redslob, who considers the phrase to indicate a certain extreme limit; so that the locality indicated was removed farther and farther to the west as the knowledge of the habitable earth was increased amongst the Greeks; so that at length it became identical with the Straits of Gibraltar. He considers that the name was at first applied to a part of the Mediterranean much less westwardly. He thus removes the difficulty which lies in the way of identifying the ancient Tarshish or Tartessus with Tortosa on the river Ebro.

This opinion he seeks to confirm in various ways, as by the accordance of the locality with ancient descriptions; for example, the city standing on a river with an island at its mouth; by the considerations which may be drawn from the merchandize of Tarshish as well as by the similar sound of the name.

Dr. Redslob enters at considerable length into an inquiry on the subject of the merchandize of the Phœnicians; he regards a large portion of this as having been brought to Tarshish by land or by river communication, and not by Phœnician ships having themselves taken very distant voyages.

We cannot dismiss our notice of Dr. Redslob's *Memoirs* without expressing our sorrow that in speaking of the Old Testament Scriptures, he should do it with such doubt and hesitation as to their authority. The divine sanction of the Lord Jesus Christ ought to be enough on such points.

Whatever opinion be formed of the theory which identifies Tartessus and Tortosa, or of the arguments by which this theory is supported, there will, we believe be found enough in Dr. Redslob's *Memoirs* to make it worthy of the attention of students of ancient and Biblical Geography and Commerce.

An Examination of the Authority for the Change of the Weekly Sabbath at the Resurrection of Christ: proving that the practice of the Church in substituting the First Day of the Week for the appointed Seventh Day is unsanctioned by the New Testament Scriptures. By James A. Begg. Glasgow.

We are sorry to find that the criticisms and reasonings contained in this pamphlet are not (as we think) founded upon and agreeable to the Word of God. The author himself, however, does not seem to have any misgivings respecting the truth of his theory; nor does he appear to have any hesitation in saying that the great body of the Christian world are following human tradition in observing the sabbath on the first day of the week. Sound hermeneutics and argument he seems confidently to think are in his favour; forgetting, perhaps, that the wise man has said, "He that is first in his own cause seemeth just, but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him."

It appears strange to us that any one, after due consideration, could seriously come to the conclusion that the seventh day of the week ought to be observed as the Christian sabbath. There is not the slightest evidence in the New Testament, that the apostles, or the churches which they founded, ever regarded the seventh day as their day of sabbatic rest; on the contrary, there is the most satisfactory proof that the primitive churches kept the first day of the week in honour of their risen Lord. The apostles in sanctioning the observance of the first day of the week as the Christian sabbath, did not surely act contrary to the mind and will of the King and Head of the Church; whatever they taught and practised under the guidance of the Spirit was ratified in heaven. The Saviour, in the commission which he gave to his disciples, to go into all the world and to preach the Gospel to every creature, directed them to teach the people whatsoever he commanded, and tells them for their encouragement that if they continued faithful to their trust, he would be with them always even unto the end of the world. The apostles were all inspired men; they were miraculously qualified for the efficient discharge of the duties of the important office with which they were invested. Can it then be supposed for a moment, that in consecrating the first day of the week to the honour of the Saviour, they had not his sanction and approbation. The simple fact that the apostles observed the first day of the week as the Christian sabbath is evidence that they were authorised to do so by him that lived and died for the accomplishment of human salvation.

Let us now, for a little, advert to the criticisms and arguments which our author employs in order to prove that the seventh day of the week ought to be observed as the day of sacred rest under the Christian economy.

In the first place he asserts that the translators of the authorised version of the Bible are incorrect in rendering the word μία "first;" εἷς, μία ἕν, he thinks, ought always to be translated as a cardinal "one;" but never as an ordinal "first." And in the next place, he thinks that neither the word, σαββατον nor any of its derivatives ought

to be rendered "week." Now let us for a moment examine the correctness of these observations.

Εἷς μία ἕν, we are aware, is very generally used as a cardinal, and signifies *one;* but it is also occasionally, in peculiar circumstances, employed as an ordinal and signifies *first.* It is used instead of πρωτος, in designating the days of the week, or when it is followed by δεύτερος ἄλλος, &c., &c.

This is a usage which we are inclined to think our author is not aware of. In confirmation of it, however, we can adduce New Testament, Septuagint, and classical authority. In Matt. xxviii. 1, εἰς μίαν σαββάτων signifies the *first* day of the week, and not *one* of the sabbaths, for our Lord did not rise from the dead on any of the Jewish sabbaths. See also 1 Cor. xvi. 2 compare verse 9; Rev. vi. 1; Mark xvi. 2; Luke xxiv. 1; Acts xx. 7; Rev. ix. 12, compared with xi. 14; Luke xviii. 12. This latter passage proves most satisfactorily that the word σαββάτον is used to denote a week, for it would not be easy to say how a man could fast twice in a day. The Septuagint translators also use μία to signify *first*, and employ it as a translation of the Hebrew אֶחָד See Gen. i. 5, 8, 13. Exod. xl. 2.

This usage is not confined to New Testament or Hellenic Greek, but it is also occasionally to be met with in classic authors. See Homer, *Iliad*, xvi. line 173; where we have τῆς μὲν ἰῆς στιχὸς; ἰῆς, being an Epic form for μιᾶς, or Ionic μιῆς. Herodotus iv. 161, has the expression, μίαν μοῖραν, "the first tribe or division." Herodotus v. 89, τῷ ἑνὶ καὶ τριηκοστῷ, "in the thirty-first year." Polybius, page 1401, has this language, ἐν τῇ μιᾷ καὶ εἰκόστη βίβλῳ, "in the thirty-first book." See also Thucydides iv. 115, and Euripides, *Bacchus*, 680. See also Cicero *de Senectute*, section 5.

These citations, which we have given without much comment, clearly prove that μία in New Testament, Septuagint, and classic Greek is used as an ordinal, and that our translators are perfectly justifiable in rendering it first, as they occasionally have done. The quotations from the New Testament also evince that the word sabbath sometimes signifies a week. It is so used in Lev. xxiii. 15.

Standard Library of British Divines. Owen's Works, Vols. II., V., VIII., IX. Edited by the Rev. William Gould. Johnstone and Hunter; London and Edinburgh.

These four volumes amply redeem the pledge of the prospectus. With a handsome exterior, they contain a text printed with uncommon accuracy and elegance. It does one's heart good to see the works of this "great Atlas and patriarch" of the Puritan theology, re-issued in a readable and attractive style. The earlier editions, as we had occasion to remark in our former notice, were disfigured by the grossest blunders, especially in Greek and Latin quotations. In fact they were as barbarous in spelling as they were repulsive in aspect, quite in contrast with these tomes of sur-

passing cheapness and correctness, which owe their origin to the generous enterprise of Messrs. Johnstone and Hunter. Their scheme has succeeded beyond anticipation, and we rejoice in it. The general eagerness to obtain the works of Owen is a healthful symptom in an age of frothy and superficial thinking. Amidst the elegant platitudes of the present day, it is good to fall back on the deep thoughts and excursive speculations of lettered and sanctified genius. Those pretty things which abound to satiety in books patronized by fashionable religious circles, are only as the light and changing clouds in the summer sky; while true theology, such as that of Owen, is as the deep and unvarying blue that lies beyond—mighty, glorious, and of unmeasured depth.

In the *Doctrinal Division*, under which Volumes II. and V. are classed, we have Owen's *Communion with God*, a treatise the very name of which is suggestive of that exuberant fulness, both of polemical and experimental illustration which distinguish it. We have also his *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, a shrewd, powerful, sweeping, and practical argument; and his *Doctrine of Justification*, an exhaustive production, missing no proof, baffled by no subtlety, and neglecting no objection; the work of a master mind prodigal of its intellectual wealth and amassed materials; an academical dissertation, exhibiting on fitting occasions the unction and pungency of a pastoral address.

Volumes VIII. and IX. are ranked under the *Practical Division*, and contain sermons on a great variety of topics. They form an interesting theological miscellany. Many of the discourses were preached on public occasions and on exciting themes, and are therefore of profound interest at the present day, when, as in Owen's time, the ambitious designs of the papacy are threatening the liberties and religion of the commonwealth. Whether these sermons were popular when they were first delivered, we know not; but they will repay an attentive reading, for they are massive and earnest, though now and then they are disfigured by superfluous digressions and a prolix multiplication of divisions.

The Editor has displayed all the successful anxiety and scholarship which marked his first volume. The editorial notes in these volumes are never intruded, but are inserted only as necessity required them, and occupy no undue space. In character, appropriateness, correctness, and brevity, they are a model of editorial annotations.

Manual of the Anatomy and Physiology of the Human Mind. By the Rev. James Carlile, D.D. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue and Co. 1851.

We are always glad to see evidences of new labours in the field of mental science. Many are apt to recoil from metaphysical study as from a forbidding pursuit; its subjects are thought to be barren of interest, and its technicalities harsh. No flowers are looked for in its paths, no fruits are thought to cluster in its groves. But the contrary is really the case; the knowledge of intellectual processes and a close discernment of their nature and limits, will be an important help in all other departments of study

and bring a corresponding reward. The astronomer must acquaint himself with the laws of optics and the construction of his instruments before he sweep the heaven with his equatorial, or register his right ascensions and north polar distances by the aid of a transit instrument, or mural circle. So the mind must know its own powers. As Coleridge says, the mind is alone the subject which is its own object. It is ever present to itself, and in every exercise of its attributes can scan its own laws. Hence a work on the anatomy of the mind arranges facts with which every one may become familiar, and it is the real charm of all reading that the facts stated and the laws established should have already passed under the reader's observation, allowing him to confirm or refute as he is led by his convictions. Dr. Carlile's manual has this charm in a high degree. It is addressed to the common sense of mankind. Divesting a difficult subject of its technicalities and arranging its divisions with a carefully studied method, which shews him to be a perfect master of analysis, he causes it to wear an inviting aspect, and resolves all the mental phenomena into forms which admit of universal comprehension. He is evidently a careful observer, and a diligent student. He writes, with much caution, and though he quotes but little from the masters of the science, he evidently strengthens himself by their labours. We seldom detect the Doctor in an undigested statement; and if he has not the elegant diction of Stewart, the profundity of Locke, or the rich flow of imagination that characterizes Abercrombie, he has his own special value as a writer, and will succeed in commending to the attention of a new class of students the most exalted of subjects—"the image of God in the soul of man."

The Revelation of St. John briefly explained. By Mrs. S. J. C. Martin, Dublin and London: Hatchard & Son. 1851.

It may be doubted whether St. John's Apocalypse admits of being briefly *explained*, though we should admit that it may be briefly "interpreted." By "interpretation" we understand the rendering of an equivalent meaning, by "explanation" we imply the course of reasoning by which that meaning is made apparent. The latter must of necessity occupy more space than the former, just as Daniel's brief interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream may supply material for voluminous commentary. Mrs. Martin has given to the world a little manual which we feel will be useful to many, but at the same time satisfactory to few. She has executed her task admirably, but we doubt whether the task itself did not involve something of self-contradiction. We are so much accustomed to regard the Apocalypse as involving mysteries in which there must needs be a great divergency of opinion even among Christians professing the same general principles, that we desire in every case to pass in review all the well-founded theories that may have been advanced in order that we may form our own decision, or what is still better keep our judgment in suspension between various interpretations. There are many minds, however, to whom a definite solution is a much prized treasure. In this aspect it would appear that the authoress of this little volume has conferred a great advantage on many, and

especially the younger readers of her own sex. To them we recommend the result of her labours as affording safe guidance to a comprehension of this difficult yet inestimable portion of Holy Writ. It will have its value indeed for all readers, and though Newton's work on the Prophecies has a nearly equal advantage in point of cheapness, and Dr. Cumming's Apocalyptic Sketches in respect of simplicity of style, as a digest it will be useful, and as keeping in memory what has been learned.

Mrs. M. has followed Mr. Elliott as the most successful amongst those who have hitherto explored the subject. The dramatic sequence of the seals and trumpets which he has so ably set forth has been adopted in this compendium, and is rendered all the more clear by the brevity of the descriptions. There are several points which would admit of discussion, but on which it would be superfluous to expend our criticism, as the several sides of the question are given in the works to which the authoress has copiously referred, and more particularly as she is well aware of the difficulties involved, and is only prevented giving a fuller statement of them by the narrow limits of her book. This observation, however, would scarcely apply to the chapter on the millenium in which Mrs. Martin distinctly avows her adhesion to the ultra-spiritual view of the subject. This is an open question, and one that cannot be disposed of in a few remarks; we can only just allow ourselves to observe that the arguments adduced in defence are, to our mind, very inadequate, and the texts quoted are calculated to strengthen the opposite side. We believe that Mr. Brown of Glasgow, in his work on the Second Coming has handled the question most ably on the side with which Mrs. Martin sympathizes and has said all that can be said in favour of the hypothesis. As the little work before us is professedly one of statement rather than of investigation, we shall not attempt to combat any of the views brought forward. One remaining point we gladly notice—the thoroughly Protestant tone which pervades every page. The authoress clearly sees that no stronger weapon can be wielded against the Roman apostacy than the elucidation of the Scriptural testimony as to its rise, progress, and ultimate fall. Let every waverer on the confines of this deadly error weigh well the true word of prophecy. Babylon is doomed: But if the true people of God will be warned at the day of its destruction "to come out of her," what will be the end of those who, after knowing the way of righteousness, and professedly following the Lamb, turn aside to Romish corruption, and voluntarily receive the mark of the beast? Whether for warning or encouragement, for rebuke or instruction, blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy.

Jewish School and Family Bible. The First Part, containing the Pentateuch. Newly translated, under the supervision of the Rev. the Chief Rabbi. By Dr. A. Benisch. London: Darling. A.M. 5611—1851.

Dr. Benisch urges the necessity of his undertaking by the consideration that the Christian does not feel bound, in the interpretation and rendering of the Old Testament, by the Masoretic rules from which the Jew may not depart without incurring the charge of deviating from the path

of orthodoxy on the part of the Synagogue. The Christian, moreover, considers himself absolved from the ceremonial laws of the Mosaic dispensation, whereas the Jew makes no distinction in this respect between law and law, but regards them all as equally binding, although some, by their special reference to the Temple of Jerusalem, and the national existence of Israel in the Holy Land, are at present not practicable. The latter view, it is alleged, must materially influence a translator in his work :—

"He that regards the ceremonial laws as a mass of Types which have lost their significance since the appearance of the Archetype, will, no doubt, look upon them with the respect due to their exalted origin, and perhaps even with the reverence with which the endeared remains of the departed are considered. But as in his opinion, it is only a lifeless frame that he beholds, his eyes will fail to observe the characteristics which distinguish a living organism, and his delineation will be accordingly. He that perceives in the ceremonial laws institutions of a temporary nature, befitting only views and circumstances no longer in existence, will examine them with antiquarian curiosity, critical acumen, and historical exactness. But as, in his opinion, they have no bearing on the present age, he will be satisfied with a general knowledge of them sufficient for his purpose, but will not become acquainted with those minutiæ acquired only by him who sees their working daily, and has daily to apply them."

Examples of this are given. In Lev. xxiii. 40, referring to the Feast of Tabernacles, the authorized version has : "And ye shall take unto you on the first day, the boughs of goodly trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook." For a Christian the text is of no practical interest, and a misconception of its terms is of small consequence to him. But to a Jew, who has to carry it into practical operation every year, a right understanding of every term is important, and "from personal experience he is aware that by this text are meant the citron, palm-branch, myrtle, and the willow of the brook."

Verse 15 in the same chapter, is rendered in the authorized version :— "And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath." This Dr. Benisch says, is the Sadducean view of the text. The word שבת here means "next," applicable to the Sabbath and *other* festive days, and here meaning the first day of the Passover. Accordingly he translates, "the morrow after the day of rest."

Another instance in which the authorized version is said to have erred from disregard of the system of accents, as established by the Mussorah, is in Lev. xvii. 14 :—"For it is the blood of all flesh; the blood of it is the life thereof." Here there are really two sentences; but as in the word בשר *flesh*, has a *rebia*, which is a minor disjunctive accent, it does not, according to the Massorah, conclude the sentence. The passage is avowedly difficult; but certainly by neglecting this matter, the Anglican version gives a different sense from the Massorah, as embodid in the present version, which reads :—"For the life of all flesh is the blood thereof."

Dr. Benisch states that wherever the Jews have been established, it has been their endeavour to obtain a version of their Scriptures in the vernacular tongue; "and to this endeavour the world is indebted for most of the ancient and many of the best modern translations of the Bible." And it is with the view of affording the British Jews the same advantage, that this translation is undertaken. Dr. Benisch declares that he has laid down three principal rules for his guidance,—*fidelity*, *uni-*

formity and *independence*. What he says under these heads is well worthy of consideration. Under the first, much stress is laid on the fact, that he leaves untranslated words which are clearly not now understood; such as *tachash*, rendered "badger" in the authorised version; while words which remain doubtful, although there is judged to be strong evidence for the rendering adopted are distinguished by the sign //, as in the case of *reem*, which the authorised version renders by "unicorn," but which the present translator gives as "buffalo." Under *uniformity*, the editor states that, having once determined the meaning of a word, he as far as possible adheres to it; an important rule, which has been too much neglected in the authorised version. Of that version, the translator freely acknowledges the high merits; but urges that the translators could scarcely be considered free agents, being bound by King James's rules, and by the less obvious but more powerful influence of Christian authorities. To passages subject, as he deems, to such influence in the translation, Dr. Benisch undertakes to pay particular attention; but retains the Anglican version when it is in agreement with the views he has set forth. We learn, however, the important fact, "*that with respect to the interpretation (and consequently also the translation) of these Scriptural passages on the meaning of which Christianity is at issue with Judaism, the Synagogue (I use this term in contradistinction to Church) has no* AUTHORITATIVE *tradition*, so that a Jew is left quite unfettered in his investigations."

The editor finally informs us that, "whilst in the ceremonial law, this translation is a faithful exposition of Jewish opinions, *in every other respect* it is a perfectly impartial performance, embodying the result of long-continued studies and numerous patient researches, the labour of many years." This acknowledgment that there is one respect in which it is *not* impartial, is somewhat curious.

The translation will be of considerable interest to the English reader, as presenting to him the opportunity of tracing the variations from the Authorised and other Christian versions. The work is evidently executed with great care, and by a man known to be well versed in the Christian as well as in the Jewish criticisms on the Old Testament. The basis of the version, and consequently of the style, is the Authorised, and the variations are to be sought in particular words and expressions, which one familiar with the common version easily detects as he proceeds. These generally *read in* well, but sometimes look like a new patch upon an old garment. What most strikes the eye perhaps, is the constant use of "the Eternal," for the "Jehovah" of the original, and "the Lord" of the authorised version. To this we do not know that there is any solid objection, but we dislike it for the good old English reason that it is French.

The first paragraph of this version furnishes an eligible specimen of the work:—

"In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth. But the earth was desolate and void, and darkness was upon the face of the murmuring deep, and the Spirit of God *was* hovering on the face of the waters. And God said, Be there light; and light was. And God saw the light, that *it was* good: and God caused a division between the light and the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And it was evening, and it was morning, one day."

An Analytical Arrangement of the Holy Scriptures, according to the Principles developed under the name of Parallelism. With an Appendix and Notes. By Richard Baillie Roe, B.A. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Lewis. 1851.

This work is one of the curiosities of literature. The text of the Scriptures is not given; but the whole of these two large volumes, with the exception of the appendix and notes which together form about half the second volume, is occupied with a sort of tabulated index to the principal contents of Scripture with the view of indicating the Parallelism supposed to pervade them. Mr. Roe has not succeeded in very clearly explaining his own system, and we cannot undertake to do so, further than that it seems a carrying out to the ultimate extent, and to the whole of Scripture, something more than the views propounded by Mr. Boys. It is Lowth *plus* Jebb *plus* Boys *plus* Roe. We should think there is no going any further. That we are not indisposed to the subject of Parallelism generally, is shown by the various papers relating thereto which have been admitted into this Journal—some in the present Number. But to see it forced out in this way through the whole of Scripture—through histories, laws, genealogies, no less than through poems, arguments, and discourses, is more than we can approve, though really unwilling to tell a writer of competent learning and good purposes, that his time, his great labour, and his money, have been utterly wasted, and most unprofitably thrown away; and we know nothing better calculated to retard and discountenance the system of Parallelism than this vast piece of laborious over-doing. Regarded as an analytical digest of the Bible, the book may, however, be of some service, although scarcely in the degree which the writer imagines.

Disheartened by this learned trifling, we turn to the notes, in the hope of finding something there to justify us in qualifying this blame by some commendation. This we can do but faintly. There are some useful things, and some ingenious things, but in those which do not form extracts from other books—and these are generally well chosen—there is little to command our admiration, or to restore our respect for the author's judgment. There are indeed many useful and sensible observations; but, upon the whole, a sort of haze hangs over his own lucubrations which few will desire to penetrate, mixed with a number of crudities which few will care to digest, but which together agree well enough with the notion one is apt to form of an author who is capable of regarding an undertaking like this as useful and important. We firmly believe that no man ever made a greater mistake. Yet there are indications which render us willing to suppose that Mr. Roe may yet render good service to Biblical literature, after he has *realized* the various points of instructive experience he is sure to derive from his undertaking.

The Psalms, in a New Version, fitted to the Tunes used in Churches. With Notes in Examination of the Difficult Passages. By M. Montague. London: T. Hatchard. 1851.

A materially better metrical version of the Psalms than any we have

yet possessed, would be a great advantage; but we regret to say that Mr. Montague does not appear to us so adequately to have supplied this *desideratum*, as he somewhat too boisterously proclaims. Seeing the keen perception which he exhibits of the faults of his predecessors, and which he not very sparingly exposes, one may be vexed to be presented with a version so rugged, so spiritless, so obscure, and so ungrammatical as this, did we not too well know the essential difference between the critical faculty and the executive power. We shall not damage the work by making any extracts from the version, or from the very original "proem," by which the author sufficiently discovers the extent of his *poetical* qualifications for the task he has so rashly undertaken. We can only say that Mr. Montague appears to have added a sixty-sixth to the sixty-five impracticable metrical versions of the Psalms, which, as he tells us, previously existed.

It is painful to speak discouragingly of a work which has occupied its author "ten of the happiest—and we would hope not altogether unuseful—years of our life." Not altogether; for the long preface of 79 pages is curious and interesting from its accounts of, and criticisms on, previous versions; and the work closes with about 200 pages of good and sensible notes, which, although founded on the metrical version, have necessarily a general application to the contents of the particular Psalms. On these grounds we incline to recommend the volume; for those who concur in our estimate of the metrical version, will still possess something worth having in the preface and the notes, which together form more than half the volume.

The Jansenists: their Rise, Persecutions by the Jesuits, and existing Remnants. By S. P. Tregelles, LL.D. London: Bagster and Sons. 1851.

This is a reprint, revised and enlarged, of the remarkable Memoir which appeared in the January number of this Journal. Many will like to possess it in this separate shape, in which it is illustrated with rare and curious views and portraits of Port Royal des Champs, Jansenius, St. Cyran, and the Mère Angelique.

The Life of Francis Lord Bacon. By the Rev. Joseph Sortain, A.B. London: Religious Tract Society.

This is a very interesting and carefully weighed account of Bacon's career and character, estimated on Christian principles. The writer is, as a biographer ought to be, a vigorous admirer of his illustrious subject; but although confessing to a strong prejudice in his favour, pronounces him "guilty," in those deplorable matters respecting which his conduct has been most questioned. We shall owe a new debt of gratitude to the Religious Tract Society, if it follow up this work by other biographies of the like class and character, as it is of much importance that the rising generation especially should be enabled to form a correct judgment of the great men of former days, whose influence for good or evil must always be important.

My First Grief; or, Recollections of a Beloved Sister. A Memoir and Autobiography. By a Provincial Surgeon. Bath: Binns and Goodwin.

This is a beautiful book, replete with tender, eloquent, and often original thought. Every page bears the impress of a reflective mind and a true heart. We think greatly less, however, of the subject than of the author, who freely indulges in following the train of thought which his course presents, carrying us willingly away with him, and occasionally staying our course to pause over a fine thought or suggestive idea. It is so far a fault, that the author fails to impress upon us a sense of his sister's individuality, while his own is very distinctly set before us. It may even be suspected that a brother's love has given exaggerated importance to qualities of no high mark, at least the information he furnishes scarcely sustains his own impressions. But although the book is one of a class we can seldom read, we have read every word of this with interest, and may pronounce it to be very superior to the general run of books of this description.

What mean ye by this Service? The question discussed in the trial of George Herbert, Richard Hooker, Charles Simeon, Reginald Heber, and Thomas Scott, on the charge of heresy. By the Rev. Samuel Hobson, LL.B. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1850.

A quaint conceit for rendering palatable the less inviting elements of dogmatic controversy. We presume the author had seen many of his unlearned neighbours dive deeply into the reported proceedings of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and read the speeches of Dr. Bayford or Mr. Baddeley, who had never taken down a polemical treatise from the shelf. Such readers may gather much valuable information on the points in dispute, and in the same agreeable way, by the perusal of Mr. Hobson's well-sustained "Trial." The question is exhibited with considerable impartiality, whilst the inconsistency of many who profess to admire the character and writings of the "heretics" alluded to, is strikingly held up to the light. We hope that the readers of this ingenious and at the same time useful little work may be led onward to a more extended acquaintance with the witness of these pillars of the church?

On Penance and the Confessional as Unscriptural and Immoral. By the Rev. J. Ross, Curate of Pett. London: The Religious Tract Society.

An extremely suitable "Tract for the Times." The church of Rome is nowhere so vulnerable or has more to fear from public opinion than with reference to the confessional. Many a sentimental religionist has been arrested in a career of coquetry with Romanism by a discovery of the nature of this ordeal. It cannot be too powerfully exposed. It is the foulest cloaca of the city of the seven hills, and men should be warned against its noxious gases and far-extending abominations. Mr. Ross has treated the subject with admirable delicacy no less than in a tone of fervent piety.

The Second Reformation; or Christianity Developed. By A. Alison, Esq. London: Simpkin & Co. 1851.

This is an essay by no means wanting in ingenious thought, and one that will probably find readers. The author professes a regard for Protestant Christianity, and manifests a degree of sincerity in advocating its progress to perfection. But we are constrained to confess that we differ with him *in limine*. We take our stand on the inspired Scriptures, and would desire to seek the advance of mankind on the principles of the divine revelation, accepting the Scripture view of man's ruin, and therefore, also the Scripture doctrine of redemption. It is too evident that Mr. Alison advocates that kind of subjective belief which is one of the most subtle features of modern infidelity. Human reason is in fact at the centre of this system. God is represented as governing the world from a distance, sin is assumed to be a misfortune rather than a fault, and knowledge is recommended as the universal panacea. Our advocacy of the cause of sacred literature leads us to mention this volume only for the purpose of condemning it. We cannot wish it God speed.

Eight Lectures delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association, in the Rotundo, from November, 1849, to February, 1850. Dublin: Fannin & Co.; London: Nisbet & Co. 1851.

We rejoice in the success of young men's associations, where the object in view is to awaken an interest in all that relates to our holy religion. We are glad to find that the sister island has such institutions, and that they are not otherwise than in a flourishing state. These lectures, which were delivered to the Dublin Association, are of a very high order, embracing a range of valuable topics, and characterized throughout with clearness, earnestness, and eloquence. We only regret that the course is not all preserved for perusal. By some unaccountable blunder, the managers of the society neglected to send their short-hand writer to take the lectures down, and thus failed to catch the winged words before they had dispersed themselves in the thin vapours. They have made the notable discovery that it is less easy to catch a bird in its flight than to secure it as it rises from its nest.

The Voice of the Early Church in its first three centuries of steadfast struggle and final victory; in three parts. By the Rev. Charles Smyth, Vicar of Alfriston, Sussex. Parts I. II. and III. London: Hamilton and Adams, 1850.

We much like the plan of this little publication. A series of chapters on early church history, written in an engaging style and in a spirit of earnest piety, printed, moreover, in a cheap form, cannot but be valuable. A more extended knowledge of Christianity in its primitive type is one of the wants of the day, and one moreover that the pulpit cannot altogether meet. We are glad to find Mr. Smyth's doctrinal teaching fully opposed

to the errors of those who have professedly hitherto appealed to primitive standards, but have shewn latterly that their sympathies are medieval rather than anti-Nicene. We only fear that the usefulness of these sixpenny tracts may be marred by the involved and tautological style of the author.

Annotated Paragraph Bible: containing the Old and New Testaments, according to the Authorized Version, arranged in Paragraphs and Parallelisms. With Explanatory Notes. Part II. The Historical Books.. London: Religious Tract Society. 1851.

This is the second part (containing the matter of an ordinary volume) of a work which we had occasion to characterize on the issue of the first portion. It fully maintains its claim to the commendation we then bestowed. The notes exhibit, with ability and skill, the pith of the facts and observations to be found in other commentaries, interspersed with short but judicious remarks, indicating the meaning of the text or suggesting the improvement to be derived from it. We do not perceive any acknowledgment of the authorities which have supplied the materials; but of this the class of readers for whom the work is designed will perhaps not complain. The work is enriched by plans and maps, of which one by Petermann, in the present part, styled "*A Physical Map of Palestine*," is very interesting and useful. Taken altogether, this is a valuable and carefully prepared work, the acquisition of which will be very important to those who find more copious expensive commentaries beyond their reach.

Syriac Reading Lessons: consisting of copious Extracts from the Peschito Version of the Old and New Testaments, and the Crusade of Richard I. from the Chronicles of Bar Hebræus: Grammatically Analyzed and Translated: with the Elements of Syriac Grammar. By the Author of 'The Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon.' etc. etc. [Benjamin Davidson.] Bagster and Sons.

Chaldee Reading Lessons: consisting of the whole of the Biblical Chaldee; with a Grammatical Praxis and an Interlineary Translation. Bagster and Sons.

These two works have reached us together. The preface to the *Syriac Reading Lessons* however informs us, that "The present work forms one of a series of Reading Lessons, of which Hebrew and the Chaldee have already appeared."

The preface to the *Chaldee Reading Lessons* states that the work has been prepared "in imitation of the *Hebrew Reading Lessons* published by the same publishers." It may suffice then, so far as many readers are concerned, to inform them that these little works are on the same plan in general as Dr. Tregelles's *Hebrew Reading Lessons:* the differences being only such as would naturally be found when different minds were occupied in applying the same general plan to the details of different languages.

The *Chaldee Reading Book* will be valuable to many who possess some knowledge of Hebrew, and who wish to read the Biblical Chaldee in the

books of Daniel and Ezra with the same facility as they can the rest of the Old Testament. To this little work tables of Chaldee verbs and pronouns have been prefixed.

The *Syriac Reading Book* contains a well-arranged outline of Syriac Grammar; then the following portions of Scripture in Syriac,—Psalm cx., Proverbs xxvii. 1—12, Job xix. 19—25, and St. John's Gospel, chap. ii. These extracts, though probably sufficient, will hardly meet the expectations raised by the word "*copious*" needlessly introduced into the title. These extracts are analyzed in the same manner as the chapters contained in the *Hebrew Reading Lessons*. An interlinear translation is placed below each Syriac word, and a letter of reference connects the words in the text with the parsing and pronunciation at the foot of the page. The Crusade of Richard I. has merely a translation on the page opposite to the Syriac, and a grammatical explanation at the foot of such words as had not occurred in the former part of the work.

In the *Chaldee Reading Lessons*, that part from Daniel is analyzed fully, and the portion from Ezra is given more compendiously.

We trust that the appearance of these books is a good omen as to the attention which is now directed in this country to Biblical and Oriental Philology.

Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. *The New Testament.* The 'Received Text,' with selected Various Readings from Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tichsendorf, and References to Parallel Passages. London: Bagster and Sons.

This edition of the Greek Text of the New Testament is designed to meet the want of an edition for convenient general use, and in type sufficiently large to be employed for *habitual* reading. For these purposes it is admirably suitable—the form being equally adapted for the hand or for the table, and the type being bold, clear, and distinct. The various readings and the references are exhibited in the inner margin. The selection is not from the readings merely *stated* by the editors named in the title, but from those *adopted* by them; and the authorities given are therefore not those of the MSS., but of the editors, whose names are in every instance given, in a contracted form. If several editors agree in a particular reading, their consent is signified by the like indication of their names. The selection of readings is good so far as it goes, but seems to us much too scanty. The publishers, however, stop all complaint by declaring their intention to provide a requisite Synopsis "of all the variations of the texts of Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, as a useful companion to this or any other Greek Testament." Prefixed to this there will be a full critical Introduction, giving the history of the formation of the text in common use, and a statement of the principles on which these editors have respectively carried on their versions. We shall judge of this when we see it; but the specimen furnished indicates careful preparation, and promises useful help to all who read the New Testament in the original tongue.

The Greek Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, according to the Vatican Edition. London: Bagster and Sons.

A REVIEW of Tischendorf's new edition of the Septuagint, which we are obliged to defer until our next number, will afford an opportunity of entering into the general merits and critical value of the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, which are indeed matters that have already undergone some discussion in this Journal. Every biblical student knows the essential importance of a copy of the Septuagint version to his library; and, aware of this, the usual beneficent purveyors for this class of persons, have done wisely in providing this useful, well-printed, legible, and correct edition. As this was not intended for what is called a critical edition, the Vatican text has been wisely followed. There is an historical Introduction, somewhat brief, but clear and satisfactory.

The version of Daniel usually found in editions of the Septuagint, is not that of the Seventy, but of Theodotion. In the present edition, this more correct version is retained in the usual place, but that of the Seventy is also supplied at the head of the Apocrypha, it being rightly judged that an edition of the Septuagint would be incomplete without it. In the Apocrapha the *fourth* book of Maccabees has been added to the three found in previous reprints of the Vatican text. This is therefore a remarkably complete edition. The absence of the various readings will be felt as a serious defect by many biblical students; but to supply their wants, the publishers have undertaken to provide a selection of various readings in a separate publication, which will render it available for all editions. From the specimen given this is likely to be of excellent use, and we shall look for it with expectation as an important complement to the work.

BIBLICAL INTELLIGENCE.

We have been invited by Professor Rödiger of Halle, to an exchange of periodical letters of Biblical and oriental intelligence with him, on behalf of the Journal of the German Oriental Society (*Zeitchuft der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesselschuft*), which will enable us to obtain in future, from the first source, much continental information in our department, likely to be of interest and value to our readers. We regret we have not been able to bring this arrangement into operation in the present number of the *Journal of Sacred Literature.*

Codex Claromontanus.—Professor Tischendorf has sent us a Prospectus of his intended publication of this celebrated Codex. The title is—*Codex Claromontanus sive Epistolae Pauli Omnes Græce et Latine ex Codice Claromontano Celeberrimo sexti ut videtur post Christum sæculi, nunc primum edidit Constantinus Tischendorf, Theologiæ et Philosophiæ Doctor, Theologiae in Academia Lipsiensi Professor Publicus Ordinarius Honorarius, etc.*

The Prospectus is in German and French. We give the French copy entire, to enable our readers to realize some idea of this important and interesting undertaking.

"Le Codex Claromontanus, longtemps entre les mains du célèbre Bèze, compte depuis trois siècles au nombre des monumens les plus remarquables du texte sacré. Il contient toutes les Epitres de St. Paul en Grec et en Latin, à la seule exception de quelques versets; ce qui est dire qu'il est le document le plus complet entre les plus anciens pour le texte original de ces Epitres. En effet le code du Vatican et le code d'Ephrem renferment des lacunes considérables, et plus de la moietié de la seconde Epitre aux Corinthiens ne se trouve pas dans le code Alexandrin. Le code Claromontain, remontant au sixième siècle, touche de plus près l'âge de ces trois manuscrits Grecs. Quant à la vieille version Latine des Epitres de St. Paul, il n'existe aucun témoin d'une valeur pareille. Il est en même temps le plus ancien de tous les manuscrits Grecs-latins.

"Les travaux que Wetstein, Griesbach et Sabatier ont consacrés aux deux textes de ce manuscrit, conserveront toujours quelque mérite. Mais jusqu'à ce jour les savans avaient en vain désiré une édition entière et exacte de ce précieux trésor de l'antiquité chrétienne, et voici ce que Mr. Charles Lachmann, célèbre philologue allemand, écrivait à cet égard lors de la publication de son édition du Nouveau Testament en 1830:—'Des savans de Paris pourraient acquérir un mérite immortel en enrichissant la critique du Nouveau Testament par la publication du code d'Ephrem et du code Claromontain.'

"Mr. Tischendorf, auquel le monde savant doit déja les éditions de Codex Ephraemi, des Monumenta sacra inedita, de l'Evangelium Palatinum, du Codex Amiatinus, du Codex Friderico-Augustanus, s'est rendu à Paris en 1840 et 1849, pour préparer enfin l'édition du Codex Claromontanus. Les nombreuses corrections de mains différentes ont rendu ce travail long et difficile; mais on reconnaîtra que le résultat en a été des plus heureux.

"Mr. Tischendorf a été autorisé à publier ce document inèdit par le Conservateur des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (alors Royale) de Paris à la date du 28 October, 1841, et dans les termes suivantes:—'Monsieur, Je m'empresse de vous avertir que Mr. le Ministre de l'instruction publique vient de vous autoriser à publier le texte Grec des Epitres de St.-Paul et la version Latine, l'un et l'autre contenus dans le ms. 107 de l'ancien fonds de la Bibliothèque Royale. Je me félicite en mon particulier, Monsieur, d'avoir contribué, bien indirectement il est vrai, à la publication d'un ouvrage anquel votre critique si judicieuse et votre érudition si sûre et si étendue donnent le plus grand prix. Agréez, Monsieur, cet hommage dû à vos savans travaux, etc.'

"L'editeur a entrepris l'impression du code Claromontain en comptant sur l'intérêt profond que rencontrera sans doute la publication d'un document d'une

aussi haute importance pour la science et pour toute l'Eglise chretienne. L'ouvrage, très-grand in 4to, de près de 600 pages d'impression, enrichi de prolégomènes étendus et de deux pages en parfait facsimile, sera autant que possible conforme à l'original, même pour les types Grecs.

"Tiré à un petit nombre d'exemplaires, l'ouvrage complet paraîtra dès l'automne prochain. Le prix de chaque exemplaire est de 24 thalers (90 francs). On souscrire chez tous les libraires d'Allemagne et de l'étranger."

Mr. C. J. Stewart's Catalogue of the Fathers of the Church.—Two years ago we called the attention of our readers to the admirable *Catalogue of Bibles and Biblical Literature*, published by Mr. Stewart of King William Street, West Strand; its excellence (as we then shewed) consisted not only in its completeness, but also in its excellent arrangement. We have now before us a *Catalogue* much smaller in bulk, but equally clear and complete. In this Patristic Catalogue we have not the usual alphabetical arrangement, by which persons and subjects of the most incongruous kinds are placed in juxta-position, but Mr. Stewart has with great judgment arranged the Fathers in general, (including ecclesiastical writers to the fifteenth century) *chronologically*. As preliminary headings are given "Illustrative and Introductory Works," then "Collections and Catenæ," and then the chronological arrangement commences. The first century is designated "Apostolic," the second "Gnostic," the third "Novatian," the fourth "Arian," and so on; the term employed indicating some prominent feature, whether of good or evil, in each. This catalogue would have no small value to a student, were it only as informing him what early writings have come down to us, and to what age each author belongs. The *editions* of the different Fathers are very numerous, and they shew that Mr. Stewart's patristic collection must be remarkably complete.

In one important particular *this Catalogue* is connected with the *Biblical Catalogue* above mentioned. In *that*, reference is made to the different Fathers who have illustrated or commented upon the respective books of Scripture. This is one of the most elaborate parts of that catalogue: so that *this Catalogue* becomes an almost needful supplement. Although the arrangement is not alphabetical, yet an Index prevents any difficulty from arising in searching for any Father's name. Taken together, Mr. Stewart's two *Catalogues* form a very complete *Bibliotheca Biblica*, far more than we ever expected to see in sale catalogues.

The Rev. Edward Robinson, D.D., of New York, who has lately paid a brief visit to this country and to Germany, contemplates returning at the commencement of the next year, with the view of proceeding to renew his researches in Palestine. In recollection of the new footing on which this learned traveller and able divine was enabled, twelve years ago, to place the topography of Palestine, and the points that have since occurred to require verification, comparison, and enlarged exploration, many will share the extreme satisfaction with which we make this announcement.

The Messrs. Bagster and Sons have issued a *Prospectus and Specimen of a New Greek Harmony of the Four Gospels*. By William Stroud, M.D.; Author of a *Treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ*. The *general* plan and purpose of a Harmony of the Four Gospels must be obvious. The objects of the Harmony now promised are "to set before the reader the Four Gospels, arranged in such a manner as to facilitate the closest investigation of their contents; and to satisfy him that their combination into a Harmony is accomplished on sound principles faithfully executed. Besides the large amount of elucidation furnished by the Harmony itself, full explanations are therefore premised, and suitable tables and indexes subjoined." The work will be in fact under the double form of a Harmony and Diatessaron. The corresponding passages of different Gospels being collated on the right hand side of the page, and compacted into a single and continuous statement on the left; while between the two, a column of references, aided by suitable typographical distinctions, shews from which Gospel and on what grounds each portion of the consolidated text is selected.

The forthcoming volume of Mr. Bohn's Standard Library will comprise the remaining portion of Neander's *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles*, with the additional matter contained in the fourth edition of the original; and his *Antignostikus, or the Spirit of Tertullian and an Introduction to his Writings*, (of which a second edition was published, much enlarged, by the revered author about a twelvemonth before his decease,) translated by Mr. J. E. Ryland. We are glad to be enabled by this information to correct the impression of some of our friends respecting the edition issued by Mr. Bohn, who has, it appears, purchased the copyright from the Messrs. T. and T. Clark of Edinburgh, and engaged the translator to add the latest improvements.

Mr. Ryland is preparing for the press a new edition (the third) of the *Life and Correspondence of John Foster*, with additions and corrections, to appear in Bohn's Standard Library.

The Rev. A. Buzacott (June 26th, 1851) has just completed a version of the entire Scriptures in the language of Ravolonga; 5,000 copies have been printed at the cost of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The Rev. Dr. Conant, Rochester, U.S., is engaged in making a new translation of the Scriptures in English, to be accompanied by brief explanatory notes, designed to convey to the English reader the meaning of the original text. It will be published in parts, and when finished will make a large-sized royal 8vo. volume.—*New York Recorder*, June 18th.

In the *Athenæum* of August 23rd is an important communication from Colonel Rawlinson, of a discovery made by him in an inscription upon an Assyrian bull, of the campaign between Sennacherib and Hezekiah. The king who built the palace of Khorsabad, he identifies with Shalmanesar, and the king who built the great palace of Koyunjik, which Mr. Layard has been recently excavating, with Sennacherib. We have now a tangible starting place for historical research. These annals contain accounts of the expedition against Hezekiah related in 2 Kings xviii. 13—17, and agree with the Scripture narrative, even to the number of talents of silver and gold, which the Assyrian monarch exacted as tribute.

Colonel Rawlinson also states that on a cylinder in the British Museum is a tolerably perfect copy of the annals of Esar-Haddon, the son of Sennacherib, in which we find a further deportation of Israelites from Palestine, and a further settlement of Babylonian colonists in their place; an explanation being thus obtained of the passage of Ezra iv. 2, in which the Samaritans speak of Esar-Haddon as the king by whom they had been transplanted.

The letter of Colonel Rawlinson, has subsequently called forth several letters from chronologists, which have appeared in the *Athenæum*, Sept. 13; but though some of the Colonel's statements are impugned, the value of his discoveries is admitted.

At the Historical Section of the Archæological Institute on July 31st, was read by the Rev. James Lee Warner, an account of the first 8vo. edition of Tyndale's New Testament. The reverend author entered fully into the literary history of the work. It was long supposed that it had been printed by Endhoven at Antwerp; and from Foxe to Hartwell Horne this conclusion had been maintained in the face of many difficulties. The research and acumen of the Rev. C. Anderson, of Edinburgh, had ascertained that Endhoven's was in fact the third edition by Tyndale, and that the 8vo. was previously printed, partly (as far as sheet K) by Quentell at Cologne, and the rest by Peter Schœffer at Worms, after Tyndale had been driven from the former city. Mr. Warner knew of only two copies of this book, one in an imperfect state in the library of St. Paul's cathedral, the other which he had now before him, and which belonged to the library of the Baptist college in Bristol. Mr. Hawkins stated that another (imperfect) copy was in the hands of the Bishop of Lichfield, who had expressed his intention to present it to the British Museum.

The Chevalier Bunsen read a paper on the Lake Moeris. It is now ascertained to have been one of the vastest engineering works ever accomplished in any age of

the world, and intended for the purpose of artificial irrigation. The chevalier assigns the date of this work to a monarch named Mœris, the successor of the great Sesostris, and who was Pharaoh when Jacob and the children of Israel settled as shepherds in the land of Goshen.

The National Assembly of France has voted £1200 to afford M. Mariette the pecuniary means of continuing his researches at Memphis. The greatest discovery hitherto of M. Mariette is the temple of Serapis which is known to contain twelve statues of deities mounted on symbolical animals, all of more gigantic size than any hitherto found.

The sanctuary of the temple not yet explored will, it is expected, bring to light things far more curious, and of the highest historical importance.—*Literary Gazette*, August 23rd.

Accounts have been received of Mr. Richardson's expedition to Africa. Mr. Richardson himself is near Lake Tshad. Dr. Overweg is setting out for the country of Adar, and Dr. Barth has gone to Hanu. The latter has sent home a very extensive report of the history, topography, and ethnography of Aghadis, an almost unknown country south of Sahara, with a glossary of the Kaussa and Enghidesie languages, some itineraries and maps, which are now in the hands of Lord Palmerston. —*Athenæum*, August 30th.

At a meeting of the American Oriental Society, in June last, the Rev. Edward Robinson, D.D., read an essay on recent discoveries in Syria and Asia. The chief points were, the sources of information, the general features of the country, climate, character of the soil, and capability of supporting a large population, and an outline of the more important discoveries, sites of towns, ruins of temples, churches, tombs, aqueducts, &c., and a particular account of the sites and ruins of places mentioned in the New Testament; the sculptures, coins, inscriptions, and in what language the inscriptions are written, and a more particular account of the Syrian language, and the theories respecting it.—*Literary World*, June.

At the New York Historical Society, June 4th, Dr. Robinson read a paper, on the history and recent collations of the English Bible. This paper was a series of extracts from a forthcoming report of a committee appointed by the American Bible Society for the purpose of collating and correcting to a uniform standard the several English versions of the Bible. The work has been in progress for upwards of three years under the superintendence of Dr. Robinson, Dr. Vermilye, and other divines in America, and the result of their labours has been the preparation of new plates, from which the Bible Society purpose issuing a new and standard edition. The Report of the Committee will shortly be published.

The Greek Manuscript, mentioned in the *Literary Gazette*, August 2nd, and which was supposed to be a manuscript of the Acts of the Apostles, turns out to be part of the works of Aristotle.

A Translation of the Book of Proverbs with a Commentary is preparing by Professor Moses Stuart, of America.

A Translation of Mosheim's *Historical Commentaries* has been printed in America, and will shortly be published in 2 vols. 8vo.

The new Master of the Rolls, Sir John Romilly, has consented to afford literary men increased facilities for consulting the original records of which the Master of the Rolls is the guardian; a boon for which he deserves the best thanks of every literary man.

At the Royal Society of Literature, August 14, the Bishop of Gibraltar exhibited and commented on some very perfect "rubbings" made by the sister of Dr. Lieder, of hieroglyphic inscriptions on the door-posts of the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, and on other Egyptian monuments.

A conversation followed respecting the pretended discovery, by a monk named Simonides, of an immense deposit of ancient Greek MSS. The feeling was that he is an impostor.

August 28. A memoir by Sir Gardner Wilkinson on one of the Egyptian Cartouches found by Dr. Layard at Nimroud, was read by the Secretary. The paper threw considerable light on the difficult question of the precise extent of the Egyptian conquests in Asia and Africa. It is evident that the Pharaohs for a long series of years contended for the possession of parts of Mesopotamia and other provinces of Asia. The conquests of the Pharaohs over the Ethiopians and Negroes of Africa also date at a very early time, and the monuments shew that Osirtasen III. ruled in Ethiopia.

Dr. Davidson's valuable lectures on Biblical Criticism are about to be republished in as complete a form as possible. They will of course be brought up to the present advanced state of the science, and contain all that can be considered necessary or desirable for *all the purposes* which lead clergymen and students of the Bible to consult a work of the kind.

In the *Athenæum* of the 20th September there is a letter on the Rawlinsonian discoveries, from a gentleman who has paid much attention to the subject of the Bible Chronology, J. W. Bosanquet, Esq. The letter, which is too long for more than a passing notice, is worth the attention of our readers.

The editor of the *Chronological New Testament*, who has promised us a Chronological Old Testament, will probably delay his work for a year or two, to give himself time for a thorough investigation of the whole subject.

Mr. R. Allan, engineer to an English company, has discovered traces of an emerald mine on Mount Zabarah, on an island in the Red Sea. Belzoni long ago said that it would be found that this mine had been worked by the ancient Egyptians, and the configuration of a great gallery and the nature and shape of the tools found in the mine, establish the soundness of that intelligent traveller's opinion. From a stone, with a hieroglyphic inscription in a great measure destroyed, it is believed that labouring in the mine commenced in the days of Sesostris.

The *Malta Times* of September 9th announces the death of Mr. James Richardson, the African traveller. After separating from his companions, Mr. Richardson took the direct road to Kouka; there his strength began to give way, but he continued to persevere, resting at intervals and refreshing himself, till he reached a town named Ungurutua, when he became so weak as to be unable to proceed, and on the evening of the 4th of March he expired.

Does the Vatican MS. contain the Books of Maccabees?—

"Sir,—In the review of Tischendorf's *Septuagint*, in the April number of your Journal (p. 417), occurs the following sentence: 'It is in vain to plead here the Vatican MSS., as that is *defective in all the books of Maccabees*.' Now if it is really the case that the Vatican MSS. of the LXX. contains none of the books of Maccabees, how comes it that *Horne*, in his *Introduction*, maintains the contrary? his words are, 'The third *book of Maccabees* is also found in the Alexandrian and *Vatican* MSS.' But a writer in Kitto's *Biblical Cyclopædia* (art. Maccabees), Dr. W. Wright, is far more explicit; he says, 'In the *Vatican Codex*, Tobit and Judith are placed between Nehemiah and Esther; Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus follow Canticles; Baruch and Lamentations are placed after Jeremiah, and *the four books of Maccabees* close the canon.' Now how can the student who wishes to know what the Vatican Codex does really contain, reconcile these statements with that of your reviewer, and the following assertion made in the same work (art. Septuagint), by Dr. S. Davidson: 'Almost the entire book of Genesis is wanting in cod. B., besides Psalms 105—138, *and the books of the Maccabees?* Surely some explanation is necessary in order to reconcile these statements, and as I am unable to do so, never having *actually seen the Codex Vaticánus*, perhaps yourself or some of your readers will give the desired information. P. S."

This letter having been sent to the reviewer, he furnishes the following reply:—

"Dear Sir,—The inquiry of your correspondent on this point of fact is easily answered.

"The Vatican editors state in the Preface to their edition of 1586, 'Maccabæorum libri *absunt* ab hoc exemplari, atque liber Genesis ferè totus; nam longo ævo consumptis membranis mutilatus est ab initio libri usque ad caput xlvii. Et liber item Psalmorum, qui à Psalmo cv. usque ad cxxxviii. nimiâ vetustate mancus est.' This is on the last page of the Preface, and it is reprinted by Tischendorf in the Prolegomena to his edition, p. xiv. The correctness of it, I know from personal examination.

"The statement of Mr. Horne arises simply from an error of the pen: the Vatican MS. and the Vatican *edition* have been reiteratedly confounded, and indeed the expression Vatican *text* or *copy* has been applied to each indifferently. Mr. Horne should have said, 'The third book of Maccabees is also found in the Alexandrian and Vatican TEXTS.' It is a mistake to say this also of the *fourth* book. That Mr. Horne was perfectly aware that the Maccabees are not in the Vatican MS., see his vol. v., p. 55, where he speaks of 'the book (misprint for *books*) of Maccabees being obliterated from the Vatican manuscript through extreme age.'

"I cannot account for Dr. W. Wright's error; it is however only an illustration of the principle on which Porson so often insisted, *that all men are liable to mistake.* I will add, however, that this mistake of Dr. W. Wright's was one that could mislead no student who could lay his hand on the commonest reprint of the Vatican text; for there he would see *three* books of Maccabees and *three* only; he would thus find that *four* was simply a misstatement. And as the Preface of the Vatican editors has been reprinted not unfrequently (*e.g.* in the editions of Breitinger, Jager, and Tischendorf), the information which it contains is matter of common possession to scholars, whether they have seen the Vatican MS. or not. I am however well aware that students have often but few books, and that thus even a slight misstatement or misprint may be tryingly perplexing. I have often *felt* this.

"How a *misprint* may mislead is shewn by the comments of a writer in your April number, p. 446), on 'Muenter's Remarks on the Jewish War under Hadrian.' In Muenter's paper, as translated and printed in the American *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Rabbi Akiba is said to have 'caused the celebration of the Passover to be transferred from *mount* Nisan to *mount* Jyar.' This leads your correspondent to doubt the existence of such *localities*. Nisan and Jyar were however the names of *months*, not *mounts;* and thus without ever having seen Muenter's paper in the original, we may correct with undoubted certainty 'from the *month* Nisan to the *month* Jyar.' *i.e.* from the first Jewish month to the second, according to the provision of the law in Numbers ix. 10, &c. Whether the interpretation of Aben Ezra's words is correct or not, is wholly a distinct question.—I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully, S. P. T."

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

The Life of St. Paul: illustrated from contemporary History, with the Epistles chronologically arranged, and literally translated upon the Basis of the Authorized Version. By Thomas Lewin, M.A., Trinity College, Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo.

The First Hebrew Book: on the Plan of Henry's First Latin Book. By the Rev. T. K. Arnold, M.A.

Annotations on the Apostolical Epistles. Designed chiefly for the use of Students of the Greek Text. Vol. III. Contents: Thessalonians—Hebrews. Vol. I. contains Romans—Corinthians. Vol. II. Galatians—Thessalonians. Vol. IV. James—Jude (*in preparation.*) By Thomas W. Peile, D.D., Head Master of Repton School.

A New Harmony of the Four Evangelists, in Parallel Columns, in the words of the Authorized Version. By the Rev. Isaac Williams, B.D. Small 8vo. This work forms a Companion or Key to the Commentary and Harmony of the Gospels by the same author, in 7 volumes.

The Temple: an Essay on the Ark, the Tabernacle, and the Temple of Jerusalem, shewing the Correspondence of their Forms with those of Classic Architecture. By Edward C. Hakewill. Royal 8vo.

Indian Missions in Guiana. By the Rev. W. H. Brett, Missionary in connexion with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Foolscap 8vo.

Notes of a Residence in the Canary Islands, the South of Spain, and Algiers: illustrating the state of Religion in those countries. By the Rev. Thomas Debary. Post 8vo.

A Tour in South Africa; with Notices of Natal, Mauritius, Madagascar, Ceylon, Egypt, and Palestine. By the Rev. J. J. Freeman. Post 8vo.

A Second Missionary Visit to the Friendly and Feegee Islands, in the year 1850. By the Rev. Walter Lawry. Edited by the Rev. E. Hoole.

Sketches of Modern Irreligion and Infidelity; with some results of late extensive Travels on the Continent. Foolscap 8vo.

The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored; an Essay on Ancient Assyrian and Persian Architecture. By James Fergusson, Esq. 8vo. pp. 384.

Sketch of the Religious History of the Slavonic Nations. By Count Valerian Krasinski. 8vo.

The Six Colonies of New Zealand. By William Fox. Foolscap 8vo.

The Southern Districts of New Zealand; with passing Notices of the Customs of the Aborigines. 8vo.

The Ethnology of the British Colonies and Dependencies. By R. G. Latham. Foolscap 8vo.

The Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. A Discourse. By W. F. Gotch, A.M.

Lectures on the Characters of our Lord's Apostles. By a Country Pastor (Archbishop Whately). Foolscap 8vo.

Lectures on the Scripture Revelations respecting Good and Evil Angels. 8vo.

The Religion of Geology, and its connected Sciences. By E. Hitchcock, D.D., Amherst, U.S.

Syriac Reading Lessons. Post 8vo.

Chaldee Reading Lessons. Post 8vo.

An Inquiry into the Nature of the Symbolic Institutions of the Christian Religion, usually called the Sacraments. Part II. The Lord's Supper. By Robert Halley, D.D, 1 vol. 8vo.

The Annotated Paragraph Bible. Parts I. and II. 8vo.

Thou art Peter. A Discourse on Papal Infallibility and the Causes of the late Conversions to Romanism. By Robert Lee, D.D., Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo.

Introduction to the New Testament. By Samuel Davidson, D. D. Vol. III., completing the Work. 8vo.

The Four Witnesses; or, the perfect Agreement of the Gospels deduced from the Character and Object in view of their respective Writers. By Isaac Da Costa, LL.D. 8vo.

A Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Brock, late Rector of St. Pierre du Bois, Guernsey. Foolscap 8vo.

The Life of Francis Lord Bacon, Lord High Chancellor of England. By the Rev. J. Sortain. Foolscap 8vo.

The Jansenists; their Rise, Persecution by the Jesuits, and existing Remnant. By S. P. Tregelles, LL.D. Post 8vo.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D. LL.D. Vols. 1, 2, 3. Another volume will conclude the work.

Gregory of Nazianzum: the Divine. A contribution to the Ecclesiastical History of the Fourth Century. By Dr. Carl Ullman. Translated by G. N. Cox, M.A. 8vo.

Letters to My Children. Written at Sea during a Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope in 1815. Edited by J. A. Latrobe. Foolscap 8vo.

The State of Man subsequent to the Promulgation of Christianity. Part I. Being No. XIX. of Small Books on Great Subjects. Foolscap 8vo.

The Personality of the Tempter; and other Sermons, Doctrinal and Occasional. By Charles John Vaughan, D.D., Harrow. 8vo.

The Powers of the Creator displayed in the Creation; or, Observations on Life amidst the various Forms of the Humbler Tribes of Animated Nature: with practical Comments and Illustrations. By Sir J. Graham Dalyell, Bart. 4to. Vol. I. 70 Plates.

Scenes from Scripture, By the Rev. G. Croly, LL.D. 8vo.

Verses for 1851. In commemoration of the Third Jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Edited by the Rev. Ernest Hawkins.

The Theory of Christian Worship. By the Rev. T. Chamberlain. Fcap. 8vo.

Education as a means of preventing Destitution; with Exemplifications from the Teaching of the Conditions of Wellbeing, and the Principles and Applications of Economical Science at the Birkbeck Schools. By William Ellis, Esq. Post 8vo.

The Royal Exchange and the Palace of Industry; or, the Possible Future of Europe and the World. Foolscap 8vo. The same translated into German and French.

Vestiges of Civilization; or, the Etiology of History. Post 8vo.

Religious Progress: Discourses on the Development of the Christian Character. By W. R. Williams. 12mo. Boston, U.S.

Sermons Preached on Various Occasions, in the West London Synagogue of British Jews. By the Rev. D. W. Marks. 8vo.

Gospel Reminiscences in the West Indies. By Leonard Strong. 18mo.

Babylon and Nineveh. 18mo. Religious Tract Society.

Reminiscences of Missionary Life. By the Rev. J. Blyth. 12mo.

The Jesuits; their Rise and Progress, Doctrine and Morality. By J. W. Usborne. 12mo.

The Jesuits: an Historical Sketch. 18mo. Religious Tract Society.

Christianity and Commerce, the Natural Result of the Geographical Progression of Railways. By John Wright. 8vo.

History of the Church of England, from the Revolution to the Last Acts of Convocation, 1688 to 1717. By William Pullin.

An Analytical Arrangement of the Holy Scriptures. By R. B. Roe, B.A. 2 vols. 8vo.

The Law of Moses; its Character and Design. By David Duncan. 12mo. Edinburgh.

The Woman of Shunem, and other Original Poems. By W. Morton.

Manual of Apocalyptic Interpretations. By the Rev. George Shaw, M,A. 18mo.

Thoughts on the Chief Bards of the Bible. A Lecture. 12mo.

Horæ Apocalypticæ. By the Rev. E. B. Elliott. Fourth edition. 4 vols.

The Bible Cyclopædia: containing the Biography, Geography, and Natural History of the Holy Scriptures. By the Rev. J. P. Lawson, M.A. 3 vols. 8vo.

The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians, and the General Epistle of James, practically and historically Explained. By Dr. Augustus Neander.

Jewish School and Family Bible. First Part, containing the Pentateuch. Translated from the orginal Languages, by Dr. A. Benisch, under the supervision of the Rev. the Chief Rabbi of the United Congregation of the British Empire. 8vo. sewed.

Dr. Traill's Translation of the Jewish War by Josephus. Edited by Isaac Taylor. With Introductory and Explanatory Essays and Notes, and a copious and careful Index. The Jewish War is illustrated with 75 engravings. 2 vols. royal 8vo.

Horæ Egyptiacæ; or, the Chronology of Ancient Egypt, discovered from the Astronomical and Hieroglyphic Records on its Monuments. By Reginald Stuart Poole, Esq.

The Synoptical Dictionary of Scripture Parallels and References; being an Index of Scripture classified. 8vo.

The Beauty of Flowers in Field and Wood. By John T. Barker. Small 8vo., with coloured Engravings.

"Diabolos" and "Sahtan," or an examination of a recent tract, entitled "An Enquiry into the Existence of a Personal Devil." By J. Linnell, jun.

A Hand Book of the Apocalypse. Being an Explanation of its Symbols, deduced exclusively from their use in other Scriptures.

A Brief Commentary on the Epistle of St. James. By the Rev. Alexander S. Patterson. (Paisley.)

Last Hours of Scripture Women. By the Rev. H. Clissold. 12mo.

The Psalms, in a New Version, fitted to the Tunes used in Churches, with Notes, &c. By M. Montagu. 8vo.

LONDON:
WALTON AND MITCHELL, PRINTERS, WARDOUR-STREET, OXFORD-STREET.

THE

JOURNAL

OF

SACRED LITERATURE.

New Series.

No. II.—JANUARY, 1852.

ON THE RELATIVE AUTHORITY OF THE HEBREW AND GREEK SCRIPTURES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The correctness of the MSS. of any ancient work which has been transmitted down to our times may be said, in general terms, to be always in an inverse proportion to the antiquity of the original work, and the frequency of transcription. If this obvious principle be applied to the Hebrew Scriptures of the Old Testament, it will afford us a strong *à priori* argument against the accuracy of the present text. For as no other writings can vie with them in age, so assuredly no other book, except the New Testament, was ever multiplied to the same extent. We might naturally expect, then, to find numerous *errata* in the MSS. of the Old Testament. Without the constant exercise of miraculous powers, it is impossible to copy any volume without making repeated errors. In the course of centuries, these errors would be vastly multiplied; each fresh transcriber, for the most part, perpetuating the previous mistakes, and adding his own contribution also to the stock.

In addition to these general reasons, others have been pointed out by learned men which must have rendered the Hebrew Scriptures particularly susceptible of error previous to the invention of printing. The remarkable similarity of certain letters in the Hebrew alphabet must have proved the fruitful source of many errors. As it is possible that some of our readers may be unac-

quainted with that language, we may mention the following as instances: ב and כ, ד and ר, י and ו, ה and ח. As MSS. were formerly written in very small characters,[a] the mistakes arising from the interchange of these letters must have been very numerous. Other letters in that language, resemble each other very nearly in pronunciation, especially the *gutturals.* When a transcriber wrote—as was often the case—from the dictation of another, this similarity of sound must have occasioned many errors. Now the nature of the Hebrew language is such, that a mistake of one letter only is usually more serious in its results than would be supposed possible by those who are ignorant of its structure. The Hebrew verbs, for example, mostly consist of three *radical* letters only, which are conjugated by adding or prefixing other letters to these. The change of either of these radical letters, in almost any case, would constitute another verb having a totally different meaning. Many of the errors of the Hebrew Bible owe their existence to this cause.

Another source of error is thus described by an eminent living biblical scholar:—

"Another cause of alteration in the text arose from the practice of the Hebrews in not dividing a word between two lines. They did not put some consonants of a word in one line, reserving the remainder for the next, as we do both in writing and printing. When there was a vacant space at the conclusion of a line too small to contain the next word, they added letters to fill it up. These supernumerary letters were generally the initial letters of the following word, though it was also written entire in the next line. Ignorant transcribers, however, sometimes took them into the text. Thus in Isaiah xxxv. 1, *The wilderness, &c., shall be glad for them,* arose from ישמו מדבר by joining the superfluous *Mem* to the end of the verb. On the other hand, transcribers sometimes suspected the existence of these supernumerary letters where they did not in reality occur, and by so doing left out part of the genuine text. So Ex. xxxi. 8; the word כּוֹל, *all,* appears to have been omitted because of the following כְּלִי. The LXX., Syr. Arab. and Sam., have the omitted word."—Davidson, *Lect.,* p. 199.

From the united operation of so many causes during the vast interval of time which elapsed from the translation of the Septuagint (B.C. 278), down to the invention of printing, an immense number of various readings must doubtless have arisen. In many places the original reading must have totally disappeared, without any trace being left in a single MS. In many other cases some MSS. probably contained the correct reading, whilst the majority were in these places corrupted. In these

[a] Walton, *Proleg.* vi., sect. 7.

latter instances, which were of course more frequent in occurrence than those where a reading had totally disappeared, a sound system of criticism would have done much towards repairing the mischief. Unfortunately, the method upon which the Jewish rabbies proceeded—that of uniformly following the reading contained in the greatest number of copies—frequently perpetuated error instead of removing it.[b]

Before proceeding further, it is necessary however to mention the Masorah, the great remedy, according to Rabbinical and some Christian writers, for the corruptions of the sacred text; and inquire how far it was calculated to effect this object. The Masorah consists of a system of critical notes upon the verses, words, letters, vowel-points, and accents of the Hebrew Scriptures, written by various persons and at different times for the purpose of preserving the text from both wilful and accidental corruptions. The Masorah computes the number of verses in each book of the Old Testament, and mentions the middle verse of each book. It contains a vast number of observations on the words and letters of the verses. For example, how many verses begin or end with the letter Samech; in how many verses the word לא *not* occurs three times; in how many it is found twice. It further specifies those passages in which the sense is imperfect through the omission of some word or words, which amount in the whole to twenty-eight. The Masorah also refers to many of the errors which existed at the time it was written, in the copies of the Jewish Scriptures—how frequently particular words occur in the Bible, without specifying the places—and even how frequently they occur, at the beginning, in the middle, or at the close of a verse. That this work is a stupendous monument of industry and patience, will readily be granted. Its real utility however admits of great question.

In the first place, the Rabbins, who have been the warmest advocates of the value of the Masorah, have confessed that it was incorrect, imperfect, and even abounding with *errata*. The learned Walton, in the *Prolegomena* to his Polyglot Bible (*Prol.* viii. § 13), and Kennicott, in his second *Dissertation*, have quoted a number of testimonies to this effect.

The actual nature of the work itself is quite sufficient to convince any impartial person of the utter inutility of this most laborious production. One of the first things which strikes us, is the contradictions which it contains; obviously a fatal objection to its claims as a remedy for mistakes. In the commentary

[b] The learned Morinus, in his scarce tract, *De Heb. et Græc. textus sinceritate*, has ably illustrated the practice of the Jews in reference to various readings.

on Gen. iv. 8, the Masorah says, "There are twenty-eight verses ending in the middle of a verse;" meaning that some hiatus exists there. But at Gen. xxxv. 22, we are informed on the same authority, that the number of verses ending in the middle of the verse is twenty-five! Again, Buxtorf states, that there are thirteen places in which the expression "the heavens and the earth" occurs. The Masorah however, at the very commencement of the book of Genesis, says that these words occur together only three times.[c] It is very possible that these blunders have arisen from the carelessness of transcribers. But this only proves the futility of the Masorah as a preservative from error, and leads us to exclaim in the words of Morinus, "*Quis huic custodi custodem dabit, huic sepi sepem?*"

The inefficacy of the Masorah is further evident from the fact that it is an *unfinished* work. It is true that the authors have given us many observations respecting particular words; but since innumerable others are not even once mentioned, what safeguard can the Masorah be as regards these? It has been customary with the Rabbins to term this work "the hedge of the law;" but of what use is a hedge which only partially surrounds a field? Will it preserve the flock from straying? Assuredly not: as well might it be wholly exposed.

The principal value of this work, according to the celebrated Buxtorf, was "to number the letters, words, and verses, so that nothing might at any time be added, subtracted, or changed." But as Walton well observes, "It was not possible to make a correct calculation of the words, or at any rate of the letters, when human industry could never produce a single copy of the Scriptures in which some letters were not deficient or redundant. And as the eastern MSS. of the Bible read Adonai, and the western read Jehovah, how is it possible to know which reading the Masorets followed?"[d] But supposing we admit that the copy which the authors of this work employed was correct, and the calculations made also free from any error, "How would the knowledge of this help a transcriber when doubting the genuineness of a word or letter?"[e]

The utter futility of the Masorah then as a safeguard from error, must be evident to all. But perhaps the most convincing argument that can be employed is an appeal to fact. Any one who has perused the learned Dissertations of Kennicott, or the

---

[c] In his *Clav. Masor.*, Buxtorf has given many other instances of the contradictory statements of the Masorah. In the Pentateuch alone he corrected upwards of two hundred blunders of this sort.

[d] Walton, *Proleg.* viii. 15.

[e] Ken. *Diss.*, p. 278.

Prolegomena of De Rossi, needs not be informed that the various readings of the Hebrew MSS.—all of which were written since the introduction of the Masorah—amount to many thousands. In the MSS. examined by Dr. Kennicott there were upward of 600 variations in the hymn, 2 Sam. ch. xxii. and Psalm xviii. In 1 Chron. ch. xi., upwards of eighty various readings appeared in only a few MSS. collated by the same indefatigable scholar. Yet all these MSS. were written since the year 1000, and it is supposed that none of the Masoretic MSS. which exist are more than 800 years old.[f]

It will be admitted then by all candid inquirers, that a very high degree of probability, almost amounting to certainty, exists, as to the corrupt state of our present Hebrew text. Its great antiquity—the nature of the language—the custom of the Jewish scribes to fill up their lines and then recommence the last word—compel us to admit that the Jewish Scriptures have been exposed to far greater danger from accidental causes, to say nothing of wilful corruptions,[g] than any other writings. Without the con-

---

[f] The total amount of letters in the Hebrew text is said to be 815,000. But from a computation made by Dr. Gregory Sharpe, and since confirmed by a MS. of Perpignan in Spain, and also by a calculation made by the learned Meyer Cohen, it would appear that the Masoretic number is about 352,000 less than the real number. See *Diss. on Orig. of Lang.*, p. 9. 8vo. 1751.

[g] That the Jews have corrupted the Old Testament Scriptures we entertain no doubt. The following brief remarks are submitted to the reader.

1. In Ps. xvi. 10, where the word for *thy Holy One*, is now plural in every copy expressed Masoretically; yet the Greek version is singular, as are no less than 180 copies of the Hebrew discovered by Kennicott. As the argument of the apostle urged upon the Jews depends upon the word's being singular, this is a difference of great importance, and incontestably proves wilful corruption on the part of the Jews.

2. That the Jews altered the copies wilfully, is also proved from the Hebrew text and Greek version of Isa. xix. 18, respecting the temple of Heliopolis. The present Hebrew text reads *Destruction*. The Roman and Alexandrian, *Asedek*. But the Compl. Sym. Vulg. Arab. Talmud, and other Jewish Test., several printed editions and sixteen MSS., have *city of the Sun*, which the context shews must be right. See Henderson's *Commentary on Isaiah, in locum.*

3. The testimony of Jerome, whose partiality for the Hebrew is well known, deserves our notice. Upon Gal. iii. 10, he says, "Inveni in Deut. hoc ipsum apud LXX. interpretes ita positum; 'maledictus omnis homo, qui non permanserit in omnibus sermonibus legis hujus.' Ex quo incertum habemus utrum LXX. interpretes addiderint *omnis homo* et *in omnibus*; an in veteri Hebraico ita fuerit et postea A JUDÆIS DELETUM SIT. In hanc me autem suspicionem illa res stimulat, quod verbum *omnes* et *in omnibus* quasi sensui suo necessarium ad probandum illud quod *quicunq. ex operibus legis sunt sub maledicto sint.* Apostolus vir Hebrææ peritiæ et in lege doctissimus nunquum protulisset nisi in Heb. voluminibus haberetur. Quam ob causam Samaritanorum Hebræa volumina relegens inveni כל (quod interpretatur omnes aut in omnibus) scriptum esse et cum LXX. interpretibus concordare. Frustra igitur ILLUD TULERUNT JUDÆI ne viderentur esse sub maledicto, si non possent omnia complere quæ scripta sunt cum antiquiores alterius quoque gentis literæ id positum fuisse testentur."—*Comment. in Gal.* iii. 10.

4. In the 18th chapter of the book of Judges, we read of certain persons of the tribe of Dan who first stole Micah's idol and then established idolatry in the land,

stant exertion of miraculous power—and this from the various readings of MSS. we know was not employed—the books of the Old Testament must contain a vast accumulation of errors.

It must not be forgotten, too, that the extreme scarcity of *old* Hebrew MSS., and the entire absence of *very ancient* ones, have perpetuated many mistakes in our present text, which would otherwise have disappeared. It is an acknowledged fact amongst biblical critics, that there are no MSS. of the Old Testament Scriptures which reach beyond the eleventh or tenth century. In this respect the Septuagint and Greek Testament possess a great superiority over the Hebrew Bible. Codices of both are still extant which were written about the fourth or fifth century.

This peculiarity in the Hebrew MSS. of the Scriptures, although much to be lamented, is capable of satisfactory explanation. It appears that about the fourteenth century, the Jews had established a sort of standard according to which they tried all the copies of the Old Testament which came into their hands, and destroyed or altered all which were not conformed to it. Walton states that, "after the universal reception of the Masoretic notes and punctuation, the Jewish Rabbins condemned all the MSS., not conformable to this rule, as profane and corrupt; so that after a few centuries, all the Hebrew codices being written according to the Masorah, the rest were rejected and destroyed. This is the reason why we have but few Jewish MSS. of 600 years, and why those of 700 or 800 years are extremely rare."[h] Besides this, the oldest and best MSS. which are known to have

---

appointing one Jonathan and his sons as priests. The present Hebrew text says that this Jonathan was the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh (xviii. 30.) But we know that Gershom was the son of Moses. It would appear therefore that the Jews, zealous for the honour of Moses, have wilfully corrupted the Scripture here by inserting a Nun in the word, and thus changing it into Manasseh. That this was the case, is confirmed by the following evidence. Jerome has the word Moses; the present Vulgate has it. Rabbi Solomon Jarchi admits this corruption: "Propter honorem Mosis scripta fuit (litera) Nun ut nomen mutaretur, et quidem fuit suspensa ad indicandum quod non fuerit Manasseh sed Moses." (*Talmud Bava Bathra*, fol. 109, b.) This Jarchi lived at the beginning of the twelfth century. (Kenn. *Diss.*) See also Michælis (*Comm.* vol. iii.)

5. The evidence of Jerome may again be advantageously adduced. When commenting on Micah v. 2, he refers to the eleven cities mentioned in the Seventy (Josh. xv. 60), but at present wanting in the Hebrew text. Θεκὼ καὶ Ἐφραθὰ (αὕτη ἐστὶ Βηθλεέμ) &c., to *αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῶν*. These cities, he thinks, may have been omitted by the Jews out of malice to Christianity, because Bethlehem Ephrata (the place of Christ's nativity) is one of them, and is described as in the tribe of Judah.

If to these testimonies be added the instances which occur in a subsequent page of this Essay, under the head of 'Quotations from the Old Testament agreeing with the Septuagint, but differing in sense from the Hebrew,' there will, we think, be little doubt left on the mind of the reader that the Jews have in some places wilfully corrupted the Old Testament Scriptures.

[h] *Proleg.* iv. § 8.

been subjected to such numerous rasures and alterations in order to reduce them to conformity to the Masoretic standard, that it is quite impossible to know what were the original readings.[i]

The inference which we would draw from the foregoing remarks, is the great necessity for additional sources of information as to the original text of the Hebrew Scriptures. If, as we have seen, in the first place, the Jewish codices have been exposed, in an unusual degree, to errors of transcription; and if secondly, all the really ancient MSS. have been destroyed or altered by the rabbins; there are stronger reasons for seeking means of emendation than exist in the case of any other ancient writings. Every witness in fact to the original readings of the Hebrew Bible is thus invested with an importance which it is scarcely possible to overrate.

The ancient versions of the Bible are valuable on two accounts —as witnesses of the state of the original text at the time they were executed, and as indicating the meanings attached to certain words and phrases by those who possessed in some respects far higher advantages than ourselves.

As sources of information respecting the genuine text of the Scriptures, ancient translations are valuable in proportion to their antiquity. It is the want of very ancient MSS. that compels us to have recourse to their assistance. Hence it is only where a version reaches to a more remote period than the MSS. which have come down to us, that they are of any essential service in furnishing us with a pure text.

The great and distinguishing value of the Greek version of the Old Testament, is the high antiquity of which it boasts. It was executed nearly three hundred years before the time of Christ, according to the testimony of Aristeas. The importance of this translation therefore, in determining the state of the Hebrew text more than two thousand years ago, would seem to be incalculable. It is not a matter of conjecture, but one of actual fact, that, as fallible men were employed to transcribe the Hebrew MSS. during the fifteen centuries which elapsed from the date of the Seventy to that of the oldest codices which have been handed down to us by the Jews, the mistakes committed by them must have been very numerous. A large proportion of such errors, it is granted, are unimportant; but of the exact nature of the remainder we are ignorant:—in how many instances letters, words, even verses were omitted. In how many cases the similarity of sound or shape deceived a transcriber, and led him to insert a wrong letter or word:—lastly, in how many instances

[i] Kenn. *Diss.* ii. 463—7.

the Masorets, influenced by mistaken principles of criticism, adopted a wrong reading where a better was within their reach: in reference to all these questions, almost the only source of information which we possess is the version of the Seventy.

The history of this venerable translation is in some respects more singular than that of any other ancient book with which we are acquainted. Although there is no work of antiquity about which such copious and circumstantial information has been transmitted down to us; although a book is still extant in the original Greek, detailing all the particulars connected with this memorable undertaking,—written, as it purports, by Aristeas, one of the principal parties concerned; although this history of Aristeas was implicitly received by both Jews and Christians during the following two thousand years; strange to say, the whole narrative is now considered as a forgery, and the facts detailed as pure fables.

We are free to confess, that so far as we can judge the grossest injustice has been done to the history of Aristeas by modern critics. After attentively considering the work itself, and well weighing the numerous objections which have been urged against it, we are convinced that it really possesses as high a claim to authenticity as any merely human work of such remote antiquity.

The attentive reader will at once perceive that the history of the Septuagint version is a subject of vast importance. The various circumstances connected with the undertaking affect the value of the version in a very great degree. The period at which it was executed, the individuals employed in the undertaking, and other considerations of a like nature, are confessedly of the most vital importance, in reference to the value of the work. It will therefore be quite necessary to inquire at some length into the authenticity of the original document which has been handed down to us under the name of the "History of Aristeas."

This work, as our readers are probably aware, is written in the epistolary style, and is addressed by Aristeas to his brother Philocrates. It relates that Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, who already possessed a large and valuable library, having learnt from Demetrius Phalereus, his librarian, that a curious work, containing the institutions and laws of the Jews, was in existence in the Hebrew language, resolved to send to the High Priest for a copy, that it might be translated into Greek. It appears however, that a few years before this king's father had taken a vast number of Jewish captives, who were now living in Egypt in slavery. Aristeas therefore wisely suggests, that these slaves should first be set free in order to render the Jewish autho-

rities more favourable to the king's design. This was accordingly resolved upon, and upwards of one hundred thousand captives were ransomed, at an expense of about 660 talents.

The king then addressed a letter to the High Priest Eleazar, which is given verbatim, requesting that a copy of the law might be forwarded to him, and that six persons of reputation and learning out of each tribe might accompany it, for the purpose of translating the book into the Greek tongue. Several individuals of rank in the Egyptian court were sent as an embassy on this occasion, bearing the most costly presents, Aristeas himself being of the number. After detailing the journey to Jerusalem, and the favourable reception given to the embassy by the High Priest, the letter goes on to describe the selection of seventy-two elders, whose names are given, and the delivery of a splendid copy of the Jewish law written in characters of gold. The deputation then returns to Egypt, bearing an exchange of presents for Ptolemy and an epistle from Eleazar.

Aristeas then relates the gracious reception given to the Jewish elders at the royal court—the profound reverence manifested by the king on beholding the sacred volume—and the institution of an annual festival to commemorate at once the auspicious event and the occurrence of a naval victory which had just been gained over Antigonus, one of the king's enemies. Seven days were spent in a series of banquets in honour of the seventy-two interpreters, at each of which a number of abstruse and difficult questions were addressed by the king to his guests. The elders were afterwards conducted to a spacious residence in the Isle of Pharos, in the immediate vicinity of the city. Here they were occupied in their important work every day until the ninth hour.

In the space of seventy-two days the translation was completed. It was then read in the presence of the king to the Jews residing in Alexandria, who praised its fidelity, and denounced a curse against any who should presume to alter it. The king expressed the highest admiration of the wisdom of the Lawgiver; and, after loading the interpreters with costly presents for the High Priest, sent them back to their own city.

Such is, in substance, the epistle of Aristeas; and that the work has been preserved during a period of two thousand years, when so many works of that age have been lost, appears to us an evident proof of the watchful care of that Almighty Being to whose sacred Word it stands intimately related. Although the work, for the last century, has been almost universally rejected as supposititious, it appears to us possessed of every mark of genuineness and authenticity. It contains nothing incredible or

absurd. It is free from the gross and ridiculous fables which were current in the time of Justin Martyr.[j] It was received as genuine by every author whose works refer to the subject, whether Jewish or Christian, for upwards of two thousand years. Not a whisper of its spurious character was breathed until the seventeenth century. No opposite account of the memorable transaction which it records has ever been in circulation. We submit then that it ought to be received by us as true and genuine, on the ground that ancient writers could not fail to have known its real character, had it not been the actual production of the author whose name it bears.

But we proceed to mention, that besides this negative kind of evidence in favour of the History of Aristeas, we possess abundant positive testimony to its authenticity. In the first place, there is the clear and explicit evidence afforded by a writer who lived about seventy years after the time of Aristeas, and who confirms the statements of the latter in all their leading particulars. This was Aristobulus, a Jew, who wrote a Commentary on the Books of Moses, addressed to Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, who began to reign when a boy, sixty-six years after the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The work itself is lost, but we have a few fragments still extant in the works of Eusebius and Clement of Alexandria, from which we make the following quotation:—"The interpretation of all the Law was accomplished under the king surnamed Philadelphus, your forefather; Demetrius Phalereus having earnestly exerted himself in the business, and in fact being its principal promoter."[k]

This testimony is so clear and of such high authority, that we cannot but regard it as decisive of the question at issue. It can hardly be supposed that such a person could possibly be deceived as to the facts connected with so important an event as the translation of the Jewish Scriptures, living as he did so near the period. Accordingly Hody, in his elaborate work on the opposite side, labours to prove that this Aristobulus was not the Jew of whom we read in the book of Maccabees (2 Mac. i. 16), but a Christian writer of the same name in the second century. Other writers of eminence on the same side, sensible of the importance of the testimony of Aristobulus, have adopted Hody's argument. A passage from Cyril of Alexandria has been quoted in support of this view. The quotation however has since been shewn to

---

[j] Such, for instance, as that of each of the seventy-two elders being shut up in a separate cell, and of their producing, without any communication with each other, versions that agreed *verbatim*.

[k] Euseb. *De Præp.* Ev. xiii.

be erroneously cited, and the authenticity of Aristobulus' remains has been thoroughly established by the industry of German scholars. The learned tract of Valckenaer, *De Aristobulo Judeo*, may be profitably consulted on this point. A Latin Scholion too has been recently discovered in a MS. of Plautus at Rome, which removes all remaining doubt on this subject.

Another important witness to the authenticity and truth of the History of Aristeas is Josephus, the celebrated Jewish historian, cotemporary with our Lord. It is quite certain that this learned Jew possessed the book and regarded it as a genuine production. In one of his writings he says, "Ptolemy Philadelphus was desirous of knowing our laws, and wished to obtain the books of our Sacred Scriptures; and sent to request that men might be sent to interpret the Law for him."[l] In another work he gives a lengthened account of the whole circumstances of the transaction; from which it is evident that he must have written with the History of Aristeas before him. The passage is too long for quotation, but the reader will find it in the *Antiquities of the Jews*, lib. xii. 2.

The testimony of Philo, who was also a Jew and cotemporary with Josephus, remains to be added. In the second book of his *Life of Moses*, referring to the translation of the Jewish Law, he says, "This work, because it was a work of magnitude and public importance, was not committed to private individuals, nor to mere second rate princes and rulers, but to a king far more celebrated than any. This was Ptolemy, surnamed Philadelphus. . . . So great a personage as this, filled with admiration of our laws, and eager to obtain them, caused that they should be translated into the Greek tongue out of the Chaldee (Hebrew)."

Such is the valuable evidence afforded by Aristobulus, Josephus, and Philo, the only Jewish writers of that early age who mention the subject. Several Christian Fathers also of the second and following centuries refer to the fact of the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures by the Seventy under Ptolemy. Among these may be enumerated Justin Martyr, Iræneus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Epiphanius. Justin and Clement add to the account given by Aristeas the fables which had been invented by the Jews relative to the separate cells in which the Seventy had been confined, and the miraculous agreement between their manuscripts; but all the Fathers that allude to the subject agree in the fact of the interpretation being made by seventy-two Jews in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, adding to it however the statement of their inspiration.

---

[l] Lib. ii. contra *Apion*.

As already mentioned, there was but one opinion on the subject in the church of Christ until the seventeenth century, when Ludovicus Vives, in a note on Augustine's *City of God*,[m] expressed some doubt of the authenticity of Aristeas. He was followed by Leo a Castro,[n] and Salmero,[o] and at length the celebrated Scaliger pronounced the book of Aristeas as unquestionably the production of some Alexandrian Jew.[p] The learned Bishop Usher, though he entertained an exceedingly low opinion of the Septuagint, yet ably defended Aristeas from the attacks of Scaliger.[q] Isaac Casaubon, Walton, and many other learned men took the same side. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Dr. Hody published an elaborate work on the Greek Scriptures, in which all that could be said against the History of Aristeas was brought forward.[r] At the same time, Van Dale published his work on the same side.[s] Since this period, scholars appear almost universally, to have regarded the book as a forgery.

The objections to the truth and genuineness of Aristeas' History, which have been urged by the learned, may be classed under two heads:—*First*, Objections drawn from the history itself: *Secondly*, Those taken from the Septuagint translation. We propose to notice both classes in the order in which we have here given them.

The principal argument employed by modern critics against the authenticity of Aristeas under the first head, is, that the narrative bears *internal* evidence that it was composed by a Jew. The learned Dr. Hody, whose work contains all that can be advanced on his side of the question, chiefly dwells on the following points. The manner in which the writer mentions the Jewish religion and worship—the knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures displayed by him—and the instances of divine vengeance which he relates. All these things denote, says Hody, a Jewish origin.

As to the first point, Aristeas mentions, that Demetrius told the king, on a certain occasion, that "the Jewish Law was wiser and holier than others, because it was divine." That when the copy of the Law arrived from Jerusalem, "the king stood for some time rapt in profound adoration, bowed himself seven times in token of veneration, and even shed tears of joy at the sight." And that, at the recital of the translation, the king declared the Jewish Scriptures to be "the oracles of God;" and the bystanders, including certain Greek philosophers, with one accord applauded the sentiment.

---

[m] xviii. 42. [n] *Præm. in Esaiam.* [o] *Proleg.* 6.
[p] Ad ann. Euseb. 1730. [q] *Syntagm.* 1.
[r] *De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus*, Lond. 1701.
[s] *Disser. sup. Arist.* Amstel. 1701.

Now so many similarly inconsistent acts and speeches of heathen princes are on record in the Old Testament, that we wonder that such weak and trifling reasons should be urged against the History of Aristeas. Was not Cyrus a pagan king, and did he not in his edict style the Lord God of Israel "the true God," and "the God of heaven?" (Ezra vi. 10.) Artaxerxes too, in his epistle to Ezra, calls him "the scribe of the law of the God of heaven" (ch. vii. 12); and styles the temple at Jerusalem "the house of God," and "the house of the God of heaven," (ver. 21). Again, when Daniel was condemned to the den of lions, the king addressed him, "Thy God, whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee." (Dan. vi. 16.) Strange language this in a heathen prince! Many other instances of the same kind may be cited if necessary. It is therefore manifest that the language and conduct of Ptolemy in reference to the Jewish Scriptures, constitute no argument against the authenticity of Aristeas' production.

The second point referred to in order to prove that it was written by a Jew, is the knowledge which the author possessed of the Old Testament Scriptures. This objection, though repeated by other scholars since Hody's time, appears really too trifling to be noticed. The only instance which can be cited in proof of the statement, is a passage in which Aristeas, narrating to the king a conversation between himself and the High Priest respecting clean and unclean animals, mentions two very brief passages of Scripture quoted by the latter in illustration of the subject. Surely there is nothing remarkable in recollecting two short sentences of Scripture, any more than in his remembering the conversation itself with the High Priest, especially as he has quoted these passages incorrectly!

With regard to the last objection under this head, as it is the principal one urged by some critics, we will quote the passage verbatim:—

"When the whole (translation) had been read before the king, he greatly admired the wisdom of the Lawgiver, and said to Demetrius, 'How is it that no historian or poet has ever undertaken the work of making known a work so valuable?' He replied, Because the Law was sacred, and of divine origin; and indeed some of those who have attempted it, being smitten of God, have desisted from the attempt. For he said he had heard of a certain Theopompus who, because he was about to insert in his history some passages out of the Law, not suitably rendered, fell into a state of mental perturbation, which lasted more than thirty days; and that during a lucid interval, having besought God to shew him why this misfortune had befallen him, it was signified by a dream, that it was because he wished to make public

divine things. He then abandoned the design, and the disease left him. I have also been informed of one Theodectus, a tragic poet, who wished to introduce in a play certain things recorded in this book, and lost his sight, until, bethinking himself that his loss of sight had occurred to him on this account, he, through his prayers, obtained favour of God, after many days."

Now it is objected by Hody and others, that the author was a Jew or he would not have introduced such ridiculous stories, especially as these superstitious fables were common among the Jews. But we think nothing more likely than that these tales were derived from the seventy interpreters. It is natural to suppose that Demetrius, who, it should be remembered, acted as scribe to the Seventy, should have expressed to them his surprise that no version of the Jewish Scriptures had ever been made; and that they should relate to him these instances of divine judgment, is what might reasonably be expected from men so superstitious. It is not fair then, we consider, to infer from this solitary instance of Jewish prejudice the Jewish origin of the work, since it is fully accounted for by the long intercourse which had recently taken place between Demetrius and the Seventy.

It is further urged that the narrative could not have been written by Aristeas himself, because it contains statements either manifestly false or at variance with the testimony of other writers of that age. The immense sum of money alleged by Aristeas to have been paid for the ransom of the Jews, has certainly some weight. Six hundred and sixty talents of gold is a large amount to pay for a single volume. There is however much to be said in defence of the statement. The value of money in ancient times was far less than at present. Besides it is well known the numbers in ancient MSS. are especially liable to corruption, having been denoted usually by single letters. It may be well to compare too with this sum, the amount left by David for the building of the temple. Walton has given the following calculation from the learned Brerewood:[t]—

Talents of gold . . .	100,000[u] . . .	£450,000,000
„ silver . .	1,000,000[u] . . .	375,000,000
Talents of gold . . .	3,000 . . .	13,500,000
„ silver . .	7,000 . . .	2,625,000
Total pounds sterling . . .		£841,125,000

This sum amounts to about 180,000 talents of gold, or two

[t] *De Pond. et Pret. Vet. Numm.*

[u] Josephus for these sums has 10,000 and 100,000.

hundred and seventy times as much as was paid by Ptolemy for the ransom of the Jewish captives!

If the opinion of some writers be correct, as to the real motive which led the Egyptian monarch to desire a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, there will be no further difficulty on this subject. It is said that Ptolemy was influenced by political motives in the undertaking. To enrich his library with a copy of a valuable and curious work was his *professed* object: but his *real* motive was his wish to secure the constant residence in his dominions of the great multitudes of Jews that he found there on his coming to the throne; and this he hoped to effect by thus rendering them no longer dependent on their brethren in Judæa for the administration of their civil and religious policy, which they could read and understand by giving them a copy of the Law. If this opinion be correct—and it is supported by several eminent writers—the vast expenditure incurred in effecting so important an object no longer remains an objection.

The discrepancies pointed out by Hody and Van Dale and others, between Aristeas and other writers, are altogether insufficient, we think, to disprove the authenticity of his narrative. Amongst other things, the statements of later writers have been cited to prove that Demetrius could not have been librarian to Ptolemy;[r] that the naval victory over Antigonus could not have taken place at the period referred to; and that the Jews, according to the Talmud, never wrote their Law in letters of gold. The question here is clearly whether we are to believe Aristeas, Aristobulus who lived but seventy years after him, Josephus and Philo; or the writers quoted by Hody and those who have followed him?

The learned writer whose elaborate work on the Greek Scriptures constitutes the arsenal from which most modern writers have drawn the weapons with which they have assailed the anciently-received opinion of the origin of the Seventy, devotes a long chapter to prove that Aristeas' history cannot be true, because the authors of that version were Alexandrian Jews, not Jews resident in Judea. He has brought forward with great industry a number of instances in which, as he states, the translators have rendered Hebrew terms—not by pure Greek, but Egyptian words—which could only have been known to men dwelling in Egypt and familiar with its customs and habits. It must be obvious that a charge like this, if sustained, will entirely destroy the credit of Aristeas' narrative. It is incumbent there-

---

[r] This objection of Sculiger's, founded on a statement made by Diogenes Laertius, has been ably controverted by Stillingfleet. *(Orig. Sac.* book i. ch. iii.)

fore on us at once to inquire how far these assertions are founded in actual fact.

In the elaborate work of Hody, the word *οἰφί* is adduced as one instance of an Egyptian word, on the testimony of Hesychius. Now the Hebrew term here is אִיפָה, which, for aught we can tell, transferred into Greek letters would be *οἰφί*. There is therefore no ground for supposing this to be an Egyptian term. The measures of one nation seldom correspond with those of another. Hence by far the most probable conclusion is, that the Seventy, knowing no Greek term of the same precise signification, acted as our translators have in this very instance done, and simply transferred the word into the Greek. The words, deacon, exorcise, baptize, and many other words in the English Testament, are instances of the same kind in our own language.

Another similar instance adduced by this writer, is scarcely worth noticing. The Seventy have rendered Tsaphnath-Paaneach —the Egyptian name given to Joseph by Pharaoh—by Psonthom Phanech (*Ψόνθομ Φανήχ*). This slight change in the orthography Hody supposes was made by the Seventy, because, being Egyptians, they knew that these words were not spelt in the Hebrew MSS. according to the then practice of the country. But surely this variation may be accounted for many other ways, without supposing that the authors of the Septuagint were Alexandrians. It is only one of an immense number of instances in which the orthography of proper names has been changed either by the Seventy, or by the transcribers of their MSS. Besides, as Demetrius acted as scribe to the interpreters, it is by no means unlikely that he, being an Egyptian, would change the orthography of Egyptian words if spelt incorrectly.

The word *thummim*, in Exod. xxviii. 26, and wherever it occurs, is rendered by the Seventy *ἀλήθεια*, truth. They did this, says Hody, because—as Ælian and Diodorus Siculus state—the supreme judge among the Egyptians used to wear round his neck an image of sapphire called *ἀλήθεια*; otherwise they would have given it by its proper signification, which is "*perfection*." Here again our author is at fault. The correct meaning of the word תֻּמִּים, translated *thummim*, according to Gesenius, is *truth*, and not perfection. The Seventy therefore did not translate it *ἀλήθεια* because the supreme magistrate in Egypt wore an image thus denominated, but simply because such was the true and only meaning of the Hebrew word. The word גֹּמֶא, translated in Job viii. 11 *πάπυρος*, also brought forward by the author, may be disposed of in a similar manner. Hody says that the proper meaning of the word is "bullrushes;" but because the *papyrus* was the most noted plant of that species growing in Egypt, the

Seventy dropped the general meaning of the word, and rendered it *papyrus*. Here again, on the authority of Gesenius, we can disprove the assertion; for on turning to this word in the Hebrew Lexicon of that writer, we find that the word more usually denotes the *papyrus*. His words are, *juncus palustris*, spec. *papyrus nilotica;* referring also to Exod. ii. 2, where this very word is used to denote the Egyptian papyrus.

Two words which occur in a prophecy respecting Egypt (Isaiah xix.), viz., ἄχι and ζῦθος, are, it must be confessed, pure Egyptian words. The first word denotes *grass;* the second *beer*, or a drink of that kind. It is therefore nothing more than might be expected, that Jews translating a prophecy concerning Egypt, in that country, should render such words as *herbage* and *beer* by terms denoting those things amongst the people to whom the prophecy was addressed. Nor is there the slightest necessity for supposing, on this account, that the interpreters were Alexandrian Jews. The first-mentioned word also occurs Gen. xli. 2; but as the scene of this vision is also Egypt, the same reason accounts for the use of the word ἄχι in this passage.

In three additional instances brought forward by Hody, we freely admit the words were used in Egypt; but we contend, in opposition to him, that they were by no means confined to that country. These words are, κόνδυ, σχοῖνος, and ἀρτάβας. The first occurs Gen. xliv. 2, and signifies a peculiar kind of cup used in Egypt, but the word is acknowledged to be of Persian, not Egyptian origin. It is therefore as probable that it should be known to the inhabitants of Judea as to the Egyptians. The second, which is found in Psalm cxxxviii. 3, was, says Hody, an Egyptian measure; but he does not add, as he ought, that it was also a Greek measure. Of this any one may satisfy himself by consulting a Greek lexicon. No argument therefore can be drawn from the use of this word. The word ἀρτάβας also, which occurs Isaiah v. 10, is equally useless in proving that the authors of the Septuagint were Alexandrian Jews. This word was, it is true, an Egyptian measure; but it is also given by Golius, in his *Arab. Dict.*, as a Syrian measure. Hody himself states that it was either a Persian or Median measure.

The word γένεσις is absurdly brought forward by Hody to prove, from its connection with Egyptian philosophy, that the Seventy were inhabitants of that country; forgetting that the only place where this occurs is as one of the titles of the Jewish books of Scripture, which have been added, since the translation was made, by unknown persons. He argues similarly from Deut. xxxii. 8, "according to the number of the angels of God" (Seventy), that only Egyptians would have introduced such a sentiment, as

it was one of the doctrines of their philosophy that angels or deities presided over each of the seventy parts into which they divided the world. But this learned writer forgets that the doctrine of angelic superintendence is also taught in the book of Daniel (x. 13), as well as elsewhere. The most probable cause of the discrepancy between the Septuagint and our present Hebrew text is, that the copy from which the Seventy translated read אֵל, instead of יִשְׂרָאֵל, as Hody himself suggests.

The word Θήρα, in Psalm cxxxii. 16, does not require any consideration; as the reading in the Alexandrian Codex is χήρα. The Scholiast on this passage says, that such is the reading of other MSS., and also the Latin editions, the Arabic Psalter and Ethiopic.

The mention of the word ἱππόδρομος is really so very absurd, that it is surprising that a scholar like Hody should have adduced it as an argument.

The only word yet remaining to be noticed, is the word Ῥαιφάν in Amos; and this, we confess, does appear to us one instance of the use of an Egyptian word, for which we cannot account. The passage is as follows (Amos v. 26): "Ye have borne the tabernacle of Moloch and the star of your god Raiphan." Here the word כִּיּוּן *Chion*, is translated *Raiphan* (Ῥαιφάν) by the Seventy, which is said to be the Egyptian name of *Saturn*. Such is the slender evidence on which the argument in favour of the authors of the Seventy being Alexandrian Jews really rests. In the whole of the Old Testament Scriptures a single word denoting the name of a false god is translated by what is said to be an Egyptian term.

We have thus replied to all the principal objections urged against the authenticity of Aristeas's history. To us it has always appeared a veritable narrative, and the genuine production of the author whose name it bears. We are totally at a loss for any motive which could have existed sufficient to lead to the forgery of such a document. The notion that it was written in order to propitiate the Jewish nation in favour of the new translation is inconsistent with the hypothesis held by the impugners of the history of Aristeas; viz., that Jews themselves caused the version to be made. Nor is it at all credible that such a fable, if fable it was, could be foisted upon the Jews without being detected.

There is, moreover, such an air of truthfulness about the work; the circumstances given by Aristeas are so natural, that it is a wonder how any who have read the work itself could question its being genuine. In illustration of these

remarks, we would refer the circumstance of the king sending for those Jews who had visited Jerusalem in order to ascertain of what dimensions the table should be constructed, which he was about to present for the temple service: the account of the impression produced on the Egyptians deputed to visit Jerusalem when they caught the first glimpse of the holy city: the astonishment which they felt at the marvellous stillness that reigned in the temple, which seemed like some desert place, although more than seventy priests were then engaged in ministering:[l] the awe which overwhelmed their minds whilst contemplating the splendour and magnificence of the temple,[m] and of the dress of the high priests: lastly, the minute account given of those things which struck them as most remarkable on the construction of the city of Jerusalem. These and other circumstances are so like what we should expect from one who had himself formed one of the deputation, and so unlikely to have a place in a fictitious narrative—that every previous argument in favour of the authenticity of the 'History of Aristeas' is incalculably strengthened and confirmed.

We have thus attempted to establish the exceeding value of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament Scriptures, by vindicating at some length the origin of that translation, as detailed in the 'History of Aristeas.' The high estimation in which the Septuagint was held before the Christian era by the Jews themselves—and afterwards by both Jews and Christians—until the hostility of the former against Christianity led them to speak in disparaging terms of that version from which the Christians derived all the weapons with which they attacked that ancient people, should not be forgotten. Until the fifteenth century, too, the whole Christian church used this version:—

"The Greek Scriptures were the only Scriptures known to, or valued by the Greeks. This was the text commented on by Chrysostom and Theodoret; it was this which furnished topics to Athanasius, Nazianzen and Basil. From this fountain the stream was derived to the Latin church; first, by the Italic or Vulgate translation of the Scriptures, which was made from the Seventy; and, secondly, by the study of the Greek

---

[l] "Ητε πᾶσα σιγὴ καθέστηκεν, ὡς τόπον λαμβάνειν μηδένα ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ παρεῖναι, πρὸς τοὺς ἑπτακοσίους παρόντων τῶν λειτουργῶν καὶ τῶν προσαγόντων δὲ τὰ θύματα πολύ τι πλῆθος. Ἀλλὰ φόβῳ καὶ καταξίως μεγάλης θειότητος ἅπαντα ἐπιτελεῖται.

[m] Ἡ δὲ συμφάνεια τούτων ἐμποιεῖ φόβον καὶ ταραχὴν ὥστε νομίζειν εἰς ἕτερον ἐληλυθέναι ἐκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου· καὶ διαβεβαιοῦμαι πάντα ἄνθρωπον προσελθόντα τῇ θεωρίᾳ εἰς ἔκπληξιν ἥξειν, καὶ θαυμασμὸν ἀδιήγητον μεταπεσόντα τῇ διανοίᾳ, διὰ τὴν περὶ ἕκαστον ἁγίαν κατασκευήν.

fathers. It was by this borrowed light that the Latin fathers illumined the hemisphere; and when the age of Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory successively passed away, this was the light put into the hands of the next dynasty of theologians and schoolmen. . . . . So that either in Greek or in Latin, it was still the Septuagint Scriptures that were read, explained, and quoted as authority, for a period of 1500 years."—Reeve's *Collation of Hebrew and Greek Psalms*, p. 22.

The principal argument, however, in proof of the great value of the Septuagint version of the Hebrew Scriptures remains to be noticed—that, namely, which is drawn from the numerous citations made from it by our Lord and his apostles. The great variety of opinion amongst biblical scholars, on this interesting subject, is quite remarkable. Some critics, amongst whom is the celebrated Jerome, have flatly denied that any of the quotations in the New Testament were taken from the Seventy. Others, as for instance, Adam Clarke, held that *all* were derived from that source. The generality of learned men have taken the middle course, and admitted that Christ and the apostles sometimes quoted from the original Hebrew, sometimes from the Greek version. Amidst this wide diversity of opinion, the importance of the subject led us some time ago to investigate the matter for ourselves. Instead of adopting this or the other conclusion, we undertook the labour of comparing every quotation as it occurs in the New Testament, first with the Hebrew, and afterwards with the Septuagint; and the result, we take leave now to present before the reader.

There are, however, one or two self-evident propositions which we wish to lay down before proceeding to this. In the first place, it is obvious, that in those instances in which quotations precisely agree, both with the Hebrew and the Seventy, they must be regarded as derived not from the former, but from the latter source. In all such passages there is of course a complete agreement between the original Hebrew and the Greek version; hence, if the writers of the New Testament did quote from the Septuagint, it would appear to be a quotation from the Hebrew. If, however, the quotations had been made from the Hebrew, it is morally impossible, except in very brief passages, that they could agree *verbatim* with the Septuagint. Such is the *copia verborum*, the wondrous fertility of expression in the Greek language that it cannot be supposed that two translations made by different individuals into Greek should agree in every particular. In any passage in the Old Testament, consisting of only ten or a dozen words, there are at least thirty different modes of rendering it into that beautiful language. In a vast number of cases, for instance, the verb might be put indifferently

in the perfect, or in one of the aorist tenses, or in the participial form. Then again, a synonymous verb might be used, or a synonymous noun or adjective. The pronoun, too, might be omitted or not: so might the preposition. The collocation of the words, too, may to a considerable extent be varied. Many other diversities will occur to the reader. In fact, so numerous are the possible varieties of translating, and correctly too, a passage of Old Testament Scripture into Greek, that we venture to say, that if the experiment were actually tried, out of thirty individuals, scarcely three would exactly agree in translating into Greek a verse of Scripture, consisting of only three or four lines. It is evident then, that wherever a passage quoted from the Old Testament agrees with the Septuagint, it must, from the very nature of the case, have been taken from that venerable version.

The same reason, though not with quite equal force, applies to those passages which agree, except in two or three particulars with the Septuagint translation. There are a few quotations, between thirty and forty, which have nearly every word exactly as the Septuagint. The verbs, and nouns, and adjectives, and even particles, are precisely the same as we find them in the ancient Greek version, perhaps; but the collocation is slightly different. Or, as in other cases, the collocation is the same, but a single synonymous verb, or noun, or preposition, in the space of two or three lines, is substituted for that which the Seventy employed. In such cases, the difference being so very trifling, and the resemblance so very great, we can have no hesitation in regarding the passages as quoted from the Greek. All who are acquainted with the very numerous various readings contained even in the best and most ancient MSS. of the Septuagint, the Alexandrian, the Vatican, and the ancient MSS. collated by Tischendorf in his recent edition of that work, will be more ready to ascribe these discrepancies to the mistakes of transcribers, than to the fact of their being different translations.

Having thus stated the rules which we were led to adopt in classifying the citations from the Old Testament in the New, we proceed to place before the reader the result of our examination. The table of quotations employed by us was one drawn up by Mr. Scott, the celebrated Commentator, and published in *The Christian Observer*. There were in the whole, about 250 citations, but as some of these were mere repetitions, and as it appeared doubtful to us whether some others were quotations or not, there were but 225 actual passages to be considered. After a very attentive examination of these passages, which lasted some weeks, we came to the following conclusions.

Of the 225 quotations contained in the New Testament Scriptures, there are,—

1. Quotations agreeing *verbatim* with the Septuagint, and agreeing also with the Hebrew - - -	129
2. Quotations agreeing with the Septuagint *verbatim*, except that a synonymous word occurs once in two or three lines; or some other equally trifling variation exists - - - - -	39
3. Quotations agreeing, either *verbatim*, or nearly so with the Septuagint, but differing in sense, more or less, from the Hebrew - - - -	22
Total Septuagint quotations - - -	190
4. Quotations agreeing neither with the Hebrew nor the Greek - - - - -	27
5. Quotations agreeing with the Hebrew, but not with the Septuagint - - - - -	8

From this classification it is plain that the citations from the Old Testament, in the New were taken, at least with a few exceptions, from the Greek version. Out of 225 passages, there are 129 *verbatim* quotations; several of them being of considerable length. If to these we add the thirty-eight quotations agreeing with the Septuagint (except one or two very slight variations, some probably occasioned by the mistakes of transcribers), and the twenty-two of No. 3, there is a total of 190 passages quoted from the Septuagint.

By comparing together the number of citations which agree with the Greek version, whilst they differ from the Hebrew, with those which differ from the Greek and agree with the Hebrew, we arrive at precisely the same conclusion, that our Lord and his apostles used the Septuagint and quoted from it. Of the former class we have no less than twenty-two, whilst of the latter class there are only eight. As much depends on the correctness of this statement, and as an able paper, in No. XIII. of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, has attempted to prove that our Lord and his apostles did *not* quote from the Septuagint, by adducing half a dozen of the *eight* citations which differ from the Seventy: and avoiding all mention of the two and twenty which differ from the Hebrew and agree with the Septuagint, we deem it necessary to place both classes of passages before the reader, that he may thus be enabled to judge for himself.

I. *Quotations agreeing with the Hebrew, but varying in meaning from the Septuagint.*

1. In Matt. ii. 15, the Evangelist quotes from Hosea xi. 1, the following words:—'*Ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.* "Out of Egypt have I called my son." This agrees with the Hebrew, but not with the Septuagint, who has *τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ*, 'his children.'

2. In Matt. viii. 17, the same Evangelist quotes the following prophecy from Isaiah liii. 4, *Αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν*, 'He himself took our infirmities and bare our diseases.' This is nearly conformable to the Hebrew, but the translation of the Seventy is widely different; *Οὗτος τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει, καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται*, 'He bears our iniquities, and is tormented on our account.' It is clear from this that Matthew did not quote from the Septuagint as it now stands. In the valuable Latin *Dissertation* of Dr. Kennicott, prefixed to his *Hebrew Bible*, we found the following remarks in reference to this passage. That the reading *ἁμαρτίας* was not originally in the Greek, may be inferred from Tertullian, who twice quotes *Imbecillitates* from the Old Italic version, which agreed with the Septuagint before it was corrupted. Athanasius too quotes Isaiah in proof of *ἀσθενείας*; thus, *λέγοντα διὰ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου. Αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν.—Interp. Psalm.*, folio, *Romæ*, 1746, p. 65.

3. In John xix. 37, we read, 'Another Scripture saith they shall look on him whom they pierced,' referring to Zech. xii. 10, the Hebrew of which is precisely as the Evangelist has it. וְהִבִּיטוּ אֵלַי אֵת אֲשֶׁר דָּקָרוּ; but the Septuagint reads as follows: *καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μὲ ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο*, 'And they will look at me, because of the things as to which they have insulted (me),' the meaning of which it is difficult to conceive. Here again, however, there is valuable presumptive evidence that a grievous corruption of the Septuagint has taken place. The prophecy is cited from Zechariah, by Justin Martyr, with the word *ἐξεκέντησαν*, without mentioning the word in our Septuagint. The MSS. *Barberini*, MS. *Vat.*, 347, and No. 1., *San. Germ.*, have also the word *ἐξεκέντησαν*. (Ken. *Prelim. Diss.*, p. 31.) This is confirmed by the *Scholia* on the Septuagint, published in *Rome*, A.D. 1586, in which the following occurs, '*Ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο.* Sic quoque est in quibusdam aliis libris; in quibusdam antecedit, *εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν.* Est qui habeat, *εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*, nec habeat, *ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο*; quæ duplex videtur esse interpretatio, (*Schol. in locum.*) This is undoubtedly some evidence to favour the opinion that the Septuagint is in this place corrupted.

4. The apostle Paul, in Rom. x. 15, quotes from Isaiah lii. 7, a passage which agrees very nearly with the Hebrew, *Ὡς ὡραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην, τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων τὰ ἀγαθά.* The only difference in the Hebrew is that the participles are in the singular, and 'on the mountains' is inserted. The Seventy reads very differently, *Ὡς ὥρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων ὡς πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης, ὡς εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀγαθά.* This then is an instance of quoting from the Hebrew, unless the Seventy is corrupted here.

5. 1 Cor. iii. 19, affords another evident instance of quotation from the Hebrew. The language of the apostle is *Ὁ δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν ;* according to the Hebrew. But the Septuagint, though substantially the same, is verbally different, *Ὁ καταλαμβάνων σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ φρονήσει.* This is therefore another citation from the original Hebrew.

6. The next instance occurs, 1 Cor. xv. 54, *Κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος,* 'Death is swallowed up in victory.' The Hebrew agrees. But the Septuagint reads thus, *Κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας,* of which it is not easy to see the meaning.

7. Another passage generally considered to be cited from the Hebrew, is Eph. iv. 8, *Ἀναβὰς εἰς ὕψος ᾐχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν· καὶ ἔδωκε δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.* The Hebrew agrees; but the Septuagint as it now stands is, *Ἀναβὰς εἰς ὕψος ᾐχμαλώτευσας αἰχμαλωσίαν· ἔλαβες δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ,* that is 'thou *receivedst* gifts *in man,*' instead of 'he *gave* gifts *to men,*' as the apostle says. Some MSS. of the Septuagint, in the Vatican Library, have the reading *ἐν ἀνθρώποις.* Justin, too, in his dialogue with the Jew, Trypho, thus cites the Psalm, *Ἀνέβη εἰς ὕψος ᾐχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν ἔδωκε δόματα τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.* The Arabic Psalter is the same. The Ethiopic only varies the person, 'Thou hast given.' The Roman Psalter, too, reads 'dona dedit hominibus.'—*Scholia in Sac. Bib., Græc.,* in the last vol. of *Polyglot Bible.*

Here then we have another instance of the probable corruption of the Septuagint.

8. In the first Epistle of Peter iv. 8, that apostle cites a passage from Prov. x. 12, which is not as the LXX. now reads. In the New Testament it is, *Ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη καλύψει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν,* "For charity shall cover a multitude of sins," according to the Hebrew. The Septuagint is very different, *Πάντας δὲ τοὺς μὴ φιλονεικοῦντας καλύπτει φιλία,* 'Friendship hides all those who are not contentious.' This certainly appears to be a citation from the Hebrew. It should be remembered, however, that not only the Septuagint but the Syriac and Arabic here differ.

The above eight passages are the only quotations which

materially differ from the Septuagint translation. Matt. i. 23, which is referred to in the article on the *Septuagint*, in the 13th number of this Journal, only differs from the reading of the Alexandrian Seventy in one word, καλέσουσι for καλέσεις. The Vatican MS. has λήψεται for ἕξει; but the Alexandrian reading is ἕξει.

II. *Quotations from the Old Testament agreeing with the Septuagint but differing materially from the Hebrew.*

1. The evangelist Matthew records in the xv. chapter of his gospel, that our blessed Lord in reproving the hypocrisy of the Pharisees quoted the following passage from the prophecies of Isaiah, "Ye hypocrites! well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, This people draweth nigh to me with their mouth and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. *But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.*" This passage is certainly quoted from the Septuagint (Isa. xxix. 13), in which every word is found. In the Hebrew on the contrary, the whole of the ninth verse, which we have marked in italics, is wholly wanting. Nothing answering to it has been found, so far as we are aware, in a single MS.

2. In the xix. chap., ver. 4, our Lord quotes from Gen. ii. 24, "For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they *twain* shall be one flesh." This agrees *verbatim* with the Septuagint, but the Hebrew wants the word 'twain.' The Samaritan—which frequently contains words and passages omitted in the Hebrew codices—confirms the δύο. The three most ancient versions contain the word. The passage is also twice quoted by Paul in the same manner.

3. In the xxi. chap., ver. 13, of the same gospel, our Lord says, "Have ye never read, Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?" This is precisely according to the Septuagint version of Psalm viii. 3. But the Hebrew instead of κατηρτίσω αἶνον "thou hast perfected praise," has יִסַּדְתָּ עֹז "thou hast ordained strength."

4. In Luke iii. 5, at the close of a long quotation from Isaiah xl., 4th and 5th verses, occurs the following, καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ, "and all flesh shall see the salvation of God." This is word for word according to the Seventy. The Hebrew is different, וְרָאוּ כָל בָּשָׂר יַחְדָּו, "and all flesh shall see it together."

5. In Acts ii. 25—28, the apostle Peter quotes a long passage from Psalm xvi., which is clearly taken from the Septuagint *(Cod. Alex.)*. There are however several variations from the

Hebrew text. In one of these we fear a wilful corruption is chargeable upon the Jews. The passage reads in Peter's quotation, "Neither wilt thou suffer thy *holy one* to see corruption"—*τὸν ὅσιόν σου*—precisely as the Seventy. But the Hebrew is חסידך, thy saints or holy ones. As the whole force of the argument of the apostle as to the resurrection of Christ being the subject of prophecy, depends on this word being singular, it is obvious that this is a most important discrepancy. All the ancient versions agree here with the Seventy in opposition to our present Hebrew Bibles. Very many Hebrew MSS. too have been discovered which contain the singular noun חסידך.

6. The apostle Stephen just before his martyrdom, reminds the Jews in the course of his address (Acts vii. 14) that Jacob and all his kindred, "threescore and fifteen souls," went down into Egypt. The Greek version of the Old Testament contains these precise words, (Gen. xlvi. 27.) The Hebrew on the contrary has "three score and six." It is evident that Stephen obtained his knowledge from the Septuagint.

7. In Acts viii. 32, 33, a long quotation from Isaiah liii. 7, 8, is clearly taken from the Seventy, with which it agrees. It differs however considerably from the Hebrew towards the close. The Greek reads "In his humiliation his judgment was taken away; and who shall declare his generation? for his life is taken from the earth." The Hebrew is, "He was taken from prison and from judgment, and who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off out of the land of the living."

8. Acts xiii. 41, "Behold ye despisers, and wonder and perish," &c. In these words the apostle Paul clearly quotes from the Seventy. The Hebrew is very different, "Behold ye among the heathen, and regard and wonder marvellously," &c., Heb. i. 5.

9. In Acts xv. 16, 17, the apostle James quotes a passage from Amos (chap. ix. 11), the latter part of which materially differs from the Hebrew, though it perfectly agrees with the Septuagint, "That the residue of men might seek after the Lord and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called." The Hebrew reads, "That they may possess the remnant of Edom." It is, we think, quite impossible to acquit the Jews of wilfully corrupting this passage in their MSS. for the purpose of destroying one of the plainest prophecies of the calling of the Gentiles which the Old Testament contains.[n] It is well remarked by Scott that this quotation was adduced in an assembly of Jews, and had the Hebrew original read then as it does now the

[n] See Ken. *Diss.*, § 67, 77.

authority and pertinence of the quotation would not have been admitted by the persons present, prejudiced as they were against the conclusion drawn from it.

10. In Rom. ii. 24, the apostle evidently quotes the Septuagint, (Isaiah lii. 5,) "The name of God is blasphemed *among the Gentiles.*" The words in italics are wanting in the Hebrew text.

11. In Rom. iii. 13, the apostle quotes from the Seventy, (Ps. v. 9,) "Whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness." The Hebrew here reads for '*bitterness*' מרמות '*deceit.*'

12. In the same chapter occurs another quotation clearly from the Septuagint. *Οἱ δὲ πόδες αυτῶν . . . ταχινοὶ εκχέαι αἷμα* is the rendering of the Seventy. The apostle's quotation has the synonymous word *ὀξεῖς* for *ταχινοί.* But the Hebrew has '*innocent* blood' instead of 'blood.'

13. In the 10th chapter of this epistle, Paul quotes from the prophecies of Isaiah (lxv. 1), as follows, verses 20, 21, *Εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν, ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσι. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ λέγει. Ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξέπετασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα.* This is found word for word in the Septuagint, but the clauses are transposed. In the Hebrew, on the contrary, instead of *Εὑρέθην,* 'I was found,' we have (נדרשתי), 'I was manifested to,' and סורר, 'rebellious,' instead of *ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα.*

14. In the following chapter of this epistle, Paul quotes a remarkable prophecy, denouncing the most terrible curses against the Jews, from Psalm lxix. 22, "And David saith, Let their table be made a snare and a trap, and stumbling-block, and a recompense unto them; let their eyes be darkened that they may not see, and bow down their back always," (Rom. xi. 9, 10.) This language is throughout according to the Septuagint, with the following exception. That version omits *καὶ εἰς θήραν,* 'and a snare,' and inserts *ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν,* 'before them.' One or two words are transposed, and *ἀνταπόδομα* is changed for the synonymous word *ανταπόδοσιν.* The Hebrew, on the contrary, is very different, "Let their table become a snare before them, *and that which should have been for their* welfare *let it become* a trap. Let their eyes be darkened that they see not, and make their knees continually to shake."

15. Another passage in this chapter agrees very nearly with the Seventy, but differs materially from the Hebrew, "There shall come out of Sion a deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob. The only variation from the Septuagint rendering is *ἕνεκεν* for *ἐκ,* 'on account of Zion,' for 'from Zion.' But the Hebrew is וּבָא לְצִיּוֹן גּוֹאֵל וּלְשָׁבֵי פֶשַׁע בְּיַעֲקֹב, "And the Redeemer

shall come *to* Zion and *unto them that turn from transgression* in Jacob," (Isaiah lix. 20.)

16. The same apostle's quotation from Deut xxxii. 42, in the 15th chap. of Rom., ver. 10, "Rejoice ye nations with his people," is clearly taken from the Seventy. The Hebrew omits the *with*, and thus gives quite a different sense, "Praise, ye nations, his people."

17. In this chapter occurs another quotation which is evidently derived—not from the Hebrew text, which varies considerably—but from the Seventy. "And again Esaias saith, There shall be a root of Jesse, and he that shall rise to reign over the Gentiles; in him shall the Gentiles trust," (Rom. xv. 12.) This passage is word for word from the Septuagint translation of Isaiah xi. 10. The Hebrew reads exactly as in the Authorized Version of the Old Testament text,—"There shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek."

18. In the Epistle to the Hebrews (chap. i. 6), the apostle quotes the following passage from the Old Testament, *Καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ.* These identical words occur in the Septuagint translation, (Deut. xxxii. 43), and there can be no doubt that the apostle quoted from thence. Nothing answering to this passage is found in the Hebrew.

19. In Heb. viii. 8, occurs a very long quotation from Jer. xxxi. 31, which is found almost verbatim in the Septuagint version. But the clause 'but I regarded them not,' is in the Hebrew, וַאֲנִי בָּעַלְתִּי בָם, 'I was a husband to them,' a meaning entirely opposite. The Syriac and the Arabic versions agree with the Seventy.

20. In the same Epistle a most important quotation from the Seventy occurs, to which the Hebrew text is quite opposed. *Θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἠθέλησας, σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι,* "Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me," (Heb. x. 5.) The Septuagint agrees *verbatim* with this, (Psalm xl. 6.) But the Hebrew of this last clause is אָזְנַיִם כָּרִיתָ לִי 'Mine ears hast thou bored.' There is little doubt that the Hebrew is corrupted here, perhaps wilfully. An old Syrian MS. is quoted by Kennicott as agreeing with the Seventy. The Old Italic Version and the Ethiopic support the same reading.[o]

21. In Heb. x. 37, 38, Paul quotes from Hab. ii. 3, 4, the following passage, "For yet a little while and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry. Now the just shall live by faith, but if any *man* draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in

---

[o] Kenn. *Diss.*, § 18, 5, and § 77.

him." This agrees almost verbatim with the Seventy except that the two last clauses are transposed. The Hebrew text is however very different. "Though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry. Behold his soul which is lifted up is not upright in him, but the just shall live by his faith." On this important passage there can be but one opinion. The sense given by the apostle agrees so fully with the context of the prophecy, that the Hebrew is evidently corrupted.

22. The last passage which remains to be adduced under this head is Heb. xii. 6, "For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth," in exact agreement with the Septuagint translation of Prov. iii. 12. But the Hebrew has "For whom the Lord loveth he correcteth, *even as a father the son in whom he delighteth.*" This is therefore another instance of undoubted quotation from the Septuagint, where the Hebrew and the Greek are at variance.

It thus appears that out of about 250 quotations from the Old Testament Scriptures there are not half-a-dozen clear instances in favour of the hypothesis that the writers of the New Testament quoted from the Hebrew original; whilst they are, on the other side, twenty-two quotations opposed to the Hebrew codices, and almost all the remaining passages, *verbatim*, or all but *verbatim*, quotations from the Septuagint. It can then no longer be denied, we think, with any fairness, that the Lord and his apostles universally, or all but universally, cited the version of the Seventy interpreters when they had occasion to refer to the Scriptures of the Old Testament. The reader who may desire to see what has been already written upon the important subject of the quotations is referred to the following writers, *Drusii Parallela Sacra*, Franeck., 1588. *Sacrorum Parall. libri tres*, by Fr. Junius, second edition, London, 1588. Dr. Randolph's *Prophecies and other Texts cited in the New Testament*, London, 1782. This list is republished in Dr. Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*. Owen's *Modes of Quotations*, London, 1789. And a valuable series of papers by the celebrated Rev. Thomas Scott, in the *Christian Observer*, for the years 1809, 1810. Mr. Horne too in his excellent *Introduction to the Critical Knowledge and Study of the Holy Scriptures*, has given an elaborate list of the quotations under several heads, (vol. ii., part i., chap. 4.) Mr. Horne's tables, however, lie open to the same objection which has struck us in all the works on the subject which have come under our notice. Whenever quotations agree with both the Hebrew and Greek Old Testament they are most unfairly placed in the list of passages taken from the Hebrew. Although it is evident, as we have shewn in a previous

page, that every quotation agreeing *verbatim*, or nearly so, with the Septuagint, ought to be reckoned as taken thence.

The fact which we have attempted to establish in the foregoing pages, that our Lord and his apostles have almost uniformly quoted from the Septuagint, affords, it is obvious, one of the most powerful arguments for the value of that venerable version. Mr. Grinfield, the learned editor of the *Hellenistic Greek Testament*, in an interesting work lately published, has attempted on this foundation to build the hypothesis of the inspiration of the Septuagint. "As the immediate offspring of the Divine Spirit," says he, "the New Testament claims to be so far inspired in its language as to admit of no material mistake or error. *By its continual appeal to the Greek version of the Seventy, it necessarily* raises that version to its own standard. To cite from an uninspired version, thus frequently and steadily, *would be to forfeit and annul its own claim to plenary inspiration.*"[p] We are quite at a loss to imagine how a scholar such as Mr. Grinfield could adopt so extravagant an hypothesis. The fact that the inspired writers have quoted passages of the Septuagint, and prefaced them by "*as it is written*," &c., certainly proves that all such passages are free from any error, and in that sense inspired. But it does not hence follow that all other parts of the Greek version are thereby shewn to be also inspired. We need not inform the respected author of the *Apology* that the translation of the Seventy interpreters abounds with gross blunders, such as cannot possibly be imputed to the carelessness of transcribers, but such as have evidently existed from the first. We refer for instances of this kind to the able paper in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, No. XIII. Now it is clear that the Divine inspiration of a document is utterly inconsistent with the existence of errors and mistakes. In the course of transcription, it is true, an inspired book may experience corruption; but in its original state such defects are obviously impossible. The 'claims of the Septuagint to canonical and biblical authority' must therefore we think be rejected by every sober and reflecting mind.

The only other actual argument on which Mr. Grinfield rests his theory of the inspiration of the Seventy, is the fact that the whole Christian Church, during the first four centuries, received this version as *canonical*, and used and read it in public worship. But we do not know that the church in the first and early part of the second century regarded the Septuagint as canonical in the sense of inspired, though subsequently this was done. If all that is meant by *canonical* is readable for public worship—the

[p] *Apology for the Septuagint*, Pickering, London, 1850, Introduction, p. viii.

statement is true, but the inference most illogical. As well might the use of the English Bible by the church of this country be held up as a proof of the inspiration of that version.

The question then recurs,—What *are* we justified in inferring —as to the merits and authority of the Greek Scriptures of the Old Testament—from the stated use of them by the apostolic writers? All that we think can fairly be deduced is, simply this, that the inspired writers of the New Testament clearly regarded the Septuagint as a work of the highest value, and, in the main, a correct version of the Hebrew; and this much, we think, can hardly be denied. There is certainly no doubt that the extensive use of the Greek Scriptures by the apostles necessarily led to their universal use by the Christian Church for centuries afterwards. This which was of course foreseen by the Omniscient Spirit would never have been permitted—had not the Septuagint been, on the whole, a faithful version of the inspired original. On any other supposition it is, we think, impossible to account for the continual citation of the Greek translation by men who possessed the miraculous gift of tongues.

As it regards the relative authority of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures whilst we would undoubtedly then place the Hebrew original as a whole far above the Greek translation, yet we would use the latter to correct the former whenever there is good ground to believe it is corrupted. The notion of the two documents being of canonical authority, as advocated by Mr. Grinfield, is simply impossible, because, in many places, they contradict each other. All that can be safely maintained is that the Hebrew original being an inspired document, which in the course of ages has met with great and numerous corruptions, the ancient Greek translation, though equally or more corrupt, may yet with due caution be employed to restore the Hebrew text.

The conclusions to which we have come respecting the high value of the Septuagint derive considerable support from the Samaritan Pentateuch—between which and the former, as is well known, a remarkable agreement exists.

The critical authority of this most ancient document had, for centuries, been the subject of controversy amongst the learned, when, in the year 1815, the celebrated Gesenius published his Essay, *De Pentateuchi Sam. Orig. Indol. et Auc.* In this elaborate treatise the author is generally considered to have, for ever, settled the question of the authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch. He has proved, it is said, the nature of the Samaritan readings to be such that no critical reliance can be placed upon them. He represents them as being all, or very nearly all, designed corruptions, arising either from the want of grammatical or ex-

egetical knowledge; or from conformity to the Samaritan dialect; or the attempt to remove obscurities. Indeed, so successful have the labours of this eminent critic proved, that we believe the only opinion now prevalent amongst scholars to be, that of *the utter worthlessness of the Samaritan Pentateuch as a source of critical emendation.*

The conclusions to which Gesenius had come excited no little astonishment when we first heard of his work. The great antiquity of the Samaritan Pentateuch is admitted by all critics. From the fact of its being written in the old Hebrew character, before the Chaldee or square letters came into use, it must have existed, at least, before the Babylonish Captivity. Hence the Samaritan copies may be considered a distinct family of manuscripts, containing that part of the Jewish Scriptures. The statement that throughout these most ancient codices, there was not a single reading preferable to those in the Jewish text, was in itself so extraordinary, that we experienced the greatest difficulty in believing it. Besides the remarkable agreement between this family of manuscripts and the Septuagint at once occurred to us. These two distinct and independent witnesses present the same reading in opposition to the modern Hebrew manuscripts in more than two thousand instances! None will pretend that the Seventy Interpreters translated from the Samaritan Pentateuch. How is it possible, then, we asked, to account for the coincidence between the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch, if the peculiar readings of the latter are the effect of design? The great importance of the subject at length led us to peruse the work of Gesenius itself; and the result of the investigation has been to convince us, that the position which the learned author has taken is altogether untenable, and to impress us at the same time with a stronger idea than ever of the real value and authority of this most ancient document.

The length to which the present article extends will not allow of our discussing this subject at present; but in a future number of this Journal we hope to enter upon a full examination of the arguments of Gesenius in his celebrated Essay on the Samaritan Pentateuch.

K. L.

THE MINISTRY OF ANGELS.

The divine principle of faith is beautifully illustrated in the testimony to Moses that he "endured as *seeing him who is invisible*." Thus also our Lord, speaking of his approaching departure, said to his disciples, "Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more; *but ye see me*." (John xiv. 19.) But beginning thus with its primary object, the person of the Son of God, faith does not rest here. By it we are made conversant with a wide sphere of invisible realities. It is in the most comprehensive sense "the evidence of things not seen." Amongst these the subject attempted to be treated of in this paper possesses a high degree of interest, although perhaps not sufficiently prominent in modern theology. The plan proposed is to review a selection of passages that relate to it, by which means prominence is more likely to be given to the words of inspiration, and less risk will be incurred of the licence of fancy and speculation than in a more formal and artificial essay.

We will begin with the most ancient book of the Scriptures.

In Job xxxviii. 7, the Almighty speaks of the choir of angels that celebrated the creation of our globe:—

> When the morning stars sang together,
> And all the sons of God shouted for joy.

not only in this beautiful passage, but also in chap. i. 6, they are called "sons of God." "And there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before Jehovah," (see also ii. 1.) At appointed seasons it would seem they appear in the divine presence, probably both to pay homage, and to give account of their actions, and receive further instructions. That this is rather the record of an actual occurrence than a poetic ornament, as some have supposed it to be, may be inferred from there being no necessity to depart from the literal conception of the statement, and from a comparison of other Scriptures. In 1 Kings xxii. 19—23 we have a parallel scene. The prophet saw "the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left." Ahab's approaching doom is the subject of the heavenly council, and a spirit undertakes to entice him to his ruin by being "a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets."

In the sublime vision, Dan. vii. 9, etc., the prophet beheld "till the thrones (compare Rev. iv. 4) were set, and the ancient of days did sit,—thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him." Judgment

is then executed on the little horn for the words spoken by him, and the heavenly host who are present at the awful session, we learn elsewhere (Rev. xix. 14—21), are also associated in the execution of the sentence.

To such a general assembly of angels as described in the above and other passages, the apostle seems to allude, Heb. xii. 23, *καὶ μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων πανηγύρει*, ye are come,—to myriads of angels, a general assembly.

The spirit that appeared to Eliphaz (Job iv. 12, &c.) said:—

> Shall man be more just than God?
> Shall man be more pure than his Maker?
> Behold he putteth no trust in his servants,
> And to his angels he imputeth infirmity.[a]

and Eliphaz presently makes the application to Job:—

> Call now? Is there any one that will answer thee?
> And to which of the holy ones wilt thou look?

"The essential idea," as Barnes remarks, "is, that even the holiness of angels was not to be compared with God." Perfect in their own measure, they are imperfect relatively to God, and Eliphaz defies Job to find one of them who, as conscious of this, will undertake to advocate his sentiments. Comp. ch. xv. 15.

> Behold in his holy ones he putteth no trust,
> And the heavens are not pure in his eyes.

See also xxv. 5. Barnes in his commentary thus sums up the particulars obtained from this deeply-interesting book respecting angels. "If the book of Job was composed in the time which I have supposed,[b] as stated in the previous parts of this Introduction, then these are among the earliest notices of the heavenly hierarchy that we have in the sacred volume. They imply that the existence of superior intelligences was an undisputed fact that might be used for the sake of argument and illustration; that they were eminently holy, though far inferior to God; that they performed important offices in the administration of the universe, and that they were under the control of the Almighty, and assembled together before Him from time to time to give their account, and to receive afresh his commands." He adds: "The Mohammedans probably derived their views on this subject from the Old Testament, intermingled with the fables of the Jews; but it is an interesting fact that in the country of Mohammed, in the days of Job, the doctrine of the existence of a superior

---

[a] Or *frailty*, as Noyes and Barnes render this disputed word תָּהֳלָה, which no where else occurs.

[b] *i. e.*, not remote from the age of Abraham.

order of intelligences was held in its purity, and without any of the intermixtures of puerility with which the doctrine is intermingled in the Jewish traditions and in the Koran."[c]

The appellation of "sons of gods," בְּנֵי אֵלִים, is given to angels, Ps. xxix. 1:—

> Give to Jehovah, O ye sons of gods,
> Give to Jehovah glory and strength!

and again Psalm lxxxix. 6:—

> For who in the heavens shall (one) compare unto Jehovah?
> (Who) shall be like to Jehovah among the sons of gods?

In ver. 5 and 7 they are called "holy ones." "Sons of gods" is by a common Hebrew pleonasm for "gods," *i. e.*, angels. That the appellation אֱלֹהִים, gods, is also given to them, is manifest from Ps. viii. 6 comp. with Heb. ii. 7, 9, and Ps. xcvii. 7 comp. with Heb. i. 6. In Ps. lxxxii. 1, the word seems to mean as in ver. 6, *judges*, comp. Ex. xxi. 6; xxii. 7, 8: and Ps. cxxxviii. 1, may be "before *God* will I sing," etc.; *i. e.*, before his sanctuary: see following verse.

Nebuchadnezzar exclaimed concerning the mysterious stranger whom he beheld walking with the three Jews in the fiery furnace, "The form of the fourth is like a *son of gods*," בַּר־אֱלָהִין (Dan. iii. 25), by which, as appears by his subsequent words (ver. 28), he meant an angel.

As regards the "sons of God" mentioned Gen. vi. 2, this designation, opposed as it is moreover to the "daughters of men," lends no faint colouring of plausibility on philological grounds to the common idea entertained both by the ancient Hebrew writers and the early Christian fathers, that angels are intended. The latter class indeed were probably mainly influenced by the Greek version. Rosenmüller (*Scholia*) Gesenius *(Hebrew Lexicon)* and other modern interpreters likewise understood angels to be meant. The familiar Grecian myth about the giants, the offspring of Cœlus and Terra, readily occurs to one here. Is it referable to some distorted tradition of what is recorded in this Scripture? In 2 Pet. ii. 4 we read of a class of fallen angels, who unlike Satan and *his* angels, who enjoy a present liberty, are chained in the gloom of Tartarus awaiting their judgment; and the phraseology of Jude 6, where the same are spoken of, is at least remarkable: "The angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation," &c. Notwithstanding the conciseness of the narrative, which, as in many of those primitive records, stimulates rather than satisfies curiosity, there appears no reason

[c] See Sale, *Preliminary Dissertation*, sect. iv.

why it should not be understood, as describing an unlawful commerce between angelic and human beings. In this, as in not a few other cases, difficulties originate in our imagining we know more than is the case. But our divinity, as little as our philosophy, has yet dreamed of all the things in heaven and earth.[d]

To the information derived from the book of Job we will now add the testimony of a few other scriptures to the nature and character of angels.

Psalm ciii. 20, 21 makes mention of their might, and their subjection to the divine commands:—

> Bless ye Jehovah, (ye) his angels,
> Mighty of strength, that do his word.
> Hearkening to the voice of his word.
> Bless ye Jehovah, all (ye) his hosts;
> (Ye) his ministers that do his pleasure.

Psalm civ. 4, comp. Heb. i. 7 (on which see the note of Bloomfield, *Greek Testament)* seems to describe at once their docility, power, and rapidity of movement:—

> Who maketh his angels winds;
> His ministers a flaming fire.

That is, "*angels* not less than the winds and lightnings obey his fiat." "Who maketh his messengers swift as the wind: his ministers strong as a flaming fire." Chal.

That they have a language seems fairly deducible from various scriptures; 1 Cor. xiii. 1: "With the tongues of men and of angels." Compare 2 Cor. xii. 4; Isa. vi. 3; Rev. v. 11; vii. 11, 12.

The controverted and difficult passage, Col. ii. 18, may perhaps refer to their mode of worship. "Let no one, being a voluntary in humility and the worship of angels, judge against you," etc. The force of καταβραβενέτω seems to depend on the previous context. Because of our interest in the complete triumph of Christ, and its effects (ver. 10—15), the apostle says (ver. 16): "Let no one therefore *judge* (κρινέτω) you in meat," etc.; and he next condemns the still higher tone of pretension assumed by some who affected extraordinary humility, and an imitation of the mode of worship (whatever they supposed it was) proper to

---

[d] The Chinese writers designate the "traditional period" of their country's history, the age of the five rulers. In this age, which consisted of ten generations, they say marriage was instituted, husbandry and medicine became known, the use of metals was discovered, and the harmony of sounds and music, also the properties of the silk-worm; and they add, that towards the close of this age, *divine and human personages mixed together, and produced confusion, and a great flood ensued.*—*China,* by W. G. Rhind.

angels (see Bloomfield *ad. loc.)*; let no such self-constituted umpire impose on you his will-worship (comp. ἐθελοθρησκεία, ver. 23), thus disparaging what is your true standing through participation in the Lord's death and resurrection: let him not thus *arbitrate against* (καταβραβευέτω) you.

The expression, "elect angels," (1 Tim. v. 21,) evidently implies that the rest were not, in the mysterious counsels of the Deity, sustained as *they* were by his sovereign will and power in their original holiness.

Nor is mercy extended to the fallen angels: "For verily he doth not lay hold on angels, but he layeth hold on the seed of Abraham," (Heb. ii. 16, Craik's amended translation;) that is to say, redemption belongs to Abraham's spiritual seed—true believers,—not to angels.

The marvels of this redemption are eagerly studied by angels: "Which things the angels desire to look into," (1 Pet. i. 12); which moreover implies that they are able to attain to but a partial acquaintance with them. Comp. Eph. iii. 10.

They respect in all cases the powers ordained by God, and do not, like self-willed and lawless men, rail against them: "Whereas angels, which are greater in power and might *(i. e.,* than the 'dignities' just before mentioned, ver. 10), bring not railing accusation against them (the dignities) before the Lord." (2 Pet. ii. 11.) The words παρὰ κυρίῳ are omitted by some editors, but even without them the meaning would seem to be, that the angels in the reports they make of the evil of earthly potentates, abstain from everything like contumely or reviling. Thus also in the mysterious transaction alluded to in Jude 9, Michael the archangel durst not bring even against the devil himself a railing accusation, but said, "The Lord rebuke thee."[e]

Great as are their power and glory, they are not to be wor-

---

[e] Of the nature of this contest, which the apostle's words appear to indicate took place in the presence of God, it would be vain to speak with any degree of confidence. Eadie *(Bibl. Cyclop.)* remarks: "What is said respecting his (Moses's) burial (Deut. xxxiv. 6), what Jude says of the archangel disputing with the devil about his body (Jude 9), and his appearance along with Elijah on the mount of transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 3); have led some to conjecture that he was immediately raised from the dead, and translated into heaven; but in the silence of Scripture such conjectures are fruitless." If the body of Moses *was* however (as is very probable) exempted from the ordinary lot of mortal bodies, and by being reanimated was so to speak wrested from the dominion of "him who hath the power of death," and who in this singular instance would then have been deprived of his usual temporary triumph in the legitimate results of the sin he was the means of first introducing: we can comprehend why he should oppose the divine purpose, and stand upon his rights (whether real or presumed). Man has voluntarily rendered himself obnoxious in various ways to the power of Satan, and it is no wonder, if, like Shylock, he will not give up without a struggle his "pound of flesh."

shipped by men; being after all but the fellow-servants of the apostles and prophets, and of the faithful generally. Rev. xxii. 9.

Let us now proceed to notice some of the principal passages as they occur in the different books of Scripture, relative to the appearances and ministry of angels. The first recorded instance of an angelic manifestation is in Gen. xvi., where however the angel of the Lord was evidently no other than Jehovah himself, the eternal Son; and this is a title by which Christ is often designated in the Old Testament; comp. Ex. xxiii. 20, 21; xxxii. 34; Acts. vii. 30—32, 38. Isaiah (lxiii. 9) also speaks of him as the "angel of his presence," and Malachi (iii. 1) as the "angel," or messenger, "of the covenant."

A poor Egyptian bond-woman was the first of our race (as far as we know) since the fall who was favoured by such an apparition of the divine and uncreated angel. The memorial of the interview has been preserved amidst all the vicissitudes of nearly four thousand years, and the land and posterity of Ishmael still attest the truth and faithfulness of the words that proclaimed the lot and described the character of unborn millions, to his fugitive and wandering mother. Hagar called the name of the Lord that spake unto her, "Thou (art) the God of vision;" *i. e.*, who permittest thyself to be seen; "for," she said, "do I also here see (*i. e.*, live) after the vision?" *i. e.*, Do I yet live having seen God? (comp. ch. xxxii. 30.) "Wherefore the well was called Beer-lahai-roi, *well of life of vision;*" *i. e.*, where after the vision of God my life is nevertheless preserved, as Gesenius explains. It may be remarked by the way that the lot of Ishmael was appointed, ver. 12, עַל־פְּנֵי, *before* or *eastward of* (Ros. Ges.) all his brethren; and so in chap. xxv. 18 it is said, "Before (eastward of) all his brethren (his lot) fell."

One of the three men that came to Abraham as he sat in his tent door under the terabinth trees of Mamre (Gen. xviii.) was the Lord, though not at first it seems recognized as such by the patriarch, who thus not only "entertained angels unawares," but also One greater than they. The two others, who were angels, proceed on their way to Sodom, while Abraham intercedes for the city. They arrive there at even, and at first decline the proferred hospitality of Lot; (perhaps as a kind of reproof for the worldliness and inconsistency of his position in such a place.) Manifest proof being soon afforded of the abominable depravity of the people, the first (recorded) example of infliction of punishment by angels takes place, and the wicked crowd are smitten with blindness. The angels announce the Lord's purpose respecting the city to Lot, whose warning words fail that solemn night to produce any effect on his sons-in-law, and who himself indeed,

with his wife and daughters, is not without some constraint in the morning brought forth, and placed in safety by the heavenly visitors. In ver. 21, one of the angels, in answer to Lot's intreaty, says: "See, I have accepted thee concerning this thing also, that I will not overthrow this city, for the which thou hast spoken;" which is remarkable, both as evidence of the powers that had been delegated to him, so that he speaks as in the person of Jehovah himself; and as an instance of the way in which divine wisdom, providing for every circumstance, instructs these its ministers how to act in perfect accordance with its own counsels.

In all the visits of angels mentioned in Scripture we notice an *economy* both in words and the display of power. The former are always few and direct to the purpose, and as to the latter, the cup is always full, but never runs over. There is nothing superfluous in either case. Like the flame of fire and the winds to which they are likened, they indulge in no capricious coruscations, nor prolong the blast unnecessarily. They *fulfil his word* (Ps. cxlviii. 8). The flash disappears when its end is answered; the wind ceases when its object is attained. Too humble to take pleasure in self-display, too obedient to overpass their commission even by a hair's breadth, too familiar with their own strength to be lavish in its expenditure; they manifest the excellence of their nature no less in the stillness of their repose than in the rapidity and precision of the service that preceded it. We remember the magnificent description given by the prophet (Ezek. i.) of the wondrous chariot that bore the glory of the Lord. When the living creatures went, and the high and dreadful wheels went by them, the noise of their wings was like the noise of great waters: they moved like a *flash of lightning;* they were controlled by one *spirit;* they went every one *straight forward.* And when rest succeeded the irresistible might of their action, no tremor vibrated through the complex living machinery; nothing betokened that a great effort had been made; the pause is sudden, absolute, perfect; the wheels are motionless, the cherubim let down their wings, and amidst the solemn stillness that ensues, the voice of the Almighty alone is heard from the firmament of the terrible crystal over their heads.

In accordance with the above noticed economy in the exhibition of the supernatural, the two following instances of angelic interposition in behalf of Hagar and of Abraham (who had both been previously favoured with a sight of the Lord) were unaccompanied by any visible manifestation. The angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven, told her that God had heard the voice of her child; and then, as though it was God himself who spoke,

continued, "Arise, lift up the lad, and join thy hand to him; for I will make him a great nation." (xxi. 17, 18.)

And the angel of the Lord who twice called from heaven to Abraham on Mount Moriah, so spoke, that for aught we know it might have been the Lord himself who addressed the patriarch (xxii. 11, 12, 15—18).

The father of the faithful was well acquainted with the fact that angels are "ministering spirits, sent forth to render service on account of them who are about to inherit salvation." (Heb. i. 14.) In sending his servant to procure a wife for his son from his kindred in Mesopotamia, he says, "the Lord God of heaven —he shall send his angel before thee." (xxiv. 7.) And the servant repeating afterwards his master's words says, "He said unto me, The Lord, before whom I walk, will send his angel before thee, and prosper thy way." (ver. 40.) He who had seen angels, and heard their voice from heaven, knew that also unseen and unheard they were wont to minister to the servants of God; and the sequel strikingly bore out the confidence he expressed. The way was indeed prospered, and each little circumstance that fell out, witnessed to the presence of an unseen but minutely directing power. Not only the pious servant himself recognized the divine hand, but even one whose eye quickly caught the nose-ring and bracelets that had been presented to his sister, and for whom gold at all times seems to have had no ordinary charms, united in the expression of the common feeling, that "the thing proceeded from the Lord."

On the ladder which Jacob in his dream beheld set up on the earth, and the top of which reached to heaven, the angels of God were seen by him ascending and descending, while the Lord stood above it (xxviii. 12, 13). This was typical of the character of a yet future happy age, when the heaven shall be open over the earth, and by means of the Son of Man angels shall continually pass from earth to heaven, and from heaven to earth, on errands of mercy to mankind (see John i. 51). The Son of Man will then, as he is presented to us in the eighth Psalm, be the connecting link between the glory that is above the heavens, and the blessing that rests on the lower creation: he will be manifested as the antitype of this mystic ladder.[f] But neither was

---

[f] Typical foreshadowings, and as it were little pictures of the millennial age sometimes occur, as on this occasion, in the Scripture history. In chap. xxvi. a concurrence of circumstances appears to constitute Isaac a type of his people in that day when they shall be in covenant with the Lord (vers. 3, 4), and also with the nations, who before persecuted them, represented by Abimelech (ver. 28). See Zech. viii. 23. The feast (ver. 30) and the well of water (ver. 32) are likewise significant features in the scene. On the part of the Gentiles, Esek (contention) and Sitnah (hatred)

Jacob's vision without an immediate reference to himself. Though struck with awe, he must have received a vivid impression of the number, power, and activity of the celestial beings, who under the direction of the God of his fathers, would be employed for his protection during all his pilgrim days. Forced to leave his home through his own misconduct, the lonely wanderer to Padan-Aram must have appreciated the peculiar graciousness of this revelation, and realized its comfort, as he set up the pillar at Bethel, and vowed his vow to God.[g]

When Jacob, many years after this, was about to meet his brother, he was encouraged by the remarkable spectacle of a host or camp of angels; on which account he called the name of the place Mahanaim, *i.e.*, two hosts or camps; probably meaning his own and that of God.

This looks like a little trait of his natural character, for he was ever prone to depend upon contrivance and artifice, and had many lessons to learn before he ceased to mix up *self* with God's grace (how common an error!), and could trust himself in conscious helplessness on the divine power and goodness. The heavenly host which in his early days he had beheld on the mystic ladder, were now encamped by him, seemingly in token that the protection they were about to afford him was to be of no merely passing or momentary character: for "the angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them." (Ps. xxxiv. 7.) But Jacob cannot refrain from bringing in *himself* again, and thus spoils his own comfort (for to think of God only as adding his resources to our own, is quite a different thing from *standing still* and seeing *his salvation*, Ex. xiv. 13), and presently the announcement of Esau's approach with four hundred men apparently quite effaces the remembrance of what he had seen, and sends him to his wonted habit of arranging and planning for himself. At the close of his days he declares that he had owed all his deliverance to God alone, to whom he refers in the words, "the angel which redeemed me from all evil." (xlviii. 15, 16; comp. xxxi. 11; xxxii. 24—32; xxxv. 9—15.)

We next read of angelic ministry as employed in the infliction of the plagues on the Egyptians,—

---

have long kept Israel from a settled place of blessing in their land. The "tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast" have been by unbelief deprived of their rest: but Rehoboth (ver. 22) will finally be obtained, and the *Lord* will *make room for them*, and they shall be *fruitful in the land*. Comp. Isa. xxvii. 6, &c. No more than a simple reference can be made here to some other scenes of a similarly typical character. See Ex. xviii. 1—12; 1 Kings iv. 25; 2 Kings ii. 19—22. Matt. xvi. 28; xvii. 1—8.

g In this vow the apodosis properly begins in ver. 22, "And (if) the Lord will be my God: then this stone," &c. So Rosenmüller.

He sent against them the fierceness of his anger,
Wrath and indignation and trouble,
By sending angels of evils.—*Ps.* lxxviii. 49.

Angels, that is, that executed those judgments. In Ex. xii. 23, the angel that smote the first-born is called "the destroyer." The angel of God (xiv. 19) which went before the camp of Israel, appears to have been Jehovah himself, comp. ver. 24. So also in the following passages, iii. 2; xxiii. 20—23; xxxii. 34: xxxiii. 2.

So likewise probably the angel who withstood Balaam. Numb. xxii.; comp. Ex. iv. 24.

Mount Sinai, we learn, was the scene of angels' ministry in the delivery of the law,

Jehovah from Sinai came,
And rose from Seir unto them;
He shined forth from Mount Paran,
And came from myriads of holy ones.—Deut. xxxii. 2.

So it is said in Ps. lxviii. 17,—

The chariots of God (are) twenty thousand;—thousands multiplied;
The Lord (is) among them, (as on) Sinai, in the holy place.

To this reference is made, Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii. 19.

When the children of Israel failed to execute the Lord's command, that they should utterly root out the Canaanitish tribes from the land, the angel of the Lord came up from Gilgal to Bochim, and rebuked them (Jud. ii). It does not seem an unfounded opinion entertained by some, that this was the same as the captain of the Lord's host that appeared to Joshua (Josh. v. 13, 14). Joshua's camp was long fixed at Gilgal. The Divine messenger comes up from thence as though he had tarried there in readiness to help the people in the remaining wars: but they had slackened their endeavours, and left the work incomplete; and now in place of leading their hosts, he leaves the place which was linked with many a past memorial of victory; and the people, instead of pouring their hosts for successive triumphs from Gilgal, are fain to sacrifice with unavailing tears at Bochim.

Of the angel of the Lord that pronounced the emphatic curse on the inhabitants of Meroz (Jud. v. 23), no particulars are afforded. It seems to have been the Lord himself who appeared to Gideon (vi. 12), and to Manoah and his wife (xiii. 3). He whose name, as he declared to Manoah, is "Wonderful." Comp. Isa. ix. 6.

An angel directed the terrible pestilence that for David's sin destroyed seventy thousand men. On this memorable occasion the destroyer was seen to stand "between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jeru-

salem," which he was about to destroy, when the Lord repented him of the evil, and said, "It is enough; stay now thine hand!" And when David had sacrificed in the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite, and the Lord had accepted the offering, then he also "commanded the angel: and he put up his sword again into the sheath thereof." (2 Sam. xxiv. and 1 Chron. xxi.) This is the only instance we read of wherein the destroying angel has been made visible to mortal eyes in the execution of his terrible office.

His passage was secret through the land of Egypt in that awful night, the stillness of which was suddenly broken by a great cry, the like to which was never heard before, nor will ever be again, that witnessed the accomplishment of the silent though sure work of destruction,—secret in that other night of vengeance, when the morning's light dawned on an hundred fourscore and five thousand corpses of the Assyrians in the camp of Sennacherib (2 Kings xix. 35),—secret, too, doubtless, on many other occasions of judgment, which men have attributed only to some secondary cause, little suspecting the spiritual agency, which sometimes with, and sometimes without the intervention of such a cause, is so largely intermingled with human affairs.

Thus does patriarchal and Jewish history abundantly testify that these servants of God are employed not only in the greater concerns of kingdoms, as in the above instances, and others to be presently mentioned, but also in attending to the wants of individuals. Elijah's history furnishes another interesting example of the latter case. When even *his* adamantine spirit gave way (for he was a man of like passions with ourselves) and under the pressure of disappointed expectations and the threats of Jezebel, he fled into the wilderness of Beersheba, and fell asleep under a juniper tree; an angel twice awoke him, and bade him eat of a cake which was ready baken on the coals, and drink of a cruse of water that he found at his head, because of the length of the journey that was before him. How different the character and circumstances of the outcast Hagar, and the mighty Tishbite! yet both were the objects of the same gracious and thoughtful Providence; and probably it may have been at or near the same spot where a thousand years before the eyes of the former were opened to see the well of water when her child was perishing with thirst, that the disheartened prophet thus found a table spread for him in the wilderness, and experienced the considerateness of him, who thus ministered to his servant's necessities, though he could not sanction the infirmity which had in this instance brought him into the position to need it.

Once again after this the angel of the Lord appeared to Elijah to communicate the divine commands (2 Kings i. 3, 15).

Were it permitted to us to discern them, how vast would appear the number of the spirits, both good and evil, that daily concern themselves with the things of the people of the earth! How various their powers and offices! how unceasing their activity! With regard to the latter class, the single case of the man who was possessed by a legion, (all of whom yet acted and spoke as with the unity of purpose of but *one*,) would suffice to prove their vast numbers; and it is not improbable that the former are even far more numerous. It is but a thin partition, so to speak, that divides the visible from the invisible world, and the not realizing the supernatural agency which, according to the abundant testimony of Scripture, is ever near us, both deprives us of much comfort, and a powerful motive for watchfulness. Between unreasonable scepticism and superstition, there is here also a scriptural medium. In these days the former is of the two far more likely to prevail, at least among a large class.

In answer to the prayer of Elisha, the invading host of Syria was smitten at Dothan with temporary blindness. In this instance the veil that shrouded the spiritual actors was lifted up for a moment, and what was out of the range of mere mortal vision was given to his servant, at the instance of the prophet, to discern. "The Lord opened the eyes of the young man; and he saw; and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha." (2 Kings vi. 17.)

Psalm xci. contains a remarkable testimony to the care of angels for the people of God; for although this Psalm undoubtedly relates primarily and chiefly to the Son of man, yet in principle it may be applied to those also that are his.

> Because thou Jehovah (art) my refuge;—
> The Most High thou makest thy habitation,
> (There) shall not befall thee evil,
> And plague shall not come nigh thy tabernacle.
> For his angels he will command for thee,
> To keep thee in all thy ways.
> On (their) hands they shall bear thee up,
> Lest thou dash against the stone thy foot.[h]

Here angelic ministry is represented as not only warding off great evils, but even lesser and trivial injuries; so that even the

[h] The divisions of this beautiful Psalm are as follows, i. ver. 1, the opening statement or thesis; ii. ver. 2, the words of Christ responsive to it: iii. ver. 3 to 8 inclusive, the psalmist speaks; iv. first part of ver. 9, Christ speaks; whose words are then, v., taken up as it were by the psalmist, who continues to the end of ver. 13; vi. 14—16, words of God. See Rosenmüller, *Scholia*, and lxx., and Vulg.

foot should not be hurt against a stone. The devil artfully referred to this Scripture when he tempted our Lord on the strength of it, to cast himself down from a pinnacle of the temple. But Jesus refused to tempt God, *(i. e.,* to put him to the proof;) for he did not distrust, like Israel of old, his power and goodness, and therefore sought not such a demonstration of them as Satan suggested. *He* ever dwelt in the secret place, and under the shadow of his God; and the angels whose aid he would not needlessly claim, when the devil was gone, "came and ministered unto him."

The wicked, on the other hand, as we have already seen, are exposed to punishment from angels. In Ps. xxxv., which also belongs to Messiah, (see ver. 19, and John xv. 25,) the psalmist prays that his enemies may be as chaff before the wind, chased by the angel of the Lord; that their way may be dark and slippery; and that the angel of the Lord may pursue them in it, (vers. 5, 6.)

The angel, Dan. iii. 25, 28, already referred to, may easily have been the Lord himself, though the rendering of our common version, in ver. 25, expresses more than is necessarily implied in the original.

In his second dream (Dan. iv.) Nebuchadnezzar related that he saw "a watcher and an holy one," who "came down from heaven," to pronounce judgment on the great tree, the symbol, as the prophet explained, of the king himself, (ver. 13.) From vers. 17, 26, we find that other "watchers" and "holy ones" were associated in this decree, which may have emanated from one of those heavenly councils above noticed. The passage affords fresh evidence of the angels being employed under divine direction to *watch* over the affairs of kingdoms.

An angel shut the lions' mouths when Daniel was put into their den, (vi. 22.)

Gabriel and Michael are the only two angels whose names are known to us. The former, whose name signifies *the mighty one of God,* was sent to Daniel to explain the vision of the ram, and the he-goat, (Dan. viii.) and to communicate the prediction of the seventy hebdomads, (Dan. ix.)

Under the new dispensation he announced the birth of John the Baptist and of the Messiah.[i] His dignity is very great, for he stands in the presence of God, (Luke i. 19.) In the vision, chap. viii., two other "holy ones" converse in the hearing of the prophet, (ver. 13, 14,) and a man's voice (perhaps proceeding from the Lord) calls to Gabriel to make Daniel understand the vision. The second time Gabriel appeared to the prophet it was not in a vision: "While I was speaking in prayer, even the man

[i] See Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature* (Gabriel).

Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the beginning, (*i. e.*, chap. viii.,) being caused to fly swiftly[j] touched (or, came to) me, about the time of the evening oblation," (chap. ix. 21.) God might have inspired Daniel to write the prophecy of the seventy hebdomads without the intervention of an angel; but it was communicated in this manner as a reward for his faith and humiliation, and prayerful search into unfulfilled prophecy; and, no doubt, also to stimulate us to imitate him in these respects, and to seek skill and understanding in the visions of the future.

It is a difficult point to settle, who was the august personage that appeared to Daniel on the banks of Hiddekel, (x.) A comparison with Rev. i. 13—16, has led many to the not improbable supposition that it was Christ himself. Yet the opinion of others that it was the archangel Michael is not either without weight. That Michael however should have been thought by any to be identical with our Lord, is singular. Jude 9 is entirely adverse to this idea, for of none but a *created* and subordinate being (however lofty his station) could it have been written that he *durst not* bring against Satan a railing accusation.

In favour of the view that this stupendous vision was that of a created angel, (in which case it was probably Michael, as being the chief,) we may call to mind the features of grandeur that are found connected with the appearances of angels in other passages; comp. Matt. xxviii. 3, 4, Rev. xviii. 1. This glorious person kept his station on the waters of Hiddekel, during all the time that another (perhaps Gabriel)[k] was shewing the prophet the things which are contained in chaps. xi. and xii. He is mentioned at the conclusion (xii. 5—7) along with two others who appeared at the last standing on either side of the river; one of whom enquired of him respecting the end of the wonders, to whom he makes answer lifting up his hands to heaven, and swearing by him that liveth for ever. Daniel tells us that he alone saw the vision; but its effect on his companions was very remarkable. A supernatural terror and trembling came upon them, similar to that which Eliphaz describes in his case as having immediately preceded the appearance of the spectre to him; and they fled to hide themselves. The impression upon the prophet himself was overpowering. As he expresses it, "his comeliness was turned in him into corruption,"—he "retained no strength"—his "sor-

[j] If we render with Gesenius and others, "wearied in flight," it must probably be taken as a figurative expression, conveying the same sense as our common version, lxx., *τάχει φερόμενος*. Rosenmüller observes that no angels except the cherubim and seraphim are ever described as having wings, or as flying through the air; he renders this place, "*festinare factus cum festinatione*," *i. e.*, "*summa festinatione delatus.*" See however Rev. xiv. 6.

[k] This is also Theodoret's conjecture.

rows were turned upon him"—breath was not left in him"—and when he heard the angel's awful voice he was fallen with his face to the earth in a deep sleep. The hand of another angel of human form then touched him, and set him upon his knees and the palms of his hands; but it was not until touched a second and a third time, that his fear and trembling forsook him, and he gained composure enough to attend to the revelation.

Daniel's prayer, he was told, was heard from the first day that he had began to set his heart to understand, and to chasten himself before his God;[l] but the messenger sent by God was withstood for one and twenty days (the time the prophet was fasting, an encouragement to us to pray always and not to faint) by an evil angel, who is called the prince of the kingdom of Persia,[m] doubtless appointed by Satan to resist the purposes of God in that country; and to hinder on the present occasion the revelation of them to his servant. So powerful was his resistance that it was necessary for "Michael, one of the chief princes," to come to his help; "and (so) I remained there," said the angel, accounting for his delay, "with the kings of Persia." By the kings of Persia may be meant the kingdom of Persia, which may be tantamount to the "prince of the kingdom of Persia" just before mentioned, as Rosenmüller explains.[n] To the secret workings of this satanic agent may be attributed with great probability, the troubles and hindrances which befel the Jews in building the temple, as narrated in the fourth of Ezra, and which caused the suspension of the work all the remaining days of Cyrus, until the reign of Darius. The angel announces to Daniel his intention of presently returning to fight with the "prince of Persia," adding, "and when I am gone forth, lo! the prince of Grecia shall come;" which we may perhaps paraphrase thus: when I shall have finished this expedition, and carried out the remaining counsels of God relative to the kingdom of Persia till the period of its end, a new adverse power will come upon the scene; another evil angel, the "prince of Grecia" shall be in the ascendency, and endeavour to counteract the divine purposes in the kingdom that is to succeed the Persian, and rule in its stead over thy people. Moreover he informs the prophet that "there is none that strengtheneth himself with (*i. e.*, assisteth) me

---

[l] Is this beautiful union of personal humiliation with earnest research sufficiently attended to by students of the Word? Might we not expect more unity of judgment in the important department of unfulfilled prophecy, were it always approached with the chastened feelings of Daniel on the banks of Hiddekel? See also ch. ix. 3.

[m] The reading of the Septuagint, Deut. xxxii. 8, is well known. Though uninspired, it is yet evidence of the ancient and true belief among the Jews of angelic superintendency of the nations of the earth.

[n] Septuagint, Vul. Syr. and Theodot. all express the *singular*,—king or ruler.

in these things, (or it may be *against these,*—the princes of Persia and Grecia scil.) but Michael your prince. And as to me, in the first year of Darius the Mede, I stood to strengthen and for a munition to him." Whether the antecedent to "him" be Michael or Darius is rather doubtful. But the former is probably meant, and the mention of Darius is only to mark the time. The combined powers of these two mighty angels were most likely employed in the fall of the Babylonish empire, and the establishment of the Medo-Persian that succeeded it; even as afterwards it may have been to the co-operation of similar superhuman strength that Alexander was (unconsciously) indebted for his astonishing success, and meteor-like career of conquest.[n]

Michael signifies, *who (is) as God?* An admirable name for the chief of the angels: for vast is the disparity between even him and his Creator; and no one knows this better than the archangel himself. How different from him whose condemnation was *pride,* and who tempted Eve likewise with the expectation of being אֱלֹהִים *as God,* in knowledge of good and evil.

To this angel is especially allotted the care of the Jewish people, v. 21. Fearful and terrible are the scenes described in yet unaccomplished prophecies through which this people have to pass; deep the delusion to which they will be given up, ere the vail that is still upon their heart be removed. Their present prospects indeed are flattering. The occupation of their land, and the rebuilding of their temple are events very likely to occur shortly. In the pride and stoutness of heart that characterised their fathers, many may say, "The bricks are fallen down, but we will build with hewn stones: the sycamores are cut down, but we will change them into cedars." (Isa. ix. 9, 10.) But "his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still." And at the end, a time of trouble awaits them, "such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time." Michael their great prince will then stand up on their behalf, and a remnant of them will obtain deliverance, (xii. 1.)

Fourteen years after the latest of the revelations to Daniel, a series of remarkable visions was communicated to Zechariah. In the first, he saw by night a man[o] riding upon a red horse, behind whom were red horses, speckled (or *bay*) and white. On

[n] Plutarch, comparing Cæsar with Alexander, observes that in the former we see the great man, but still it is man; there is nothing in his actions above the reach of human power. Whereas in those of Alexander, one can distinguish as it were some rays of divinity. His attempts were fitter for a god than a mortal, and yet he executes them; like Achilles, he proves the truth of Homer's definition of valour; he says it is a divine inspiration, and that some god gets possession of the man for the time, and acts within him.

[o] Whom Jerome informs us, the Jews imagined was Michael.

these also were riders, as appears from ver. 11. The scene was a valley or low place grown with myrtles; emblematical, it may be, of the actual depressed condition of Israel, and the hope of better things springing up. These horsemen were angels sent by the Lord to walk to and fro through the earth (ver. 10.) They report to their leader that they had done so, and that all the earth was in profound tranquillity, (with the exception of course of the land of Israel.) The angel then asks the Lord about the period of mercy for Jerusalem, after the past seventy years of indignation; and he receives in answer words of comfort, which he communicates to the prophet. The destinies of Israel are here again shewn to be the object of lively interest to the angels of God.

In the vision wherein the prophet was shewn Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to resist him, it would appear from the words "*the Lord* said unto Satan, the Lord rebuke thee; O Satan," &c., that the "angel of the Lord" was Christ himself; for the explanation of those who think that a created angel is here called Jehovah, because he performs the part of Jehovah, is not quite satisfactory. This transaction is sometimes, but quite wrongly, supposed to be referred to in Jude 9, a passage already noticed. There is only a certain parallelism of circumstances, but not identity. One of the promises to Joshua, if he should prove faithful, is (ver. 7) "I will give thee places to walk[p] among those that stand by;"[q] that is, the angels who were in attendance (ver. 4). Joshua is promised that he should have angels for his companions and protectors.[q] Upon the interpretation of this symbolic scene it is unnecessary here to enter, but it may be noticed how strikingly it calls to our remembrance the divine grace in the salvation of a sinner. Satan's charges are set aside by the sovereign mercy of Him who *chooses*, and who in the exercise of his prerogative plucks the consuming brand out of the fire. The filthy garments of nature are taken away, and the man is robed in beautiful raiment. Moreover the official dignity of a priest is obtained, together with pardon and recovered purity, (comp. Rev. i. 6.) A "fair mitre" is set upon his head. Lastly, the angels who rejoiced over his repentance (Luke xv. 10) become his fellow servants and guardians in his after walk.

---

p Gesenius and Fürst make מִיהַלְּכִים to be part. hiph. of הָלַךְ; in which case it would have the sense assigned to it by the former of *leaders* or *companions*. The sense of the passage however remains the same.

q The Chaldee interprets this promise with reference to the future life, but this is probably wrong.

Zechariah's last vision (chap. vi.) appears to present an epitome of the course of the four great gentile empires. He saw four chariots drawn by different coloured horses issue forth from between two mountains of brass; emblems perhaps of the firm and unchangeable decrees of the Almighty, by which, as by brazen barriers, all agency, whether human or spiritual, is restrained, until the appointed time is come. The chariots are explained to be "the four spirits of the heavens, which go forth from standing before the Lord of all the earth." Four angels, we may infer, who preside over the nations of the world. Probably they are the same who in Rev. vii. 1, were seen by John "holding the four winds of the earth;" restraining, that is, the outbreak of wars, commotions and tribulations, till a certain number out of the twelve tribes of Israel were sealed in their foreheads, that they might be preserved through the approaching judgments. In Daniel's first vision (chap. vii.) "the four winds of the heavens strove upon the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another." Here is denoted the consecutive rise of the four kingdoms, that were each in various degrees connected with the Mediterranean.[r] Its agitated and tempestuous waters are pictured as their birthplace. This is the symbolic expression of the fact that amidst wars and revolutions in the regions of the earth bordering on the great sea, these kingdoms were successively developed. The first burst of the storm over the sea, in Daniel's vision, is the result of the opening of the brazen barrier in that of Zechariah. The rise of the first beast in the former, corresponds with the coming forth of the first chariot in the latter. This first chariot is simply mentioned, and nothing more is said of it, it having already at the time of the vision run its course. The black horses (the spiritual power that controlled the affairs of the Medo-Persian empire) had quieted the Lord's spirit in the north country (ver. 8) *i. e.*, by the execution of the divine judgment on Babylon. The white followed in due time, and the same region was the scene of Grecian conquest. The spotted red[s] went towards the south; and Egypt became part of the Roman empire. But notwithstanding the strength of this power, its never-satisfied ambition, and its insatiable thirst for territory; its boundaries, we may presume, would not have been so widely extended as they were, unless the spiritual power that had this sphere allotted to it, had

---

[r] For details respecting this, may be consulted *Remarks on the prophetic visions in the Book of Daniel*, by Dr. S. P. Tregelles, p. 21—25.

[s] Ges. makes אַבִּיר to mean *active* or *nimble*, with which agree Aquila and Vul. The above is according to Rosen. and Fürst, *i. e.*, red sprinkled with white spots.

received a divine commission so to order; and thus we read, "and the red went forth, and sought to go, that they might walk to and fro through the earth; and he said, get ye hence, walk to and fro through the earth."

As in the vision, Dan. vii., the heavenly kingdom of the Son of Man succeeds the four earthly ones, so after this vision of the four chariots, and appropriately closing the whole series, crowns of silver and gold are placed on the head of Joshua the high priest, who becomes thus a type of the Man whose name is the branch, who will branch up from his place; who will wear at once the priestly mitre and the royal crown; and thus as the great Melchizedec, uniting in himself the two long separated offices, will exhibit their harmonious blending, and introduce the blessing which will attend the exercise of their functions by *one heavenly and perfect will:* "the counsel of peace shall be between them both."

As the cherubim have been supposed by some to be angels; the following extract from a beautiful work now publishing in parts, by Messrs. Bagster and Sons: *The Tabernacle of Israel, its holy Furniture and Vessels,* with coloured illuminations, &c., will not be out of place here:—

"The cherubim seem, throughout Scripture, to be symbolic figures, shadowing forth the glorious power of God, whereby He accomplishes his purposes by agencies often unseen, and yet sure, and efficient, and overruling. This power of Jehovah is first described minutely under these symbols in the book of Ezekiel; where the cherubim are represented as four living creatures, having every one four faces; the face of a man, of a lion, of an ox, and of an eagle."

After explaining the meaning of these symbols, the accomplished author thus refers to the cherubim on the Mercy-seat:—

"These, then, are some of the attributes of the cherubim, the executors of God's will; and here we find them beaten out of one piece with the mercy-seat. Some have thought these figures betokened angels, and that their bending posture towards the mercy-seat is explained by that text, 'which things the angels desire to look into,' (1 Pet. i. 12.) And in many pictorial representations of the mercy-seat, we see them represented in a kneeling posture, as if in adoration. Others have thought that the cherubim here symbolize the church. But the construction itself, as well as uses of the mercy-seat, seem to preclude either of these interpretations of the type. The cherubim are distinctly stated to be 'OF the mercy-seat,' and 'OUT OF the mercy-seat,' (Exod. xxv. 19; xxxvii. 8.) And this is still more apparent in the Hebrew, where the preposition used in the eighteenth and nineteenth verses of chap. xxv., and the seventh and eighth verses of chap. xxxvii., and translated '*on* the mercy-seat,' and '*on* the two ends,' &c., should properly be translated 'from;' also,

as to the word translated in Exod. xxv. 18, 'beaten work,' and Exod. xxxvii. 7, 'beaten out of one piece,' the meaning seems to be, that the cherubim were not cast or moulded separately from the mercy-seat, and then attached to it, but were beaten out of the solid mass of gold which formed the mercy-seat; the one being beaten from out of the one end, and the other from the other. Angels cannot, then, be typified here by the cherubim; for, if they were, it would imply that they form part of the seat of God's mercy, and would thus stand very much in the place in which Popery has set them, as the agents for procuring or exhibiting the mercy of God, derogating thereby from the person and work of the Lord Jesus himself, who is the only way of approach to God, and the one through whom alone God can shew his grace and mercy to us; for 'there is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved." (Acts iv. 12.) The same argument would equally apply, if the church were symbolized by the cherubim on the mercy-seat. The church would thus become, what indeed false systems have made it, the platform from whence God dispenses his grace, instead of the body which has received his grace. The mercy-seat and cherubim being all of one piece, represents, it is believed, Christ as the one who holds all the glorious power of God, associated with mercy, and in and through whom God is able to display his power and righteousness, ever inseparably linked on with mercy and grace."

After some remarks on the contrast of the position of the cherubim at the east of the garden of Eden, with their place and attitude on the mercy-seat, he observes,—

"'All power in heaven and earth' hath been given to Christ, but he now employs it but for one object, to preserve the place of mercy and of grace for his saints; and the place where we now know the full propitiation for our sins, is the place where we behold the majesty, power, and glory of God, all now in our favour, because forming part of the mercy-seat itself. All the intelligence and sympathy expressed in the face of the man; all the majesty, terribleness and power of the lion; all the patient enduring strength of the ox; all the rapidity and clear sightedness of the eagle, now stand engaged on the side of mercy. Redemption in Christ has converted the very attributes of God, which were once the most fearful and opposed to us as sinners, to be the very shelter for us, and the power, and assurance, and strength of our blessing."

From Rev. iv. it would appear that certain features and characteristics of cherubic power will be possessed (in measure) by the redeemed in glory.

Concerning the seraphim, Dr. Eadie *(Bibl. Cyclop.)* favours the opinion "that they were, or were symbols of, the most exalted order of the angelic host."

In Eccl. v., 6, "the angel" is the priest, so called as the *messenger* (comp. Mal. ii. 7) of the Lord.

"Angels' food" (Ps. lxxviii. 25) is better given in the mar-

ginal reading, "bread of the mighty," that is, princely or choice food. Comp. Judges v. 26, "a dish or bowl of princes (com. vers., "a lordly dish"). אַדִּירִים is never used for angels.

The opening of the New Testament dispensation must have excited the deepest interest in the heavenly host.

Gabriel was then sent to disclose much more to Zachariah and to Mary than he had been commissioned above five hundred years before to reveal to Daniel. His first appearance by the side of the altar of incense, was in keeping with those marvellous counsels of grace, for the accomplishment of which the time was now come, and which the unbelief of the aged priest could not retard, though it caused that he was the last instead of the first to praise God for his mercy.

To Joseph the angel of the Lord appeared each of the three times not openly but in a dream; "because the man was very faithful, and did not need this sight," says Chrysostom; but it is impossible always to give a special reason for such things. When the Saviour was born, the interesting announcement was made to the shepherds near Bethlehem, who suddenly found themselves by night in the presence of the angel of the Lord, and surrounded by the light of the divine glory. A multitude of the heavenly host suddenly appeared with the angel at the conclusion of his message; and then probably the same voices that had four thousand years before celebrated the creation of the world, joined in praising him whose blessed and eternal Son, by whom that world was made, was then lying in the helplessness of infancy—a little babe in a manger at Bethlehem! Another universal chorus of praise will there be in heaven as soon as the period arrives for the fall of Babylon, and the marriage of the Lamb (Rev. xix.) Meanwhile the accession of each individual sinner to the number of the saved awakens joy in the presence of the angels of God (Luke xv. 7, 10), for their sympathies are with that, which however overlooked or despised by the world, not less advances God's glory than it brings felicity to man.

Probably antecedently to his incarnation, the Son of God had not, strictly speaking, been "seen of angels." (1 Tim. iii. 16.) Though doubtless the object of their adoration as one of the Holy Trinity, they did not ordinarily behold him with their eyes until the manifestation of the 'mystery of godliness.' His occasional appearance of old in human form, scarcely qualifies the broad and general statement. The redemption work of our Lord must have vastly added to the knowledge before possessed by the angels, both of the Godhead generally, and of the Person of the Son in particular.

The two recorded instances of angels ministering to Jesus

are, I. After the temptation (Matt. iv. 11); and II. In his agony in Gethsemane (Luke xxii. 43).

The only other mention of angelic ministration in the Gospel, before we come to the resurrection, is in the instance of the pool of Bethesda (John v. 4). If we admit with Dr. Davidson[t] and others the genuineness of this passage on external grounds, it is very clear as the learned Doctor observes, that its "internal evidence is certainly not against its authenticity." Only it must be observed that the periodical descent of the angel is not mentioned as a mere Jewish belief, but a positive fact independent of any subjective views on such miraculous agency. As to when the angel first commenced, and when he ceased to trouble the waters and impart to them healing virtue, we are left in ignorance; but the following observations by another[u] are deserving of attention. "In the Introduction to the first *part* of this gospel, I have shewn that there was, through all the stages of the history of Israel, the occasional putting forth of a special energy of the Spirit, by which, and not by the resources of their own system, the Lord was sustaining Israel, and teaching them to know where their final hope lay. From the call of Abraham to the throne of David, we saw this. Now I judge that *Bethesda* was a witness of the same thing. Bethesda was not that which the system itself provided. It was opened in Jerusalem, as a fountain of healing, by the sovereign grace of Jehovah (as indeed its name imports). Neither was it an abiding, but only an occasional relief, as the judges and prophets had been. Like them, it was a testimony to the grace and power that were in God himself for Israel; and had, perhaps, yielded this its testimony at certain seasons all through the dark age which had passed since the days of the last of their prophets. But it must now be set aside. Its waters are to be no more troubled. He to whom all these witnesses of grace pointed, had now appeared. As the true fountain of health, the Son of God had now come to the daughter of Zion, and was shewing himself in Jerusalem."

There are two passages in the Gospels relative to the subject of this paper, of peculiar interest,—Matt. xviii. 10, and Luke xvi. 22. Of the former, "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven," Dr. Kitto[v] well remarks, "That angels minister to the people of God there can be no doubt, but that every one, or every one

---

[t] *Lectures on Biblical Criticism*, pp. 192—194.
[u] *Notes on the Gospel of John.* Campbell. Holborn.
[v] *Pictorial Bible.*

of the righteous, has his guardian angel, is another question, concerning which it is difficult to arrive at a conclusion from the passage before us." He adds: "It occurs to us that an argument in favour of it may be derived from the fact that our Lord's auditors must, with the opinions they held, have understood him in this sense." However it must be remembered, that the first and most natural impression received by his hearers was not always the true one. At times there was even a designed ambiguity and a covert sense in his words; see *e. g.* Matt. xvi. 5—7; John ii. 19—22. And indeed it seems more probable that (as in the cases of Jacob and Elisha) many angels rather than one, and that one always the same, are often employed in ministering to each of the Lord's "little ones," that is, true believers (ver. 6). These angels are also of the more exalted orders, and of great power, as is signified in the above passage.

And what is more likely than that their kindly offices should be experienced by us at the solemn period of dissolution? We may very safely rest our proof of this on Luke xvi. 22: "And it came to pass that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom:" and here it may be remarked, with reference to what was said above, we read of 'angels' not an angel. The thought of these invisible spirits surrounding the believer in his dying moments, in readiness to convey his spirit to the appointed place of rest and happiness, cannot but, in its place, contribute to the comfort and joy, both of the departing and of his pious relations or friends who may be watching around him. Before the last mournful offices are performed,—even before the closing of the eyes, the spirit that has fled has begun to experience in a new, and to us mysterious sphere, the ministry of angels; welcome and grateful it may easily be conceived on the first entrance into an invisible and untried world.

Concerning Acts xii. 15, Dr. Kitto observes, "As explained by the notions of the Jews, this would not mean Peter's ghost, or intimate that they supposed him dead; nor, necessarily, that it was his guardian angel (for they supposed every person had one); but that it was an angel in his shape. They believed that commissioned angels did sometimes assume the appearance of particular men, especially when they had something to impart which might most suitably come from the persons whose aspects they assumed." It need scarcely be remarked in addition, that this passage teaches nothing certain; the supposed appearance of Peter's angel being founded on a human notion, which even supposing it were correct, has no support from revelation.

After our Lord's resurrection, an angel descended from heaven, and rolled back the great stone that had closed the entrance of

the sepulchre (Matt. xxviii. 2), in order to admit those who were to be the witnesses of the stupendous event that had taken place. He was of glorious appearance (ver. 3), and at the sight of him the keepers became as dead. Seated, as though in derision of the careful precautions of the chief priests and Pharisees, on the stone which they had sealed, he may be said to have delivered the first discourse on the resurrection,—a discourse remarkable, if any other, for compendious brevity and comprehensive fulness (5—7).

Probably it was this angel who subsequently, accompanied by another, was seen inside the tomb (Luke xxiv. 4; John xx. 12). Dr. Davidson remarks:—

"It need occasion no perplexity to observe, that Matthew and Mark mention but *one* angel; Luke and John *two*. The angel mentioned by the first two evangelists was the angel that terrified the Roman guard, rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb, sat on it, and addressed Mary, the mother of James and Salome. The two angels mentioned by Luke and John were seen by Mary Magdalene on her return to the sepulchre; and after that by Joanna and the other women with her. The two angels were seen in the τάφος, or tomb, where the body had lain; the one angel was seen in the μνημεῖον, or sepulchre, at the door of the τάφος. Probably the latter angel had removed from the outside to the interior of the tomb between the visit of Mary and Salome and the second visit of Mary Magdalene."—*Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 569.

The remaining passages in the Gospels relative to angels are prophetic, and describe their employment at the end of the age. In Matt. xiii. 39—42 we learn that, as the reapers in the harvest they will gather out of the kingdom all the wicked and the false professors (represented by the tares), and cast them into a furnace of fire; and again (ver. 49), that they will "sever the wicked from among the just." An awful sight, truly, for the latter to witness! but as the resurrection of the dead and the transformation of the living saints will have probably taken place before this, it will be one which they will be able to behold unmoved by those natural and merely human sympathies, that if still possessed might render it intolerable.

In Matt. xvi. 27 our Lord prophesies of his coming in glory with his angels, and shortly after he presented on the mount of transfiguration, a miniature and typical representation of his kingdom (ver. 28, chap. xvii.)

One office assigned to the angels is the gathering together of the elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other (Matt. xxiv. 31; Mark xiii. 27). This appears to mean that after the resurrection angels will gather them together to some one place on the earth, just before their being caught up

in the clouds.[w] Of this solemn day the angels themselves know as little as men (ver. 36).

To this epoch the parable of the sheep and the goats (xxv. 31, etc.) relates. From the circumstance of the "holy angels" being alone mentioned as being with the Lord at this time, and not any of his saints, it may be inferred that the "throne of his glory" is *in the air;* for when he comes to the earth it will be in company with all his redeemed, who will have been previously caught up to meet him, and who will be associated with him in the execution of the judgment (1 Thess. iv. 16, 17; Zech. xiv. 5; Jude 14, 15; Rev. xix. 7—9, 11, 14; xiv. 15, 18). In the progress of the Lord's descent to the earth, therefore, when the last trumpet has sounded, will the separation of the tares from the wheat, and the sheep from the goats, be made by the instrumentality of angels. All the Gentiles (*πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*—in contradistinction to Israel, the heathen, apostates, and all who stand in no professed relation to Christ as king and shepherd, whose judgment will be different both as to time and circumstances), that is to say, all *individuals* among them who *profess Christianity,* and who, whether really or only ostensibly, belong to the fold of the great Shepherd-King, the antitype of Moses and David (Ex. iii. 1; Deut. xxxiii. 5; Ps. lxxviii. 70—72) will be separated into two classes, and receive their respective awards.

In various signal instances recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, we find the interposition of angels to deliver the apostles, and to advance the progress of the truth. In ver. 19, etc., we read how the apostles were rescued from prison by the angel of the Lord, who opened and afterwards closed again the doors, unperceived by the keepers who were standing before them; viii. 26, how an angel instructed Philip to go on the way toward Gaza which was desert, but without telling him beforehand of the interesting enquirer, for whose alone sake the evangelist was withdrawn from the populous and encouraging field of his labours.

Chap. x. 3 tells how an angel in "bright clothing" (ver. 30) appeared in a vision to Cornelius as he was fasting and praying, and told him that his prayers and his alms were come up for a memorial before God, and that he should send men to Joppa for Simon, surnamed Peter, who should tell him words whereby he and all his house should be saved (xi. 14); xii. 7, how the angel of the Lord came upon Peter as he was sleeping in prison between two soldiers, bound with two chains, while the keepers before the

---

[w] So Chrysostom explains, comparing 1 Thess. iv. 16, *Ὥστε ἀναστάντας μὲν συλλέξουσιν ἄγγελοι, συλλεγέντας δὲ ἁρπάσουσιν αἱ νεφέλαι.* Hom. lxxvi. in Matt. So also Theophylact, following as usual his master.

door kept watch; whereupon a light shined in the prison, and Peter having been awakened by the angel, his chains fell from off his hands, and having girded himself and bound on his sandals, and cast his garment about him, as bidden by the angel, he followed the latter through the first and second wards to the iron gate that led to the city, which opened to them of its own accord, and having passed through one street the angel departed from Peter, who was not yet come to himself, but thought it was a vision he saw.

The same chapter tells us of the awful judgment executed on Herod, the measure of whose iniquity—though he had slain James the brother of John, and but for the above wonderful interposition would have doubtless killed Peter also—was not filled up till on a certain occasion he permitted the impious flattery of the people who paid him divine honours, to pass unrebuked; for which sin immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, and he died a lingering death of terrible torture, being eaten of worms.

Acts xxiii. 8 alludes to the disbelief of the Sadducees, not only in the resurrection, but in angels and spirits; "but the Pharisees," says the inspired narrator, "confess both;" that is, as Dr. Bloomfield observes, "the *Resurrection*, and the existence of *Immaterial Beings*; πνεῦμα and ἄγγελος being considered as falling under the same head.[x] Lastly, when Paul was in danger of shipwreck, the angel of God stood by him in the night, and bade him not to fear, telling him he was to be brought before Cæsar, and moreover, that for his sake all that sailed with him would be preserved; all which was fulfilled (Acts xxvii. 23, 24).

Some texts now have to be considered in the epistles.

"We are made," says Paul, speaking of himself and his fellow apostles, "a spectacle unto the world, both to angels and to men." (1 Cor. iv. 9.) That is, "we are become a gazing stock to the whole universe."

Some of the church in Corinth were in the habit of going to law with each other before unbelievers. In reproving this practice, the apostle reminds them that the saints were destined to

[x] Dr. Bloomfield's Greek text is certainly the least commendable part of his generally valuable edition of the Testament. See remarks on this subject in Dr. Tregelles's introduction to his *Book of Revelation, translated from the ancient Greek Text*, Bagster, p. 19—22. It is very unsatisfactory to the scholar who reveres (as well as he may) the weighty authority of the most ancient MSS. constantly to find them so summarily and slightingly put aside by the learned editor. Such an one will probably not acquiesce in his note to ver. 9 of this chapter, where the external authority for cancelling the words μὴ θεομαχῶμεν is pronounced "very slender." Neither does it seem necessary to suppose an *aposiopesis*. "But if a spirit hath spoken to him, or an angel,"—at the mention of which the clamour seems to have been redoubled on the part of the Sadducees, and to have drowned the remainder of the sentence.

judge the world; much more, therefore, were they worthy to judge the smallest matters. Moreover that they would judge angels; how much more things that pertain to this life? (1 Cor. vi. 1—3.) *Fallen* angels are most probably meant (see 2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude 6) in the future judgment of whom the saints (it seems to be signified) will be assessors with Christ[y] (comp. Rev. xx. 4). If this be so, it will not be the least wonderful of the circumstances of "the great day," that angels, once bright and holy, but now degraded and polluted, will see human beings, themselves once vile and perishing, enthroned as their judges; that they who owe everything to sovereign grace, shall be admitted to a share in such an arbitration; that they shall concur in the sentence which will be pronounced on those higher beings, for whom no Saviour died, and to whom no mercy was offered!

"For this cause ought the woman to have power on her head because of the angels." (1 Cor. xi. 10.) She must have, that is, on her head, a veil or covering, an emblem of power which as a married woman she received from her husband, and in dependence upon whom she uses it in her domestic sphere; or as Dr. Bloomfield says, "in acknowledgment of the superiority of the husband whose delegated authority she holds,"[z] "because of the angels," who being present in the meetings of Christians, and spectators of their worship, would be offended by anything unseemly. "Who," as the learned Doctor just quoted truly observes, "by their peculiar characteristics of *purity, humility* (see Is. vi. 2), and *preservation* of that *subordination,* in which we have reason to suppose the various orders are placed, would feel peculiarly grieved (from the interest which they take in the concerns of *men* considered as the *lower family* of God, see iv. 9) at any such violation of the customary forms of propriety and decorum as might bring scandal on the Christian name." (See also 1 Tim. v. 21.) This incidental allusion to the presence of angels in divine worship is of great interest. It is singular that some should have found these words difficult. Is it not truly *nodum in scirpo quærere?*

Alluding to the subtlety of Satan, and the specious guise under which he is often accustomed to work, the apostle uses the expression "angel of light," (2 Cor. xi. 14,) indicative of the purity and holiness of those spirits, whose form the evil one can assume when it answers his purpose. This is a passage well deserving of serious consideration in these times.

Various orders of the celestial powers are alluded to in the words, "principality, power, might, dominion,"—abstract for

---

[y] See Bloomfield *ad loc.*

[z] See also Dr. Kitto, *Pictorial Bible,* on this perplexing passage.

concrete. (Eph. i. 21.) "Principalities and powers" are again mentioned (iii. 10); see also Col. ii. 10; and the words are also used with reference to evil angels. (Eph. vi. 2; Col. ii. 15.)

In Col. i. 16, the different orders are spoken of as "thrones, dominions, principalities, powers;" in 1 Pet. iii. 22, as "angels, powers, authorities (*δυνάμεις*)," the singular of which is rendered "might" in the authorized version, Eph. i. 21. Perhaps no great stress is intended to be laid on the exact order of these designations; nevertheless, if we arrange the lists in the following way, a tolerably uniform scale can be made out.

Eph. i. 21.	iii. 10.	Col. ii. 10.	i. 16.	1 Pet. iii. 22.
			Thrones Dominions Principalities	Angels
Principality Power Might Dominion	Principalities Powers	Principality Power	Powers	Powers Authorities

"Thrones" seems to denote the highest order, though it may be not so much elevated above "principalities" as to prevent the latter being a sufficiently accurate designation of the higher orders in general (included in the "angels" in 1 Pet. iii. 22), in contradistinction to "powers," perhaps the general term for the lower orders. Below these come the "authorities," and last of all the "dominions." In Col. i. 16, the two extreme orders are first mentioned, and then the common and general designations; the apostle seeming to contrast in this verse the things enumerated *in pairs;* "heaven and earth," "visible and invisible," "thrones or dominions," "principalities or powers."

At the head of all the heavenly principalities is Michael, "one of the chief princes" (Dan. x. 13); "the great prince" (xii. 1); "the archangel" (Jude 9; 1 Thess. iv. 16). There appears to be no scriptural authority for the idea of there being *seven* archangels. We only find mention of *one.* Rev. viii. 2 speaks of "the seven angels who stand in the presence of God;" but we know not that Michael is one of them: nor supposing he is, would it follow that the rest are archangels also. One of the number might be superior to the rest, or at least *primus inter pares,* like Peter, for example, among the other apostles.

We may call to mind here, with adoring gratitude, the marvellous result of God's electing and redeeming love in the future elevation of the church of Christ above all the heavenly host. As one in the Father and the Son (John xvii. 21—23); as the

bride the Lamb's wife (Rev. xix. 7; Eph. v. 30, 32); as the living creatures and throned elders round about the throne of the Lord God Almighty (Rev. iv.); as kings and priests of God and of Christ (xx. 4; i. 6); as members of the mystic body of Christ, and risen with him (Eph. i. 23; ii. 6; iv. 15, 16; Col. i. 18; ii. 19; iii. 1; 1 Cor. xii. 12, &c.); as heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ (Rom. viii. 17); what can rival the privilege, dignity, and blessing of our standing? And we may be certain that the principalities and powers who learn *by the church* "the manifold wisdom of God" (Eph. iii. 10), feel no jealousy in seeing redeemed sinners preferred before themselves, and promoted, according to God's eternal purpose, to distinctions to which *they* are necessarily strangers.

To recur to the archangel. His voice will be heard when the Lord descends from heaven (1 Thess. iv. 16), accompanied by "his mighty angels" (2 Thess. i. 7). In the former passage three things seem mentioned; the shout from the Lord (comp. Rev. x. 3)—the voice of the archangel—and the trump of God. Some however understand the two latter as exegetical, or explanatory of the first.

In Heb. i. and ii. the apostle shews the infinite superiority of the Son in comparison with angels. One of his proofs from the Old Testament is in i. 6: "And again, when he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him:" which is quoted from Psalm xcvii. 7, according to the Septuagint.[z] When the first-begotten (comp. Ps. lxxxix. 27; Rom. viii. 29; Col. i. 15; Prov. viii. 22—31) is introduced into the world with all the circumstances of glory and greatness, the angels are called upon to adore him; a plain argument for their inferiority. The above Psalm begins: "The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of isles be glad." This is "the world to come" to which the apostle refers ii. 5, and which he says God hath not put in subjection unto the *angels,* (who had so much to do with the past dispensation, ii. 2,) but, as he proceeds to shew from Psalm viii., unto the Son of man, the Messiah,—Jesus in his glorified humanity. It is the theme of wonder and admiration to the Psalmist, who is standing as it were in the midst of millennial felicity, that man, or human nature in the in the person of Christ, should be thus exalted.[a] After shewing

---

[z] See Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics,* p. 426.

[a] So Theophyl. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα καὶ εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀνθρωπότητα εἴρηται, κυριώτερον δὲ ὅμως ἁρμόσειεν ἂν τῷ Χριστῷ κατὰ σάρκα. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐδὲν οὖσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ἐπεσκέψατο, καὶ προσλαβόμενος αὐτὴν, καὶ ἑνώσας ἑαυτῷ, πάντων ἀνώτερος ἐδείχθη.

that *all* that is here mentioned is not yet fulfilled, the apostle says, "But we behold crowned with glory and honour, on account of his having suffered death, Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, in order that he, by the grace of God, should taste death for every one."[b] We infer from this that human nature (putting sin of course out of the question) is but a little inferior to angelic. Man, we remember, was originally made in the image of God.

Copious mention of the ministry of angels occurs in the Apocalypse. The subject of this deeply interesting and important book being "God on the throne of his government in his relation to the nations," rather than truth specially pertaining to the church *as such*, the medium of communication is an angel (ver. 1.) We have not yet fellowship with God in his relation to the destinies and control of the nations: hence the peculiar and *distant* mode in which these visions were communicated to John; in keeping with which also was the trumpet-sound (ver. 10), that first called his attention to them.

It is rather singular that the "angels of the churches" (i. 20, etc.) should by any have been taken in a literal sense, as guardian angels. It is incredible either that such should be found failing in their office, or that John should be instructed to communicate with them by letters.[c] Angels are described as joining with the glorified saints in singing the praises of the "Lamb that was slain." "And I heard the voice of many angels around the throne, and the living creatures and the elders: and the number of them was myriads of myriads, and thousands of thousands; saying, Worthy is the Lamb that hath been slain, etc." (v. 11, 12.) From this chapter and the preceding, they seem not to stand so near the throne as the representatives of the redeemed: see also vii. 11. This passage moreover gives us an idea of their vast numbers.

We read much in the prophets and the Psalms of a remnant of the Jews, who, after having been brought through the tribulation of the last days, will be finally established in their land under the blessings of the new covenant. (See *e.g.* Isa. vi. 13;

---

[b] Craik's *Amended Translation*. So likewise Diodati arranges the clauses.

[c] To understand by the "angel" those in whom (whether one or few or many) was vested the oversight of the church, and who were more particularly responsible to the Lord for its condition, satisfies every requirement in the epistles. Thus supposing that (as was the case about thirty years before, Acts xx. 17) there was a plurality of elders in the church at Ephesus when John wrote to it, they would all be comprehended in the compendious expression "angel;" the *individualization*, so to speak, of the amount of gift for rule and oversight possessed by each body; which in an age when spiritual endowment was probably still abundant, it is scarcely *likely* rested in any instance in only *one* person. Applied to those who specially communicate *to* their brethren the word of God (Heb. xiii. 7), and on the other hand "give account" to God *of* them (Heb. xiii. 17), the word "angel" is very appropriate.

x. 20—22; xxv.—xxvii., lxiv., lxv. 8—10; Jer. xxxi.; Hos. ii.; Joel ii. 32; Mic. iv. 7; Zeph. iii. 12, 13; Zech. xii., xiii.; Mal. iii. 3—5; iv. 2, 3; etc., etc.) This remnant appears to be the same as the 144,000 mentioned Rev. vii. An angel having the seal of the living God, seals these "servants of God" in their foreheads, that they may be preserved through the fires of the closing period of the age (comp. ix. 4). Thus while some angels receive a commission to hurt the earth and the sea (vii. 2), this one provides that those whom God has determined to preserve shall be unharmed in the midst of the judgments, which to them may be purifying indeed, but will not be consuming.

Just previously to the sounding of the seven trumpets (viii. 2), John beheld an angel engaged in a priestly ministration at the golden altar in heaven. "And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a censer of gold; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should put (it) to the prayers of all saints upon the altar of gold which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense went up with the prayers of the saints out of the angel's hand before God. And the angel took the censer, and filled it with the fire of the altar, and cast (it) into the earth: and there were thunderings, and lightnings, and voices, and an earthquake." (ver. 3—5.) The time is at hand for the execution of the terrible judgments of God on the world; silent preparations for them are made in heaven (ver. 1, 2); and it seems that the prayers of the saints on earth are the immediate cause of the inflictions that follow each successive blast of the trumpets. The incense of course indicates the value of Christ's mediation, the sanction of his name added to their prayers. The censer filled with fire which was then cast to the earth, is symbolic of the holiness of God brought into direct collision with the earth and its inhabitants; the terrible results of which appear in the following parts of the book; and the thunders, lightnings, voices, and earthquakes, are premonitory of what is at hand. The circumstance of an *angel's* ministering at the altar is in itself evidence that no part of the "royal priesthood" (1 Pet. ii. 9) has at this time entered upon its priestly functions above (Rev. xx. 6). On the other hand, in ch. v. 8, where (anticipatively) the whole church was seen in heaven, the elders are described as having "golden bowls full of incense, which are the prayers of the saints;" *i. e.* of Israel on the earth in the millennium, who are referred to ver. 10, "and thou hast made them unto our God a kingdom and priests, and they reign on the earth."[d] In that age, Christ and his church

[d] Tregelles's *Revelation from Ancient Authorities*, from which also the succeeding quotations from the Apocalypse in this paper are taken.

will be to Israel and the converted nations of the earth, what Aaron and his sons were to the congregation of old. The heavenly priestly family will then have been fully constituted above, and will minister together with their Great Head for blessing to mankind.

In that age, the golden censer will no more empty its fire upon the earth, nor will the ministrations at the golden altar be the occasion of bringing down upon it wrath instead of mercies.

The proper reading of ch. viii. 13, is, "And I saw, and heard an *eagle* flying in the mid-heaven," etc. With this has been compared Hos. viii. 1. (The common text has "heard an *angel* flying.")

It does not come within the scope of this paper to notice the operations of *evil* angels: an important subject truly, and ordinarily too little dwelt upon, but one that requires separate consideration. Passing over therefore ch. ix., and only remarking of the "mighty angel" in ch. x. that he is unquestionably the Lord himself, beheld in the vision as come to claim for his own the dominion of the earth and the sea, that is, the sovereignty of the world (comp. xi. 15), we come to xii. 7, where we read, "And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels—to war with the dragon; and the dragon warred and his angels; and he prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, the old serpent, that is called the Devil and Satan, who deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the world, and his angels were cast out with him."

Satan and his angels have access at present to heaven itself. Into the very presence of God our great adversary is still permitted to carry his accusations against us. What he did of old against Job he does yet against every one of the Lord's servants, whose contest is indeed not against flesh and blood, but against *wicked spirits in heavenly places.* (Eph. vi. 12.) The priesthood and intercession of Christ meet the ceaseless charges which the enemy brings against them in heaven, and the "armour of God" is their safeguard against his wiles upon earth. The time however will at length come when he and his will be forcibly and for ever expelled from heaven. Of the nature of the conflict which ends in his being cast out, we are of course ignorant; we see only that he obstinately disputes his ground to the last, and is vanquished by Michael at the head of a host of angels, before whom the apostate powers and their head are driven to the earth, where, until the Lord's advent, they will keep a brief but fearful carnival of delusion, blasphemy, and blood.

Their expulsion is well understood in heaven to be the pledge of the reign of Christ being near at hand: 'And I heard a loud

voice in heaven, saying, Now hath come the salvation, and the power, and the kingdom of our God, and the authority of his Christ; because the accuser of our brethren hath been cast out, who accused them before our God day and night." (ver. 10.) This voice is probably that of the martyrs (vi. 9—11), who may *perhaps* be again referred to xvi. 11, "I heard the altar say," etc. The joy, however, of the inhabitants of heaven, on being thus relieved from hearing these incessant accusations of Satan, is not shared by those on earth; "Therefore rejoice, (ye) heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe to the earth and to the sea! because the devil hath come down unto you, having great wrath, knowing that he hath but a short time." (ver. 12.)[e]

From Rev. xiv. 6, it appears that shortly before the time of the end there will be an extensive testimony to the grace of God, a final offer of the gospel to all nations; accompanied by the warning of judgment being at hand: "And I saw another angel flying in the mid-heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto those that dwell on the earth, and unto every nation, and tribe, and tongue, and people; saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him! because the hour of his judgment is come; and worship him that made the heaven, and the earth, and sea, and fountains of waters." There is no reason to doubt that this gracious message will be proclaimed by *men*,

---

[e] To present in detail the considerations in support of the view that Satan's expulsion from the heavens is an event yet future, and that it will take place three years and a half before the Lord's coming, would involve the introduction of almost the whole subject of apocalyptic interpretation. Those who, like the writer, are satisfied of the fallacy of what is called the "year-day system," and who believe that the 1260 days (xii. 6), the times, times, and half a time (xii. 4), and the forty-two months (xi. 2), all mean literally a period of three years and a half, will of course need no further proof. It may however be remarked that Eph. vi. 12 does not seem to countenance the idea (which would be involved in the contrary theory) that for so long a time as 1260 *years*, conflict with "wicked spirits in heavenly places" would cease to be the church's lot; nor are the expressions "*now* is come," &c. (Rev. xii. 10), and "a *short* time," (ver. 12), easy to be reconciled with so protracted a period. Moreover when Satan is expelled, it is as the dragon with seven heads and *ten horns* (ver. 3), that is, at the time that he sustains the authority and guides the energies of the ten sovereigns who will reign over the ten final divisions of the Roman world (both in its eastern and western parts).

That this tenfold division of the *whole* Roman empire will be just at the close of its history, appears from Dan. ii. The ten toes are at the very extremity of the image, and when developed the stone falls upon *them* (ver. 34). It is in the days of *these kings* that the kingdom of Christ is set up (ver. 44). So also the ten horns of the fourth beast (Dan. vii.), which are explained to be ten kings (ver. 24), exist at the time of the judgment (ver. 26, 27; comp. Rev. xvii. 12—14). It has been truly observed, that the Roman world has never yet, in its eastern and western parts, presented a tenfold division, and that whenever it is made, it will be too palpable to be mistaken; as clear and undoubted, in fact, as any part of the prophecy of the image or of the four beasts, which has already become matter of plain and uncontroverted history.

but the flight of the angel may signify the rapidity with which this closing work of evangelization will be effected, and (but this does not necessarily follow) that the ministry of angels will help it forward. It is rather to digress from our subject, but we may perhaps infer from other Scriptures which describe the state of things just previous to the Lord's return, that not very many will be affected by this preaching. The language indeed of ver. 7 appears to intimate that the most part will have then ceased even to own God as Creator, or else that they are about to sink to that extreme point of infidelity; and this is in accordance with what we learn elsewhere: see Isa. ii.; Zech. xiii. 2; Rev. ix. 20; xiii. 4, 6—8, 15. Though a comparison with ch. xiii. (see especially ver. 7) would lead to the conclusion that the sphere of this testimony is mainly the *prophetic* earth, it may nevertheless extend to outside nations, but still with some limitation, as it appears from Isa. lxvi. 15, 16, 19, that some will be converted after the judgment who have never before heard of the Lord.

Another angel follows in the vision, announcing the fall of Babylon (ver. 8). This indeed is not yet literally a fact, for her judgment is quite at the last (xix. 1—7), but it is true *to faith*, and even while she yet "sits as a queen," the testimony of the servants of God will be to the certainty and nearness of her fall (xviii. 7, 8). It is not however to be necessarily inferred from this verse that any actual angelic ministry is linked with this testimony. It may only be a symbolic way of communicating instruction to John and to the church. The same may be said concerning the following verse.

In verse 14 the Son of Man is described on the point of reaping the harvest of the earth. Though coming on the clouds in glory, it is still in the character of the servant of God, and so an angel from the temple is represented in the vision as conveying to him the divine mandate to thrust in his sickle and reap. The agency employed in this (Matt. xiii. 37—43) has already been noticed.

The "harvest" is a time of mingled mercy and judgment, when the wheat is gathered into the garner, and the tares are burned; but the "vintage" which follows is judgment *alone*. In the ripened clusters of "the vine of the earth" we recognise the symbol of the matured results of the godless energies of apostate men, as they will be found flourishing in all luxuriance in the last days. The gathering of the clusters, and their being cast into the winepress (ver. 18, 19), evidently signifies the collecting together of these wicked persons preparatory to their being destroyed. An angel comes out from the altar, "who

hath authority over fire," probably meaning the fire of the altar, emblem of the divine holiness. In the light, as it were, of that holiness, he contemplates the vine of the earth, and seeing that its grapes are fully ripe, commands the other angel with a sharp sickle (ver. 17) to gather them. It is done; and the awful act of judgment succeeds (ver. 20). We know that unclean spirits will gather the hosts of the enemies of the Lord to Armageddon (xvi. 13—16). And by the angel's reaping may be signified here, that angelic angency will subsequently bring down the vast army to the place without the city (xiv. 20), where, as grapes trodden in the winepress, they will be destroyed by the Lord (see xix. 11—21). From Joel iii. 1, 2, 9—17, the scene of the judgment would seem to be the valley of Jehoshaphat.

By seven angels will be inflicted the seven last plagues that complete the wrath of God. (xv. 1; xvi.) The resemblance of these to the plagues of Egypt has often been noticed. In xvi. 5, "the angel of the waters" glorifies God for the righteous retribution which has turned them into blood. May we not infer from this expression, that certain angels are specially appointed to the oversight of the different elements and departments of the natural world? Such an idea need not be rejected because it is found in the Rabbinical writings.

The seven angels, who issue from the symbolic temple (xv. 6), are clothed in "pure bright linen," indicative of purity and holiness; and they are girded with "girdles of gold," perhaps emblematic of the divine power which strengthens them for their work.

On the eve of the great final battle between the Lord followed by the hosts of heaven, and the beast with his confederate kings, John saw "an angel standing in the sun," as it were the eye of heaven,[f] and summoning all the fowls that fly in the midheaven to the "great supper of God," in order that they might "eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of chief captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of those that sit on them, and the flesh of all (men), both free and bond, both small and great." (xix. 17, 18.) This is an awfully sublime and terrible scene. The Pharaoh, so to speak, of the last days, is preparing to confront the power of the Lord, and like his prototype of old, consciously to measure his strength with the might of heaven, and ere the winepress is trodden and the river of blood (xiv. 20) flows from it, we behold innumerable fowls flocking from all parts to their yet living but certain prey. We may

[f] An ancient comparison. We find ὄμμα αἰθέρος used for the sun (Aristoph. *Nub.* 286), and σεμνὸν Ζηνὸς ὄμμα (Eurip. *Hipp.* 885). So νυκτὸς ὄμμα (*Iph.* T. 110) for the moon.

figure to ourselves the adjacent regions covered with these bidden guests; the air resounding with the rustling of their wings; numbers perched on the ridges of the valley that is presently to be the scene of slaughter. An agency more than human has already gathered the impious multitude to the place where they are to meet their doom: and though the piercing sight of the eagle has descried as yet no carcass in the distance, a supernatural influence has likewise gathered these countless myriads of fowls in anticipation of their banquet of human flesh.

The destruction of the beast and his army is immediately followed by the imprisonment of Satan in the abyss for a thousand years (xx. 1—3). This is the work of an angel who comes down from heaven, and lays hold on the arch fiend, who after the defeat of his plans is still lurking somewhere on the earth, which is now to be delivered from his malignity and delusions, and no more to be exposed to them till the short closing period when wicked men and devils will be allowed to afford the last proof of the incorrigible evil of their natures, and when they will bring upon themselves the fearful doom which is the destiny alike of the deceiver and the deceived.

At the twelve gates of the heavenly city were seen twelve angels (xxi. 12). They appear to be stationed there as keepers of the entrances to this glorious abode of the redeemed.

The angel who shewed John the things described in this precious book, is the last on record that has been seen by man. We know not that any one has since appeared, or will yet appear, in visible form, before the hour arrives for the gathering together of the elect.

Among the pleasures of heaven is to be reckoned acquaintance and fellowship with those bright and holy beings, our fellow-servants. We shall also then fully know how much (under God) we have been indebted to them for their watchful care in the days of our frail and weak humanity. We shall see those mighty but yet gentle, those wise but yet lowly spirits, who during all our life ministered to our safety, comfort, and welfare; who rejoiced at our conversion; who were spectators of our walk, our warfare, and our worship; who finally carried our departing spirits to Him who gave them. Patriarchs and prophets, apostles and servants of God, will meet with the heavenly visitors, whom some of them entertained upon earth, and by whom in every variety of circumstance they were protected, taught, and comforted. From first to last what a crowd of happy reminiscences will enhance the joy of that meeting-day! Abraham's guests at Mamre will stand with him around the throne of God. And when the beloved disciple sings with all the company of the

redeemed the new song, amidst the ten thousand times ten thousand angelic voices that join in chorus will be heard that of the angel who brought to him at Patmos the revelation of coming things.

"To testify these things in the churches," was the important mission of the angel who was thus the honoured medium of communicating the last words that Christ addressed to his people. Great unquestionably was the privilege to have been charged with the exhibition of the splendid panorama of the future that was thus presented to the view of John. But the celestial messenger neither shares in the emotion, nor countenances the weakness, which were manifested even by that great apostle when he had seen and heard these things (xx. 8). In no unguarded moment is he surprised into forgetfulness of the Master's honour or the servant's place. Unconcerned about his own dignity, his sole aim is to give prominence to the revelations he has communicated. A tone of peculiar earnestness and solemnity marks the words with which at the close he addresses John: "These words are faithful and true; and the Lord God of the spirits of the prophets hath sent his angel to shew unto his servants things which must come to pass speedily. And behold, I come quickly: blessed is he that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book." (xxii. 6, 7.) And again does he emphatically commend them to the attention of the people of God, when he calls himself the fellow-servant of John, and of John's brethren the prophets, and of "*those who keep the words of this book.*" (ver. 9.)

Thus have we taken a bird's-eye view of (it is believed) all the principal passages of Scripture relative to the interesting subject it was proposed to consider. In the necessarily brief review of so many, and some of them difficult, passages, no one can expect to carry with him throughout the judgment of every reader. It is hoped however that unbecoming positiveness on doubtful points has been avoided. Such at least was the writer's desire. The modest diffidence with which a heathen philosopher once prefaced what he had to say on a then obscure subject, deserves to be imitated by those who rejoice in light to which he was a stranger: "Ea quæ vis, ut potero, explicabo: nec tamen quasi Pythius Apollo, certa ut sint et fixa quæ dixero; sed ut homunculus unus e multis, probabilia conjectura sequens. Ultra enim quo progrediar, quam ut veri similia videam, non habeo: certa dicent hi, qui et percipi ea posse dicunt, et se sapientes esse profitentur."[g] P. Q.

[g] Cicero (*Tusc.* i. 9.)

SOLOMON'S SONG.[a]

There is a Hebrew poem of singular structure, containing passages of great and unrivalled beauty, which neither distance of time, difference of manners, nor the awkwardness of incompetent and blundering translation, has been able, so far, to obscure, that they will not affect, and that very sensibly, even the dullest readers; while a poetic imagination will dwell upon them with intense delight. Most students of Hebrew literature date the origin of the poem as far back as the year 1000 B.C. —that is, several centuries anterior to Hesiod or Homer; and none pretend to make it later than 500 B.C., a century earlier than Herodotus, the father of profane history. It is the united voice of antiquity, the concurrent testimony of all generations, that the poem was written by Solomon, the wisest of oriental kings, whose reign extended from the year 1014 to 980 B.C.

Of this poem, I now propose to give a popular, but at the same time a strictly philological review; and all I ask as the basis of the examination is, that you admit, what I presume none will be disposed to deny, that it is a Hebrew poem, written in Palestine or some of the neighbouring countries, some time between the years 1000 and 500 B.C.

On reading the poem, we find in it two characters, who speak and act throughout the whole; the one a king named Shelomoh (the Peaceful, or Prince of Peace), the other a female, who from a rustic shepherdess becomes his queen. This female bears the name Shulamith, which is simply the feminine of the name Shelomoh, the two having to each other the same relation as the Latin names *Julius* and *Julia*. Compare i. 6, iii. 11, vi. 13, viii. 12.

There is also throughout the whole, as in the Greek dramas, a chorus of virgins, called daughters of Jerusalem. Compare ii. 7, iii. 5, v. 8, 9, etc.

Towards the close, two brothers of Shulamith appear and speak each once. See viii. 8, 9, compared with i. 6.

There are other characters occasionally introduced or alluded to, as shepherds, watchmen, gardeners, etc., but they are mutes and do not speak.

Like all other ancient poems, there are no breaks, no initial letters, no marks whatever, to indicate change of scene or

---

[a] This Article, from the pen of the Rev. C. E. Stowe, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature, Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, U.S., is reprinted from the *American Biblical Repository*, for April, 1847.

speakers. In detecting these changes, we must be guided altogether by the sense. There is one facility, however, in the structure of the poem, and in the peculiar character of the Hebrew language, which renders the changes as plain to the attentive reader as they could have been made by the divisions and the initial letters of the modern drama. Throughout the entire poem the speakers are one man and one woman, with only occasional remarks by the chorus of virgins. Now the Hebrew language always distinguishes the gender of the pronouns in the second person as well as the third; and it also distinguishes the gender of the verbs both in the second and third persons singular and plural. By attending to the gender of the second person of the pronouns and the verbs, we can always determine whether it is Shelomoh or Shulamith who is addressed; and the number of the first person, together with the context, will always shew when the chorus of virgins is speaking.

With these observations for our guide, we will enter on the poem itself, and make a few extracts to indicate its general tone and spirit.

I. Shulamith is first introduced, expressing her ardent admiration of Shelomoh (i. 2—4). She then turns to the daughters of Jerusalem, and deprecates their contempt for her rustic character and appearance in the following terms:

> I am black yet comely,
> Ye daughters of Jerusalem,
> As the tents of Kedar,
> As the pavilions of Shelomoh.
> Eye me not because I am dark—
> Because the sun hath looked upon me.
> My mother's sons envied me—
> They set me to keep the vineyards;
> But my vineyard,[b] that which is my own,
> I have not kept it.—(i. 5, 6.)

II. After this there is a dialogue between Shelomoh and Shulamith, in which the character and position of each are described.

> *Shul.*—Tell me,
> Thou whom my soul loveth,
> Where feedest thou thy flock?
> Where restest thou at noon?
> Why should I be as one veiled[c]
> Among the flocks of thy companions?

---

[b] Her beauty. See also viii. 8, 9, 12

[c] Regarded as a prostitute. See Gen. xxxviii. 14, 15.

Shel.—If thou knowest not,
Thou fairest of women,
Follow the footsteps of the flock.
Feed thy twin kids[d]
By the shepherds' tents:
To my Pharaoh's chariot horse,
Do I compare thee, my love;
Lovely are thy cheeks with rings,
Thy neck, with chains.
Golden chains will I provide for thee,
With points of silver.

Shul.—Where the prince is on his divan,
Thither doth my perfume send its fragrance.[e]
A cluster of myrrh is my beloved to me,
A bouquet in my bosom;
A palm cluster for the garden of Engeddi
Is my beloved to me.

Shel.—Behold, thou art fair, my love,
Behold thou art lovely;
Thine eyes are doves.[f]

Shul.—Beautiful art thou, my beloved,
Sacred art thou;
This green turf is our couch,[g]
These cedars the columns of our palace;
These cypresses its rafters;
And I the rose of Sharon,
The anemone of the vale.[h]

Shel.—As the anemone among thorns,[i]
So is my love among the daughters.

Shul.—As the fruit tree among forest trees,[j]
So is my beloved among the sons.—(i. 7—ii. 3.)

III. During this interview, Shulamith, overcome by the strength of her emotions, falls asleep and has an ecstatic dream. Shelomoh, both at the commencement and at the close of the dream, charges the daughters of Jerusalem not to awaken her.

Shel.—I charge you, ye daughters of Jerusalem,

---

[d] All the flock she has.
[e] He attracts her very perfume.
[f] Not *dove's eyes*, but *doves*—the soft, gentle, loving movement of the eyes.
[g] They are in the field, on the green grass, among the tall cedars and spreading cypresses.
[h] She compares herself to the small and lowly flowers.
[i] He turns her modest self-estimation to compliment.
[j] She returns it.

By the gazelles and fawns of the field,
That ye disturb her not,
That ye wake her not,
Till she[k] please.

Shul. *(asleep and dreaming)*—The voice of my beloved,
Lo! he comes,
Leaping over the mountains,
Bounding over the hills[l]
As a gazelle is my beloved,
As a fleeting fawn.
Lo! there he stands
Beyond the wall.
He looks through the lattice work;
He glances at the window;
My beloved speaks,
He speaks to me:
"Arise, my love,
Arise my fair one,
Come!—
For see the winter is past,
The rain is over and gone;
The flowers are seen in the ground,
The time of song is come,
The voice of the turtle dove
Is heard in our land;
The fig tree is sweetening
Her green figs;
The blossoming vine
Sends forth its fragrance;
Arise, my love,
Arise, my fair one,
Come!
My dove is in the clefts of the rock,[m]
In the hiding place of the precipice.
Let me see thy form;
Let me hear thy voice;
For thy voice is sweet,
For thy form is beautiful."
Catch for me the foxes,[n]
The little foxes
Which destroy the vines,
While the vineyard is in blossom.
My beloved is mine, and I am his,

---

[k] The verb here is feminine.
[l] Just as we see things in dreams.
[m] He complains that she is inaccessible to him.
[n] She seeing him in the garden thus addresses him.

He is feeding his flock among the wild flowers;[o]
When the day breathes cool,
And the shadows grow long,
Return, O my beloved;
Bound like the gazelle, like the fleeting fawn,
Over the mountains which separate us.

By night upon my couch,[p]
I seek him whom my soul loveth;
I seek him and find him not.
I will arise, now,
I will go around the city,
In the streets, and in the squares,
And seek him whom my soul loveth,
I seek him and find him not;
The watchmen met me,
Who patrol the city;
Saw ye him whom my soul loveth?
Scarcely had I passed them—
I found him whom my soul loveth:
I took hold of him,
I would not let him go,
Till I brought him
To the house of my mother,
To the chamber of her that bare me.

Shel.—I charge you, ye daughters of Jerusalem,
By the gazelles and the fawns of the field,
That ye disturb her not,
That ye awaken her not
Till she please.[q]—ii. 7—iii. 5.)

IV. The daughters of Jerusalem see a nuptial procession approaching the city from the country, and they describe it in following terms:

Who is this approaching from the country,
Like a pillar of smoke—
The vapor of myrrh and frankincense,
Bringing the most costly perfumes?
Behold the palanquin, the palanquin of Shelomoh!
Sixty heroes surround it,
Of the heroes of Israe ,
All, with sword in hand,

---

o Again she sees him feeding his flocks beyond the mountains. All so perfectly dream-like.

p The dream takes another shape.

q Feminine verb again.

Skilful in war,
Every one girt with a sword,
On account of the dangers of the night.
A royal palanquin
Did King Shelomoh make for himself;
Its poles of silver,
Its columns of gold,
Its hangings of purple,
Its couch worked with love,
By the daughters of Jerusalem.
Go out and see him,
Ye daughters of Zion,
Behold King Shelomoh,
In the crown with which his mother crowned him,
On the day of his nuptials,
In the day of the joy of his heart.—(iii. 6—11.)

V. Dialogue between Shelomoh and Shulamith:

Shel.—A garden enclosed
Is my sister bride;
A spring enclosed,
A fountain sealed:[r]
Thy plants a fruit-paradise,
With most exquisite fruits;
Cyprus and nard,
Crocus and cinnamon,
Every odoriferous tree,
Myrrh and aloes,
The most delicious aromatic spices:
A garden fount—
A spring of living waters,
Rivulets of Lebanon.[s]
Blow, O north wind!
Breathe in my garden,
That its fragrance may flow.

Shul.—Let my beloved enter his garden,
And eat its costly fruits.[t]

Shel.—I am come into my garden,[u]
My sister bride,
I pluck my myrrh and spices;
I eat my honey and honeycomb;

---

[r] Chaste, inaccessible.
[s] All a figurative description of the charms of the bride.
[t] She affects to understand him literally.
[u] He tells her he is already there.

I drink my wine and milk;
Now eat, my friends,[v]
Drink and be satisfied, my loved ones.—(iv. 12—v. 1.)

VI. A night scene; Shulamith addresseth the daughters of Jerusalem, whom she meets in her search for Shelomoh, tells them what had happened to her, and why she was in search of him; and then follows a dialogue between herself and the daughters of Jerusalem.

I was sleeping, but my heart was awake.
The voice of my beloved, he knocked;
"Open to me, my sister, my friend,[w]
My dove, my pure one,
Open to me,
For my head is wet with dew,
My locks with the damps of the night."
"I have taken off my dress, how shall I put it on?[x]
I have washed my feet, how shall I soil them?"
My beloved put in his hand at the hole of the door;[y]
My inmost affections were moved towards him;
I arose to open to my friend;
My hands dropped with myrrh
On the handles of the bar;[z]
I opened to my beloved;
But my beloved had turned away, he was gone;
My heart went out after his voice;
I sought him, but found him not;
I called to him, but he answered me not.
The watchmen who patrol the city, met me;
They beat me; they wounded me;
They took off my veil from me,[a]
The keepers of the walls!
I adjure you, ye daughters of Jerusalem!
If ye meet my beloved,
What shall ye tell him?
That I am fainting with love.

Daughters of Jerus.—What is thy beloved above another beloved,
Thou fairest of women?
What is thy beloved above another beloved,
That thou dost adjure us?

Shulamith.—My beloved is fair and ruddy;
Distinguished among a myriad;
His head is pure gold;

---

[v] What lover would say this in respect to his beloved, in a literal love-song?
[w] He speaks to her. [x] She replies. [y] Narrative resumed.
[z] Perfumed by him.
[a] Oriental manners force upon us the allegorical interpretation of such a poem.

His locks curly, and black as the raven;
His eyes are as doves by fountains of water,
Bathing in milk, flowing in fulness;[b]
His cheeks garden beds of spices,
Aromatic mounds;
His lips roses, distilling flowing myrrh;
His hands golden cylinders, set with topaz;
His body pure ivory, spangled with sapphires;
His legs columns of marble
Fixed in pedestals of gold;
His form as Lebanon,
Elegant as the cedars;
His speech most delightful;—
He is altogether most lovely.
Such is my beloved,
Such is my friend,
O daughters of Jerusalem!

Daughters of Jerus.—Whither hath thy beloved gone,
Thou fairest of women,
Whither hath thy beloved gone?
We would seek him with thee.

Shulamith.—My beloved hath descended to his garden,
To the garden bed of spices,
To feast in the gardens,
To pluck the lilies;
I am my beloved's and my beloved is mine,[c]
He feeds his flock among the lilies.—(v. 2—vi. 3.)

VII. A morning scene in the garden. Shelomoh goes into his garden early in the morning, and there unexpectedly sees Shulamith, and exclaims:

Shel.—Who is this,
That looks forth like the morning dawn,
Fair as the moon,
Pure as the sun,
Terrible as a host in battle array?

Shul.—To my nut garden I came.[d]
To see to the fruits in the vale;
To see whether the vines are budding,
Whether the apples are in bloom.
Ere I was aware,
My soul was as the war chariot[e]
Of my noble people.

---

[b] The soft, full, rich, moving, loving expression of the eyes.
[c] Asserts her peculiar interest in him—all but jealous.
[d] She apologizes for being there.
[e] Excitement occasioned by even the unseen and unknown approach of her beloved.

Shel.—Return,[f] return, O Shulamith!
Return, return,
I would look upon thee.

Shul.—Why wouldst thou look upon Shulamith
As upon a chorus of dancers?[g]—(vi. 10—12.)

VIII. The brothers of Shulamith are introduced, consulting together as to what they shall do with their sister, now that she is addressed by Shelomoh, pretending that she is too young to receive such addresses. She replies to them indignantly; then follows the concluding dialogue between herself and Shelomoh.

First Brother.—Our sister is yet young;
Her bosom is not full.[h]
What shall we do with our sister,
Now that she is addressed?

Second Brother.—If she be a wall, we will build upon it a silver palace;
If she be a gate, we will shut it up with boards of cedar.[i]

Shul.—I am a wall,[j]
My bosoms are towers;
Thus was I in his sight,
As one that found favour.
A vineyard had king Shelomoh in Baal-hamon,
He gave it out to keepers,
Each man got for its fruits a thousand pieces of silver.
My vineyard I keep myself;
The thousand pieces of silver shall be for thee, Shelomoh,
The keepers shall have two hundred.[k]

Shel.—Thou dweller in gardens;
Thine associates await thy voice,
Let me hear it.

Shul.—Fly, O my beloved!
Like the gazelle, like the fleeting fawn,
On the spicy mountains.[l]—(viii. 8—12.)

The above specimens may suffice to give an idea of the general tone and spirit of this interesting relic of antiquity.

---

[f] She has turned to go away.

[g] Would you gaze upon me as men gaze upon dancing girls?

[h] Not yet marriageable.

[i] If she is chaste (like a wall) we will ornament her; if she is open (like a gate) we will shut her up.

[j] She replies indignantly in their own style.

[k] The keepers had cheated him, but she would do him justice. Herself is the vineyard, which she keeps, and keeps it for him.

[l] They escape from the envious brothers; their union is perfected, and the poem closes.

The translations are free, but I believe they are in strict fidelity to the meaning and form of the original. The subject is the more important on account of the misunderstandings which are so general with reference to this book. These misunderstandings have prevailed to such an extent, that many even now are disposed to deny the book a place among the canonical Scriptures. Objections to its place in the canon, however, are wholly arbitrary; they have not a shadow of testimony to give them plausibility. The attempt, I think, has never been made to displace it from the canon on philological grounds; and I presume, never will be made by any one acquainted with the subject. It is true there is no express quotation from it in the New Testament, and it is true also that it is not expressly quoted by Philo; but its existence as a part of the canon is recognized by Josephus, and all the early Christian writers, and it has always made a part of the Septuagint translation, which was completed probably some 200 years before Christ. On this topic the statements and reasonings of Eichhorn in his *Einleitung ins Alt. Test.*, Th. I., 109—179, wholly exhaust the subject, and are perfectly unanswerable.

1. The testimony of Josephus, in his work against Apion, I., 8, compared with Antiq. viii., 2, 5, is entirely explicit with reference to this book.

2. Melito, Bishop of Sardis, in the second century of the Christian era, went to Palestine on purpose to ascertain the Scriptural books of the Jewish canon, and found the Canticles among the number.—Euseb. Eccl. Hist. iv., 26.

3. Origen, of Alexandria, the best biblical scholar of his time (born A.D. 185, died 253), after the most patient and accurate investigation, came to the same result.—Euseb. Eccl. Hist. vi., 25.

4. Jerome, in the fifth century, the most learned critic of the Latin church, in his *Prologus galeatus* to the Vulgate, gives the same testimony.

5. The Jewish Talmud, written between the second and fourth centuries, witnesses the same.

6. So also Theodoret, the learned bishop of Cyprus, A.D. 450, testifies in the same way. Indeed the testimony is uniform; it is all on one side. Compare Eichhorn as above, and Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Vet. Test.*, P. ix., vol. 2, p. 269—272.

If a fact can be established by testimony, it is established by testimony that the Song of Solomon was a part of the Hebrew canon in the time of Christ. Nor is there any internal evidence against it; but as far as that goes, it is all in its favour, for there are other portions of the Old Testament acknowledged

to be canonical, which are exceedingly like it both in sentiment and imagery. Let the reader carefully consult passages like the following: Ps. xlv., Jer. iii., Ezek. xvi. 10, 13: Hos. i. 2, 3; and compare Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, Lect. xxx. and xxxi., and the notes on these lectures in the Andover edition, 1829.

But the book is objected to as being indelicate in its expressions. To this we reply:

1. That much of this indelicacy is the fault of the translators, and not of the original poem. No one quality of the poem will more forcibly strike a reader of the original, who is capable of entering into the spirit of the age in which it was written, than the delicacy, the purity, and the propriety of its language. Our English translators were theologians and not poets; they had not sufficient confidence in their knowledge of Hebrew, or did not feel their position sufficiently secure, to preserve them from a too implicit reliance on preceding translators, who had not only been as unpoetical as themselves, but most of them were monks and recluses, whose minds too often are but a cage for every unclean and hateful bird. Of the fact here stated, every reader will be convinced who will compare our English translation with the Hebrew original, or with any good modern translation, like that of Herder, De Wette, or Rosenmüller.

2. Some of the alleged indelicacy arises from mistaking descriptions of the dress for descriptions of the naked person. Chap. v. 10—16, is often supposed to be a description of the naked person, than which nothing can be more absurd or less in accordance with the language itself. Those parts of the person which custom exposes to view are indeed described; but as to those parts which custom conceals, it is the dress and not the skin which is described; for example: *His head is as the most fine gold, and his hair is curled and as black as the raven.* What is this but the turban, gold-coloured or ornamented with gold, and the raven black ringlets appearing below it? How else could his head be yellow and his hair black? unless, indeed, he were a bald-headed mulatto, and that surely would be a curious subject for amorous eulogy, besides being directly contrary to the context; for his complexion is just before described as white and ruddy, v. 10.

Again, v. 14: *His body is as white ivory girded with sapphires.* How admirably this corresponds with the snow-white robe and the girdle set full of jewels, as we see it in Sir Robert Kerr Porter's portrait of the late King of Persia! But what is there, I pray you, on the naked body that looks like a girdle of

sapphires? Do you suppose the loved one is eulogized for having the disease called the shingles?

Again, chap. vii. 2, is a beautiful description of the front clasp of the female dress, which was usually of gold, and set with rubies and other brilliants. Nothing is more common among the Oriental poets than the comparing rubies with wine and wine with rubies; but how utterly absurd if the naked body is supposed to be described! So also the fawn-coloured robe and the snow-white girdle are represented by the next figure; but what is there on the naked body to correspond to it?

3. Some of the supposed indelicacy arises from a change of manners; see v. 5; vii. 3. There is certainly no indelicacy in describing those parts of the person which are always exposed to view, as the face and hands. All the monuments and pictures of ancient Egypt shew us that the ancient Oriental ladies dressed so as fully to expose the bosom, and of course there could have been no indelicacy in alluding to, or describing it.

In regard to the use of certain words, every generation changes in its views of delicacy and propriety. The English language of the time of Elizabeth and of the present age is a sufficient illustration of this. In a poem nearly three thousand years old we may well expect some deviation from our present views of propriety in respect to the use of words, though there are not more in the Song of Solomon, properly translated, than in Hesiod or Homer, or even in Spenser and Shakspeare. The fact, too, that men and women live separately in the Oriental world, makes a great difference in respect to the use of words.

Some object to the poem as a part of the Scriptural canon, because, as they allege, it is a description of physical love, and as such, unworthy a place among the sacred books.

Allowing it to be a description of physical love, I presume no one acquainted with the original will deny that it is wedded love; a chaste and legitimate affection. Why should a passion so strong, so universal, so essential to the happiness—to the very existence of the human race, be denied a place in a revelation from God to man? As a matter of fact, has it not a place in every part of the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation? God is the author of the human constitution as well as of the Bible; and He has in all respects adapted his revelation to the nature of the beings for whom it was designed. It would be strange indeed, if one of the most important and never absent phenomena in the moral and physical constitution of man should never be noticed in a revelation to him from his Creator. If the viciousness and licentiousness of men have loaded this subject

with vile and filthy associations in vile and filthy minds, this is not the fault of God or of his Revelation. The vine will not be destroyed, nor the grapes annihilated, because wicked men make themselves beasts with wine.

But this is an Oriental book, written in an Oriental land, by an Oriental author, and intended in the first instance for the use of an Oriental people; and it is to be interpreted by their manners and their rules of composition, and not by ours. Now it is the universal custom in the Oriental world, and always has been from time immemorial, to represent spiritual subjects under this peculiar figure. The figure is appropriated to such subjects. In the Bible itself, where the words of this class are used once in the literal sense, they are used ten times in the metaphorical sense; so that in fact, the metaphorical instead of the literal becomes the most obvious sense, not only in the Bible, but in all Oriental literature. In respect to the Bible, any one can satisfy himself of this fact, by taking a Concordance, and tracing the use of the words *love, marriage, adultery, fornication, whoredom,* and the like. The figure is appropriated equally both in the Old Testament and the New. In addition to the chapters already referred to, and which in the places where they occur are plainly declared to be allegorical, examine also the following—Isa. liv. 5; lxii. 5; Jerem. ii. 2; Ezek. xvi. 8; Matt. ix. 15; John iii. 29; 2 Cor. xi. 2; Eph. v. 23, 31; Rev. xix. 7; xxi. 2. Compare also the very elaborate and satisfactory investigation by Rosenmüller in the volume above quoted, p. 265—68.

But we are not shut up to the Bible for the appropriation of this figure. Sir William Jones, in his Commentaries on Asiatic Poetry, p. iii., c. 9. in the Asiatic Researches, vol. iii., p. 353 (5th edition, p. 165), and in the quarto edition of his collected works, vol. i., p. 445, has given numberless examples from all the most celebrated Asiatic poets. There is a remarkable example of an Oriental poem of this kind, with an Oriental commentary, in my notes to Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, p. 439-40, Andover edition. Adam Clarke, in his Commentary on Solomon's Song, has given two very striking instances of the same kind, namely—the Chaldee Targam on Canticles, and the Gita-gorinda, a sacred poem of the Hindoos. Professor Stuart has given other examples, more recently brought to light, in his late work on the Old Testament, p. 391—93.

It is certainly proper to estimate the literary character of a work by the habits of judging on such subjects, which prevailed at the time, and among the people with whom the work originated. Judging by this rule, we should at once decide that the

Song of Solomon is an allegory; and this has been the uniform judgment of the most skilful Oriental scholars, both of those who have admitted its inspiration, as Lowth, and those who have considered it merely a human composition, as Rosenmüller. The discussion of this subject by Rosenmüller, in his Scholia already referred to, is one of the most candid, thorough-going, and perfectly convincing that I have ever read. A mere sense of literary justice, without any regard to the book as an inspired writing, compels this learned but rationalizing critic to decide in favor of the allegorical interpretation as the only possible one.

In this sense the Jewish writers, from the earliest times, have always understood it, and they surely ought to be allowed to know something of their own literature. Without this interpretation, it is hardly possible that, with their views, they would have received it into the sacred canon. Let the reader examine the Chaldee Targum, or paraphrase, already referred to, translated by Adam Clarke, and inserted in his Commentary. This paraphrase was made some centuries before the time of Christ, and probably before the traditionary interpretation from the author himself could have been entirely lost. In the same sense it is understood by Aben Ezra, Jarchi, and other distinguished Jewish writers, as well as by almost every one of the earlier Christian writers. Here Jewish tradition, and Christian tradition, and, we have reason to believe, the tradition from the author himself, are perfectly coincident.

Finding therefore, this oriental poem in an oriental collection of religious books, and attended with so unbroken a tradition in respect to its meaning, all the presumption is wholly in favour of the allegorical interpretation.

Let us now examine the work itself, and see whether its phenomena correspond to this presumption.

1. The names of the two principal characters, namely, Shelomoh, and Shulamith, are in the original quite as significant as John Bunyan's Christian and Christiana, Obstinate and Pliable, Faithful and Hopeful, &c.

2. The sudden changes from the singular to the plural number in the part of the dialogue sustained by Shulamith, indicate that her name is to be taken in a collective sense. *Draw* ME, WE *will run after thee. The king hath brought* ME *into his chambers;* WE *will be glad, etc.*, i. 4, and many other places.

3. Shulamith is put in situations and made to utter expressions, which, if literally understood, are so entirely abhorrent to Oriental manners, that no sane writer, certainly no writer so

skilful as the author of this poem shews himself to be, would ever put into a literal love song; though they are all very beautiful and appropriate when understood allegorically. Such are iii. 1—4; v. 7; viii. 1, 2. Such scenes and expressions are not uncommon in the allegorical poetry of the East, but in their literal amatory songs they can never occur. Literally understood, they would doom their heroines to everlasting infamy, and certainly no poet ever thus treats his favourites.

4. The entire absence of everything like jealousy, in situations where that passion must appear in a literal love song, is proof of the allegorical character of the piece. See i. 4; v. 1; vi. 8, 9.

5. The dreamy and fanciful, and even impossible character of many of the scenes, shews that they cannot be understood literally.

ii. 14—16. Shulamith is in the cleft of the rocks, in the concealments of the precipices, and Shelomoh wishes to see her and hear her speak. He is in the garden at night, and she tells him to catch the jackalls that are destroying the vines. She sees him feeding his flocks in a distant field of anemones. She sees him beyond the mountains which separate them; and calls upon him to leap over them like the gazelle and the fleeting fawn, to rejoin her at evening. All these things occur together at the same time and place.

iv. 8. Shelomoh calls upon Shulamith to go with him to the snowy peaks of Lebanon and Hermon, among the lions' dens and the leopards' lairs, and enjoy the fine prospect over the plains of Damascus.

Numerous impossibilities of this kind will occur to every intelligent reader of the poem.

There are people who take up Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and read it all through as a delightful story, without once suspecting that it is an allegory, who scarcely allow themselves to suspect that it is not all literally true, and who would think rather meanly of so extensively a traveller as Mr. Buckingham, if he had never seen the Hill Difficulty, or the Delectable Mountains,—had never visited the Palace Beautiful, or Vanity Fair. The indications of allegory in that beautiful story of the Pilgrim, considering the lapse of time, and the comparative length of the two pieces, are scarcely more conspicuous than in this exquisite song of Israel's wisest king. How do we know the *Pilgrim's Progress* to be an allegory, any more than *Robinson Crusoe?* Because we have the tradition from the author, the names of the characters, the circumstances, and the aptness of

the application. The same evidence we have in respect to the Canticles; only, as the work is shorter, more ancient, and more remote, the evidence is less obvious at first sight.

We will now examine some of the objections which are usually urged against the allegorical interpretation:

1. The difficulty and variety of the allegorical interpretation. This objection applies with much greater force to the literal than to the allegorical method. Almost all the allegorical interpretations, following the analogy of the Bible and Oriental usage, proceed on one and the same idea; namely, the mutual love between God and his chosen people; while the literal expositions, having neither guide nor limit, neither way-mark nor boundary, are almost infinitely diversified, and scarcely any two alike. The literal interpretations differ essentially, the allegorical only circumstantially. The Jews applied the poem to themselves as being the chosen people of God, and the Christians to themselves as being the chosen people of God. They in fact agree in their interpretation, they differ only as to the question who are the chosen people of God.

2. The supposed uselessness of the allegory. To the Orientals, who are accustomed to writings of this kind, whose taste and habits demand them, the allegory is not useless, but in the highest degree both pleasurable and profitable. Seven-eighths of the human race who have lived on the earth, have been Orientals; more than half of those who are living now, are Orientals; the Bible is an Oriental book, originally given to Orientals and written by them; and considering all these circumstances, are not the Orientals entitled, out of the 800 pages of which the Bible is composed, to have at least three pages adapted to their peculiar taste? Considering all these circumstances, I should think this quite a reasonable allowance to make them out of their own Bible. We Occidentals assume a great deal, when we assume that this Bible, which belongs to the whole human race, and which was prepared by Oriental men, should all be exactly suited to our tastes and our habits of thought. The wonder is, that so large a portion of the Bible is adapted to the tastes and habits of thought of a people so remote in every respect, in time, in place, in mind, in manners, from its original source. Had it not been dictated by Him who knew what was in man universally, had it not developed itself from the very nucleus of human nature, its adaptations could never have been so wonderfully diversified as the fact has proved them to be.

But the objection assumes altogether too much on another

ground. The allegory is not useless even to the Occidentals. There are persons and there are states of mind, even among ourselves, to which it is peculiarly fitted, and to which it affords the richest devotional excitement, and a devotional excitement of the purest character. The devotional poetry of Dr. Watts is a sufficient illustration of this point. But we have a better illustration in our own country, in the metaphysician Jonathan Edwards, who, though the driest and most astute of scholastic theologians, had a heart and imagination of Oriental richness and fervour. Read the following extracts from his account of his own religious experience.

"I remember the thoughts I used then to have of holiness, and said sometimes to myself, 'I do certainly love holiness such as the gospel prescribes.' It appeared to me that there was nothing in it but what was ravishingly lovely; the highest beauty and amiableness—a *divine* beauty; far purer than anything here on earth; and that everything was like mire and defilement in comparison with it.

"Holiness, as I then wrote down some of my contemplations on it, appeared to me to be of a sweet, pleasant, charming, serene, calm nature; which brought an inexpressible purity, brightness, peacefulness, and ravishment to the soul. In other words, that it made the soul like a field or garden of God, with all manner of pleasant flowers, all pleasant, delightful, and undisturbed; enjoying a sweet calm, and the gentle, vivifying beams of the sun. The soul of a true Christian, as I then wrote my meditations, appeared like such a little white flower as we see in the spring of the year; low and humble in the ground, opening its bosom to receive the pleasant beams of the sun's glory; rejoicing, as it were, in a calm rapture; diffusing around a sweet fragrancy; standing peacefully and lovingly in the midst of other flowers round about, all in like manner opening their bosoms to drink in the light of the sun. There was no part of creature holiness of which I had so great a sense of its loveliness as humility, brokenness of heart, and poverty of spirit; and there was nothing that I so earnestly longed for: My heart panted after this: to lie low before God, as in the dust! that I might be nothing, and that God might be ALL; that I might become as a little child.

* * * * * *

"And as I was walking there (in his father's field), and looking up on the sky and clouds, there came into my mind a sweet sense of the glorious *majesty* and *grace* of God, that I know not how to express. I seemed to see them both in sweet

conjunction; majesty and meekness joined together! It was a sweet, and gentle, and holy majesty, and also a majestic meekness; a high, great, and holy gentleness.

"After this, my sense of divine things gradually increased, and became more and more lively, and had more of that inward sweetness. The appearance of everything was altered; there seemed to be, as it were, a calm, beautiful appearance of divine glory in almost everything; in the sun, moon, and stars, in the clouds and blue sky; in the grass, flowers, and trees; in the water, and all nature; which used greatly to fix my mind. I often used to sit and view the moon for a long time; and in the day spend much time in viewing the clouds and the sky, to behold the glory of God in these things; in the meantime singing forth with a low voice my contemplations of Creator and Redeemer."

After reading these extracts, you will not be surprised to find him saying in the same connexion:

"The whole book of Canticles used to be pleasant to me, and I used to be much in reading it about that time, and found from time to time an inward sweetness that would carry me away in my contemplations. This I know not how to express otherwise than by a calm delightful abstraction of the soul from all the concerns of the world; and sometimes a kind of vision or fixed ideas and imaginations of being alone in the mountains or some solitary wilderness, far from all mankind, sweetly conversing with Christ, and rapt, and swallowed up in God. The sense I had of divine things would often of a sudden kindle up an ardour in my soul that I know not how to express.

* * * * * *

"While thus engaged, it always seemed natural for me to sing or chant forth my meditations; or to speak my thoughts in soliloquies with a singing voice."

The soft, rich, glowing, all-absorbing devotional feeling of Jonathan Edwards, would soon cure people of all their scruples in respect to the Song of Songs which is Solomon's.

3. The luscious if not lascivious character of the devotional feeling excited and nourished by the book, is urged as an objection against its sacred character.

Nothing of this kind is seen in the devotional feeling of Edwards; very little, if any, in Watts; not to allude to many others of equal purity. I acknowledge, however, that such a kind of devotional feeling has sometimes existed; but it has arisen from neglecting a principle which the Bible always observes. The love of God or Christ for the individual is not expressed in the Bible by this figure, but only the divine love

for the whole community of the godly. In this very poem, the plural pronoun and the plural verb are often used in respect to Shulamith, as if on purpose to prevent the possibility of this individualizing interpretation, and it is only this kind of interpretation that becomes voluptuous or fanatical.

We will close with a few hints respecting the interpretation of the allegory.

The literal costume is that of a marriage song. The imagery is evidently derived from the marriage of Solomon with the daughter of Pharaoh. Compare 1 Kings iii. 1; vii. 8; ix. 24; with Song i. 9; vi. 12, etc. The general idea is, the mutual love of God and his people; the vicissitudes, the trials, the backslidings, the repentings, and finally the perfect and eternal union of the Church with its Lord and Saviour.

If so disposed, we may make of it a very pretty allegory of the development of the Christian church out of the Jewish. In this case Shelomoh, the Prince of Peace, would be Christ. Shulamith, the rustic shepherdess, who suffers so much, the Christian community, both Jewish and Gentile, in its incipiency; the daughters of Jerusalem, the inquiring and Christianly disposed portions of the Jewish community, such as Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, etc., and the envious brothers of Shulamith, the scornful and persecuting Sadducees and Pharisees.

To illustrate the extent to which the Orientals carry their allegorical application of language, we will subjoin a few extracts from the poet Hafiz. (See Sir William Jones's Works, vol. ii., p. 469.)

"He is drunk, but only with the love of the eternal covenant,
He who in the manner of Hafiz drinks pure wine."

"Do not suppose that we are drunk with the juice of the grape;
We visit the taverns where we become drunk with the wine of the divine covenant."

"The ebriety of love is not on thy head;
Depart, for thou art drunk with the juice of the grape."

"Thy whole form is delicately made,
Every place where thou art is sweet,
My heart by thy sweetness, by thy honeyed joy,
Is delighted."

The following is Hafiz's method of calling for a cup of wine:—

"Bring me the sun in the midst of the moon."

The moon is the cup, the sun is the wine. The Sufi sect have a large and regularly constructed lexicon, the very purpose of which is to give the allegorical meaning of the words most frequently used in poetry of this kind. The following are specimens:

Wine—Devotion.
Sleep—Meditation.
Perfume—Religious hope.
Kiss—Pious rapture.
Beauty—Perfections of God.
Tresses—Glory of God.
Lips—Mysteries of God.
Ebriety—Religious ardour.

Surely no one acquainted with Oriental literature will think it strange or far-fetched to give to the Canticles an allegorical interpretation; on the contrary, the literal interpretation, to the Oriental eye, is the one which is, beyond example, strange and far-fetched.

THE VOICE OF ISRAEL FROM THE ROCKS OF SINAI.

The One Primeval Language traced experimentally through Ancient Inscriptions, &c.; including the Voice of Israel from the Rocks of Sinai. By the Rev. Charles Forster, B.D. London: Bentley, 1851.

It is rare that any great event in the history of a nation, however remote, passes without leaving on the face of the earth some material trace, or in the memories of races occupying subsequently the same theatre, some tradition which illustrates and confirms written records. These written records often, it is true, contain within themselves their own proofs—in the accuracy of geographical allusions, agreement with the general scheme of chronology, and a certain air of probability which cannot be defined, but which is not to be mistaken. Scepticism pretends to be very critical; but its canons are easily learned and still more easily applied. We have never heard a better reason for disbelieving that "Israel of a truth came out of Egypt" than this: "I do not believe it, because I do not believe it." Stubborn deniers, however, are now rarely met with; and if we were disposed to enter very seriously at present into

the argument, we should find few to oppose us but the cohort of skirmishing wits who jest on such subjects according to the rule:—"To raise laughter it is necessary to treat light things in a grave manner, and grave things in a light manner;" and who in general have no further purport in what they say.

We approach the discussion of Mr. Forster's new theories, therefore, without admitting the *necessity* of any fresh proof, without being more than pleased at the assumed discovery of "contemporary records of the Exodus." If the readings now offered be satisfactorily made out, we shall have a new illustration of the fact above-mentioned—that historical events almost always leave traces or memories of themselves other than written documents; but we shall not draw a long breath as if relieved from painful uncertainty. The general truth of the account given by Moses must be admitted, even by those who would explain away the miracles, to be placed beyond a doubt. It is as certain that the Hebrews sojourned a certain time in Egypt, and were led forth into the desert and resided there, and subsequently went to Canaan, as that Rome warred with Carthage or that the Normans conquered England.

Setting aside, therefore, all idea of receiving Mr. Forster's alleged discovery as an important testimony to the truth of Scripture history, we regard it as highly interesting in every other respect; and we are sure our readers will be pleased with the somewhat detailed account of it which we intend to give, premising that our opinion has been formed, not on a mere cursory examination, but by patient study, disturbed now and then by many doubts all more or less set at rest by further inquiry. We shall begin by transcribing and abridging from Mr. Forster what may be called the biography of the discovery.

"It is now somewhat more than thirteen hundred years, since a merchant of Alexandria, Cosmas by name, from his voyages to India surnamed Indicopleustes, visited on foot the peninsula of Sinai; and was the first to discover, or at least to make known to the world, the extraordinary fact of the existence, upon all the rocks at the various resting-stations throughout that uninhabitable wilderness, of numerous inscriptions in a then, as now, unknown character and language. By certain Jews, who formed part of his company, and who professed to understand and interpret their meaning, these inscriptions, Cosmas further relates, were assigned to the age of Moses and the Exode, and ascribed to their own ancestors—the ancient Israelites, during their wanderings in the desert of Sin! The high antiquity implied by this Jewish tradition was corroborated to the eye of the Egyptian voyager by a most remarkable circumstance; namely, that many of the inscriptions in question were upon broken-off rocks, lying scattered over the vallies, rocks which had fallen at unknown periods from the cliffs above, self-evidently by reason of the wear and tear of the winter

torrents in the lapse of ages. For as it is now ascertained that the inscriptions upon the fallen fragments still in being, in several instances are found inverted, it follows that the writing had been engraved before the rocks were broken off."

The curious facts mentioned by Cosmas lay unnoticed until the commencement of the eighteenth century, when Montfaucon in a remark on the passage expressed his belief in the existence of the inscriptions, though he disdainfully passed over their alleged origin. It is remarkable that from that day to this no one seems to have taken the trouble seriously to examine the question from Cosmas's point of view until in 1844 some one directed Mr. Forster's attention to the subject.

"At first glance," says he, "I was struck by the clear identity of several of the characters with characters of the old Hamyaritic alphabet recovered at Hisn Ghorab [by Mr. Forster himself, in a singularly ingenious manner]; and whose powers were already ascertained by the decypherment of the Hisn Ghorab inscription. From the discovery, at Sinai also, of these newly recovered letters, I was presently led on to notice among the Sinaïtic characters, other characters of previously known forms and powers—some Hebrew, some Greek, and some Arabic. A little reflection upon these phenomena soon suggested to my mind, as the only sound and safe rule of experimental decypherment, the following simple canon;—that, in comparing an unknown with known alphabets, letters of the same known forms be assumed to possess the same known powers. For, however in Greek and the idioms of the West, this rule might prove uncertain, there was, in the nature of the case, a moral assurance of its certainty and safety in the opposite quarter, arising from the unchanging character of all things in the East. . . . From the adoption of this rule as a first principle of decypherment, I proceeded at once to test the alphabet derived from it, by its experimental application to the Sinaïtic inscriptions. My first essay was made upon Mr. Gray's inscription, No. 59, a record in five lines, with two slight outlines apparently of water, one above the fourth, the other below the fifth line. It is equally impossible to express or forget the sensation experienced, when my newly constructed alphabet, formed on the principle just described, returned the following translation;—'The people with prone mouth drinketh at the water-springs. The people at the two water-springs kicketh like an ass. Smiting with the branch of a tree the well of bitterness he heals.'"

It is evident, the reader will at once perceive, that, if we admit Mr. Forster's translation, the above inscription can have no reference but to the miracle of Marah. A host of questions and difficulties here arise, however, some of which we must notice. In the first place another scholar, a German, Dr. Beer, who in his life-time gained a respectable reputation, has put forward a totally different theory, based on an alphabet in some respects the same. According to his theory, the inscriptions,

so far from having the antiquity assigned to them by Mr. Forster, were engraved about the middle of the fourth century of our era by Christians belonging to the people vulgarly known as Nabathæans. But the arguments on which this theory was based were so slight that Mr. Forster finds no difficulty in overthrowing it. Indeed its main feature had already been abandoned in Germany by Dr. Tuch, who, whilst adopting pretty nearly Beer's alphabet, throws back the date of the inscriptions several centuries. No explanation, even plausible, has been attempted of the singular circumstance that these writings, so far as we know, are only to be found in the districts traversed by the Israelites in their wanderings. M. Quatremère, a well known French *savant*, in a somewhat flippant essay lately published, whilst opposing an incredulity that shews itself unwilling to take the trouble of criticism, to Mr. Forster's opinion, admits two things; first, that the occurrence of the figure of a cross as a letter does not imply a Christian origin, and second, that the inscriptions could not, as the German writers maintain, have been the work of simple pilgrims. It is quite clear, and admitted by nearly every one, we may add, that by whomsoever engraved, these thousands of mysterious records were the work of some people who within a limited period of time were *inhabitants* of the peninsula of Sinai. "Then," says Mr. Forster triumphantly, "they can be referred to none other than to the Hebrews."

The antecedent probability is certainly great. We have no record that any but a few wandering tribes have ever sojourned even temporarily in this inhospitable district—with the single exception of the Hebrews; and we know that they for a period of forty years or thereabout did actually live in the very places where the inscriptions are found, and *where alone* they are found. It is a very feeble objection, that the existence of such old writings is improbable—when on the other side of the Red Sea we have the Egyptian monuments, maintained by the very class that discredits Mr. Forster to be much more ancient than the Sinai inscriptions are claimed to be.

The first really forcible objection that occurs is this:—If the inscriptions were written by the Hebrews, they ought to be in the Hebrew character and in the Hebrew language. Mr. Forster, in his enthusiasm, dissimulates to himself the force of this objection, and only meets it in a sort of desultory way. His book, indeed, is not arranged in an artistic form, and although, after studying it, the theory it contains becomes as clear and definite to the reader as to the author, it is scarcely possible to find that theory expressed, however vaguely, in words. Some parts

are merely hinted or left to be guessed, or alluded to in notes scattered here and there. We do not therefore render Mr. Forster absolutely responsible for the following statement, every part of which, however, seems required to justify his translations.

In the beginning man—it would be safer to say the Semitic Branch—spoke *one language,* which still possesses a lineal descendant called the Arabic. The confusion of tongues at Babel was not the creation of a variety of new forms of speech; but simply a dialectical confusion. One people, the Arabs, retained the old language in nearly its primitive purity. Others diverged from the original type more or less; but not so much as to lose the family likeness. The Syriac of Abraham, the Arabic of Job, the Hebrew of Moses, the Egyptian and the Canaanitish were all essentially one; and the roots from which the words in these languages were formed are to be found in the old Arabic so far as it has been preserved. No books remain in this old Arabic; the vocabulary of the Koran is comparatively modern; but multitudes of fragments are preserved in the dictionaries. The modern dialect besides has retained many words of the highest antiquity.

This being the case, any old inscription, especially in that part of the world—in Egypt, Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia—should be examined first by means of the Arabic alphabet and dictionary. When the Arabic alphabet fails, the Hebrew, the Ethiopic, the Greek, the old Syriac must be consulted—all having affinities one with another, and being *selections* from the great variety of forms which men originally chose to express similar sounds. Many of the letters used at Sinai almost exactly resemble the Hebrew, as one form of the *b,* the *m,* the *n,* etc. Others are Ethiopic, as the *z,* the koph; others Greek, as the *n,* the *r;* others Arabic, as the *h,* the *f,* the *a.* It is but reasonable, before flying to mere guess-work, to try if, by using the letters with these powers, words can be produced resembling those of any known language. Mr. Forster finds, and with some misgivings we find with him, words which have the same relation to Arabic that the following have to English: "People—drinketh stooping down—springs—verily. People—two springs—rears like an ass," etc. The resemblance to Arabic is perhaps greater; but even this much is remarkable, because we may easily suppose that a further intimacy with the forces of certain letters may reveal the presence of more inflections as well as of particles or their substitutes. Mr. Forster, however, does not seem to feel the want of this advance with sufficient acuteness; and overlooks the difference between the ab-

sence of a scientific grammar and the absence of the phenomena which that grammar analyzes. It seems impossible that the contemporaries of Moses could have spoken or written in a series of disjointed nouns and verbs like children just learning to babble.

And now comes back the objection—strong, imperative, requiring an answer,—Why were not the inscriptions written in the Hebrew character and language? Mr. Forster has an explanation which, standing alone, is reasonable enough. He says that during a residence of eight generations in Egypt, the Hebrews, by constant intercourse with the people of the country, had necessarily adopted the use of their language for ordinary purposes. M. Quatremère, who has not wasted much acumen in the discussion of this difficult topic, is content to express his disbelief of this explanation; and says it is more probable that an oppressed race would preserve their own language in order to interchange their complaints. He adds, it is true, a kind of argument: "When the Israelites perceived the earth to be covered with manna, they said one to the other, Man-hou, that is to say, 'What is that?' or perhaps 'That is manna.' These words belong to the Hebrew language, and have nothing in common with that of Egypt." In the first place, neither M. Quatremère nor anybody else is competent to state whether the words cited have anything in common with Egyptian or not. As yet we know nothing, or next to nothing, of the ancient Egyptian language, as is proved by the fact that scarcely two hieroglyphists read the same passage in the same manner. Secondly, it is precisely Mr. Forster's theory that the Egyptian and Hebrew had points of resemblance, because both were derived from the parent language, which we may call Arabic. He may be entirely wrong; but this remains to be proved, and we cannot admit the right of any *savant* to dispose of his statements in the following off-hand way: "It is quite clear that the language used by the Egyptians and that spoken by the Arabs had no analogy one with the other." In this phrase Mr. Forster's whole system is gratuitously supposed to be absurd by a writer who could not have understood what *was* his system; for he asks: "If the Sinaïtic inscriptions were written by the Israelites in Egyptian, why is recourse had to the Arab idiom for the purposes of translation?" Because (Mr. Forster would reply) I maintain that the difference between Hebrew and Egyptian was not so great as that between Italian and French, inscriptions in which language may often be translated by means of the Latin dictionary.

Still we have to account for the resumption of the Hebrew

by Moses, and especially the issuing of the commandments in a dialect not perfectly familiar to all those who were to obey them. It remains to be proved, in the first place, whether the learning of the Egyptian necessarily required a forgetfulness of the Hebrew tongue. The Copts, after the conquest of their country by the Arabs, although not transplanted to a different soil, very soon began to lose the familiar use of their old language, and to adopt that of their conquerors. But for a long time after they had begun speaking and writing Arabic even amongst themselves, they retained a knowledge of the Coptic, and used it in religious services. Now, after the expiration of twelve centuries, it is almost forgotten; but if they were called again upon the scene as a nation they would attempt at least to revive a character and dialect which they consider sacred—just as the Greeks are reviving the old Hellenic; and as the Jews themselves, if they could return to Jerusalem, would revive the Hebrew. Looking upon the matter entirely in a human point of view, Moses, whose object was to individualize and isolate his people, would necessarily have revived a more national and more majestic form of speech than that in daily use among a people of serfs; and thus the fact that the Sinaïtic inscriptions are written in a meaner style than that adopted in the Scriptures, and in a character as different as our cursive from square black letter, ceases altogether to be a difficulty, and becomes almost a confirmation.

Here, however, we may state that it is *not* absolutely necessary for the argument to prove that the Sinaïtic writings are in Egyptian. The inhabitants of Arabia and Syria may have had a vulgar language common to them all, or used only by some tribes; the common people of the Hebrews may always have used this dialect, as the common Arabs now use an idiom so different from the Nahwé; and this may explain the applicability of the Arabic dictionary. However, it is certain that a great many of the characters of the Sinai alphabet resemble those found in what are called Demotic writings on the Rosetta Stone, at the quarries of Massâra, etc.; and the theory to be round and complete requires the presumption of an identity which may never be proved. Mr. Forster believes he has found the key of the matter; but as we are on oriental ground we shall venture to give him oriental advice: one thing at a time, not too fast. The Sinai question is not yet settled; and it is sometimes more useful to consolidate old conquests than to venture on fresh ones. However, in the new appendix some very singular facts are brought forward, illustrative of the resemblance between the few authentic Egyptian words remaining to us and

certain Arabic roots, of which the most remarkable is that with reference to the word Sbo, or Shbo, translated, by Horapollo and by the Arabic and Hebrew lexicons, to mean "satiated with food." The ingenious experiments on Joseph's Egyptian name of *Zaphnath-paaneah,* are worthy of notice; but those upon the word Goshen are forced and arbitrary, and absolutely not permissible at this early stage of the inquiry. It is quite true that the letter *hé* is sometimes changed in Arabic into the *gim,* by the addition of the point, without any change in sense; but it does not follow that this can be done in every case. Some authority is required for transmuting *hash* into *gash* without altering the meaning;—otherwise the whole derivation falls to the ground, and Gashan (it should be *Maghash),* instead of standing for "a place abounding with grass," may cease to be an Arabic word. We will add that Mr. Forster brings forward most striking proofs of the essential identity of the Chaldee, Hebrew and Arabic languages; but the discussion is too intricate for us to enter upon here, and it would take us away from the more interesting topic of the Sinai inscriptions.

Having slightly touched on the controversial part of the question, we must enter a little more into detail in order that our readers may be fully aware of the great interest of the subject.

"The inscriptions," says Dr. Beer, "are found in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai; or to speak more accurately, in the valleys and hills, which branching out from its roots, run towards the north-west to the vicinity of the eastern shore of the Gulf of Suez; insomuch that travellers now-a-days from the monastery of Mount Sinai to the town of Suez, whatever route they take, for there are many, will see these inscriptions upon the rocks of most of the valleys through which they pass, to within half a day's journey, or a little more, of the coast. Besides these localities, similar inscriptions are met with, and those in great numbers, on Mount Serbal, lying to the south of the above-named routes; as also, but more rarely, in some valleys to the south of Mount Sinai itself.

"But the valley which, beyond all the rest, claims special notice, is that which stretches from the neighbourhood of the eastern shore of the Gulf of Suez, for the space of three hours' journey in a southern direction. Here, to the left of the road, the traveller finds a chain of steep sandstone rocks, perpendicular as walls, which afford shelter at midday and in the afternoon from the burning rays of the sun. These, beyond all beside, contain a vast multitude of tolerably well preserved inscriptions; whence this valley has obtained the name of Wady Mokatteb, or the 'Written Valley.' Adjoining it is a hill, whose stones, in like manner, are covered with writing; and which bears the name of Jebel Mokatteb, or 'The Written Mountain.'

"Intermingled with the inscriptions, images and figures are of very

frequent occurrence; all the work of art, if art it may be called, executed in the rudest style, and evidently with the same instrument as that employed in executing the inscriptions; which figures prove themselves the production of the authors by their very juxta-position to the writing. These drawings most frequently represent camels and men. But for the sake of readers desiring more accurate information on the subject, we will comprize in a bird's eye view, those hitherto described, giving the precedence to the figures of most frequent occurrence.

"Camels, standing, moving, running, laden. Mountain goats, lizards, serpents, horses and mules, dogs, ostriches, tortoises.

"Men, standing, in motion; lifting the hands to heaven; looking down; sitting on camels, on laden camels, on horses, on mules; standing on camels, on horses: leading camels; armed with spears, swords, shields, fighting, drawing the bow (on foot, on horseback); hunting; a man upon a cross, &c.

"Which images those who copied the inscriptions described as often difficult to distinguish from the letters. The truth is, that the original writers sometimes employed images as parts of letters; and, *vice versâ*, images for groups of letters."

This description, brief and unpicturesque as it is, will give some idea of the vast number of the inscriptions. There are in truth thousands and thousands of them, whilst a few hundreds only have been brought home. The greater part are, it is true, very short, consisting only of a few lines, and were probably executed by private individuals; but it is unquestionable that some are of a more important character. And yet we find certain *savans*, seemingly afraid of a discovery that would upset their cherished theories, insisting on the insignificance of all the inscriptions.

"It is easy to foresee," says M. Quatremère, "that these monuments can only offer a relative interest, can be but of very mediocre importance; that we shall vainly seek in them for details on the history, the topography, the laws of the countries neighbouring Mount Sinai. It is even doubtful that, among those obscure, those insignificant names of which the inscriptions reveal the existence, we shall find the name of a single personage of which history has taken care to preserve the memory."

In passing we will observe that the attempt to make out *unknown* proper names in an *unknown* character seems hopelessly absurd; and that the result must necessarily be arbitrary. But our present object is to point out that M. Quatremère, in the above passage, most unaccountably throws overboard the statement of the Comte d'Antraigue of which he was perfectly aware —to the effect that on the sides of Jebel Mokatteb there is an inscription of forty-one lines, each letter a foot high, and the first line composed of letters six feet high. In another part of his article this disingenuous writer indeed mentions the fact;

and as no one can call in question the Count's testimony, suggests that he may have mistaken hieroglyphical characters for alphabetical letters in the great head line. It is singular that the companions of the Comte d'Antraigue had copied and published this very head line; and that it is reproduced two or three times by Mr. Forster, who with some waste of ingenuity endeavours to force one or two of the letters into a resemblance to hieroglyphics, all the rest being plainly alphabetical.

A few observations on Mr. Forster's method of translation will not here be out of place. Having constructed his alphabet on the principle before described he applies it to the inscriptions until he makes out what he conceives to be a word. This word he seeks in the Arabic dictionary and generally succeeds in finding something resembling it. This is certainly a most remarkable fact; and those who reject his interpretation must prove another alphabet, because it is not sufficient to say that the Arabic produced is not elegant and not grammatical. Mr. Forster does not pretend to recover a complete language or dialect. It is almost sufficient for his argument that the meaning be merely shadowed forth in the words he finds in the Lexicon.

We have patiently examined his argument in favour of reading the initial word of nearly every inscription (viz., ם׳) as *Am, the People* (עם). In the first place the resemblance to the Hebrew, especially in some of the forms (as ם׳) is so great as almost to be decisive; and secondly, all the arguments of Dr. Beer in favour of reading it *Shalum* fall before the simple fact that, whilst he converts the complicated form of the *ain*, most commonly used, into two letters, he is forced to recognize the simple form in its true character. Now this point once established, even supposing that no other word be made out, the probability becomes very great that the inscriptions were the work of the Hebrews; and it is less difficult to accept the more problematical reading of a very common final, as Jao, or Jehovah.

According to Mr. Forster, "the People," in its various wanderings, after the passage of the Red Sea and before the publication of the Pentateuch, not in accordance with any public decree, but in its private capacity as represented by individuals, recorded on the rocks amidst which it temporarily sojourned the various miracles it witnessed, the sufferings and adventures it underwent. So far from this idea being absurd, we are disposed to think that the contrary opinion would be so. "The People" came from a country possessed in all its members, high and low, with a rage for turning mountains into books, from a coun-

try which is covered with inscriptions of every degree of magnitude and importance wherever there is a rock to receive the chisel. Even on boulders lying in the Nile, and surrounded by a swift current, immense tablets are found, supposed to be of the very remotest antiquity. The study of these inscriptions has been pursued with more industry than success; but those who are supposed to be most knowing in the matter are constantly throwing back the date of some pet monuments by several centuries; and it is notorious that the short-chronologists and the long-chronologists wage a war as fierce as that of the Big-Endians and the Little-Endians. Whatever be their decision, we are inclined to think that the Hebrews learned the habit of writing upon rocks from the Egyptians, and carried it into practice during their forty-years' residence in the desert. Even if Mr. Forster's system prove inadequate to the task of translating the inscriptions, we shall continue to believe that some of them at least are "contemporary records of the Exodus" until very good proof to the contrary be afforded.

"Among the events of the Exode," says Mr. Forster, "these records comprize, besides the healing of the waters of Marah, the passage of the Red Sea, with the introduction of Pharaoh twice by name, and two notices of the Egyptian tyrant's vain attempt to save himself by flight on horseback, from the returning waters; together with hieroglyphical representations of himself and of his horse, in accordance with a hitherto unexplained passage of the song of Moses: 'For *the horse of Pharaoh* went in, with his chariots and with his horsemen into the sea, and the Lord brought again the waters of the sea upon them." They comprise, further, the miraculous supplies of manna and of flesh; the battle of Rephidim, with the mention of Moses by his office, and of Aaron and Hur by their names; the same inscription repeated, describing the holding up of Moses' hands by Aaron and Hur, and their supporting him with a stone, illustrated by a drawing apparently of the stone, containing within it the inscription and the figure of Moses with it with uplifted hands: and lastly, the plague of fiery serpents, with the representation of a serpent in the act of coming down, as it were from heaven, upon a prostrate Israelite.

"These references to recorded events of the Exode compose, however, but a small part of the Sinaïtic inscriptions as yet in our possession; the great mass of which consists of descriptions of rebellious Israel, under the figures of kicking asses, restive camels, rampant goats, sluggish tortoises, and lizards of the desert.

However to be accounted for, one peculiarity (the more remarkable because so little to be anticipated) characterizes the whole of these monuments already in our hands; namely, that not a single text of the Old Testament, not a single passage from the Books of Moses, is to be met with among them. The result is so contrary to every natural anticipation that it is, in itself, no slight guarantee of the fidelity of the decypherments. For any arbitrary decypherment of Israelitish monuments would be certain

to abound with quotations from the Pentateuch or with passages to be found in it.

"The most probable explanation of this total absence of Scriptural references and quotations, is to be sought and found in the contemporary character of the chronology of the Sinaïtic inscriptions: monuments which bear in their brevity and rudeness obvious marks of their being so many chronicles of the day; some of which may have been written before the Pentateuch itself; and all, most probably, before that sacred volume had been familiarized by use to the wandering Israelites."

In conclusion we will say that, however strong our feeling may be that Mr. Forster has made a valuable discovery or an extraordinary guess, we subordinate our final assent to the results of patient criticism by enlightened and impartial orientalists. As yet we have neither read nor heard a single respectable objection; but we have conversed with many persons who, without having even seen the outside of the book, are in a hurry to express a disbelief in its contents. They may be truly said to harden their hearts against the theory—although we are unwilling to use a Scripture phrase in this discussion; for we are about to blame Mr. Forster for being too free in doing so. He might have been sure of a kind reception from Christian readers; but it was essential to seek, to attract, to force the attention of the learned; of those very learned men who have adopted opposite theories; of philologists whose whole lives will have been spent in vain if he be not the victim of a delusion; of hieroglyphists whose reputation is based on the translation of three words on a totally opposite system. It would have been advisable, therefore, to adopt not only a calm and moderate, but a strictly learned tone—to have been as cold and unimpassioned as a grammar or a dictionary. Mr. Forster, on the contrary, not only omits to avail himself of simple and conclusive arguments, to fall back on inappropriate—in this case peculiarly inappropriate—references to Scripture; but affects an overbearing, aggressive tone, as if he were preaching a crusade instead of discussing a philological problem. We know that this error arises from incomparable strength of conviction; from that self-confidence and self-admiration which a man must necessarily feel who has spent a considerable portion of his life, successfully as he believes, and we half believing hope, in decyphering inscriptions which for thousands of years have been an enigma. But we regret the error keenly, because we have observed how much it has warred against a favourable hearing for this unexpected theory; and encouraged the ironical tone, not polished enough to be polite, with which it has been received in France by the *Journal des Savans*.

B. S.

THE SERPENT.

"*That old Serpent* called the Devil and Satan," Rev. xii. 9.

"Now *the Serpent* was more subtil than any beast of the field, which the Lord God had made," Gen. iii. 1.

"*The Serpent* beguiled Eve through his subtilty," 2 Cor. xi. 3.

"And the Lord God said unto *the Serpent*, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life," Gen. iii. 14.

"The wolf and the lamb shall feed together; and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock; and dust shall be *the Serpent's* meat; they shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord," Isa. lxv. 25.

"And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand; and he laid hold on the dragon *that old Serpent*, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years," Rev. xx. 1, 2.

Although the narrative of the fall has often exercised the ingenuity of commentators and divines, the opinions which they have formed respecting it, have been both unsatisfactory and conflicting. On the one hand, those who have attempted its literal interpretation, have too often endeavoured to supply the want of explanations resting on reasonable grounds, by puerile fancies and extravagant suppositions; while on the other, there have not been wanting interpreters who, instead of untying the knot, have cut it, by denying the historical truth of this portion of Holy Writ, and resolving it into a mythus, a legend, or an allegory. The perplexity thus evinced, seems to result, in a great measure, from a prevailing, though, as the writer thinks, an erroneous view of the statements made by the inspired penman respecting the tempter, "the Serpent more subtil than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made." To present a view of this subject, which is believed to be, to some extent, novel, and which, maintaining the historical truth of the narrative of the fall, is free from those insuperable difficulties which attach to the popular interpretation, is the object of this paper. It may be desirable, however, to notice, in the first place, certain views of our subject which have been proposed, and especially to shew on what grounds the common opinion, that *the serpent was the instrument of the tempter*, must be regarded as untenable.

The opinion has gained credence, that, while Satan himself was the concealed agent in the temptation, he employed a serpent as the medium of communication with Eve. His choice of this reptile is thought to have been determined, not only by its originally possessing much attractiveness and beauty, but also by its sagacity; its subtilty exceeding that of any other creature. These high endowments fitted it to become the instrument of the Evil One; since under cover of a creature so beautiful and intelligent, his malicious designs would be unsuspected.

"——————— for in the wily snake
Whatever sleights none would suspicious mark,
As from his wit and native subtlety
Proceeding, which in other beasts observed,
Doubt might beget of diabolic power,
Active within beyond the sense of brute."

With regard to the mode in which the tempter addressed Eve, it has been thought not improbable, that Satan exerted such an influence over the serpent as to produce an articulate voice; perhaps at the same time insinuating, that the serpent had acquired the power of speech by eating the forbidden fruit. It is assumed, moreover, that the nature and habits of the serpent have been changed, in consequence of the curse recorded, Gen. iii. 14, 15. That sentence is regarded as significant of the punishment of Satan, the invisible tempter; while it is also expressive of a change of form which the serpent underwent, as his instrument. Since this denunciation was uttered, serpents are supposed to have "assumed the reptile form;" to be doomed to go on the belly; and, by reason of their "proneness on the earth" to "eat all their food mingled with dust."[a]

This supposition, that Satan conversed with Eve through the medium of a serpent, and that this order of reptiles underwent, in consequence, a punitive change, is open to serious objection, although it has more widely obtained, perhaps, than any other view.

First. That the serpent was *an instrument* in the temptation, is not stated by the inspired writers. Nothing is said by them of the *serpent form of Satan.* We read simply: "*The Serpent* said to the woman," "God said *to the Serpent*," "*The Serpent* beguiled Eve," etc. There is no indication in these passages of *any other being than the Serpent* as concerned in the temptation of Eve. Therefore, when the Serpent is represented as the tool, so to speak, of Satan, and not as the actual tempter, an addition is made to the biblical statements, which seems quite gratuitous. The difficulty and embarrassment which have been so generally felt respecting our subject, may be traced to this deviation from the plain meaning of the sacred oracles.

Secondly. It must not be lightly assumed, that Satan has power so far to contravene the divine appointments, as to produce an articulate voice from the mouth of a serpent. Evil spirits may be permitted to work out their own ends in accordance with the laws by which the Almighty is pleased to regulate the universe, but caution is required in ascribing to them supernatural power, for the evidence which miracles furnish as

[a] See Scott's *Commentary in loc.*

divine attestations of truth, may, to say the least, be weakened by an unwarranted admission that diabolical agency is competent to effect so great a deviation from the ordinary course of things, as to cause a serpent to speak.

The supposition, that the temptation was conveyed by the *actions* of the serpent, and not by a verbal communication, does not remove the difficulty. It is not easy to see how the movements of a serpent could have been sufficiently suggestive. What actions of a reptile could have conveyed the insinuation, "Hath God even said, Ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden?" or the assurance "For God knoweth, that when ye eat thereof, ye shall be as God, knowing good and evil?" But even, if by a stretch of imagination, we could conceive of the possibility of this, still we are at a loss to understand how Eve could have answered the serpent. Surely we are not to suppose that she replied by suggestive actions?

Thirdly. If the structure and habits of the serpents have been changed from what they originally were, we may not unreasonably, perhaps, expect to find these reptiles, isolated from all other creatures; a monument of the divine displeasure. But this is not the case: on the contrary, they are linked to other orders by forms of life approximating very gradually to the serpentine type.

The condition of serpents is not one of peculiar privation. Although they do not possess external instruments of progression, yet their ribs, of which the number is very large, form, as it has been said, "so many pairs of levers, by which the animal moves its body from place to place;"[b] and this means of locomotion, enabling them to move with ease and sometimes rapidity, doubtless subserves completely all their requirements. Some of them are furnished with formidable weapons which may be used for the purpose of defence, or for disabling their prey. In others, the want of these appendages is compensated for, by a flexibility of body, which, conjoined with great muscular power, enables them to entwine themselves around, and crush the animals on which they feed. Thus, the sustenance of serpents is provided for; their desire for food being, as it would seem, by no means so urgent as that of many other creatures.

Fourthly. Serpents are not confined to progression on the earth, nor do they feed on dust. Some serpents are arboreal in their habits, while others live in water. It would be, obviously, absurd to say, that these reptiles are compelled to swallow dust with their food. On this point the following state-

[b] See *Penny Cyclopædia*, art. "Boa."

ments have been made by the late Dr. J. P. Smith. "Neither do they (serpents) eat dust. All serpents are carnivorous: their food, according to the size and power of the species, is taken from the tribes of insects, worms, frogs, and toads, and newts, birds, mice, and other small quadrupeds, till the scale ascends to the pythons and boas, which can master and swallow very large animals.—Serpents habitually obtain their food among herbage or in water; they seize their prey with their mouth, often elevate their head, and are no more exposed to the necessity of swallowing adherent earth than are carnivorous birds or quadrupeds."[c] It may be added, that nothing is said by the sacred writer, of dust being eaten *with* the serpent's food: the words are; "Dust shalt thou eat." We read also, in apparent allusion to the curse on the tempter; "Dust shall be the Serpent's meat," (Isa lxv. 25.)

Fifthly. It has been considered, that fossil remains furnish evidence sufficient to prove, that serpents resembling in structure existing species, lived upon our earth at a period antecedent to that, which, we have reason to believe, was marked by the introduction of man; although these reptiles do not appear to have been abundant, during even the latest of the pre-Adamic periods in the history of the earth.[d]

On these grounds the writer feels justified in dissenting from the commonly received interpretation of the third chapter of Genesis; since the literal application of the words of the inspired narrative to a serpent, as the instrument of Satan, appears not only inconsistent with the present condition of that order of reptiles, and with geological testimony; but is also, as the writer conceives, unsanctioned by the scriptural statements. To maintain this interpretation, is to offer to the opponent of the Bible, a mark at which he may aim his shafts with pernicious effect.

In order to render less objectionable, the supposition of the tempter's serpent form, a modification of the view given above, has been proposed. The statement of Gen. iii. 1, is regarded as not affirming anything of the subtlety of serpents in general, but only asserting the craftiness of *one* particular serpent (הַנָּחָשׁ, *hannahhash* THE serpent), which was no common serpent, but Satan who appeared in this form. The curse—the going on the belly and eating dust—is taken as a *figurative* representation of the punishment and degradation to which Satan was condemned.[e]

---

[c] *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, art. "Adam."

[d] Vide *Penny Cyclopædia*, art. "Serpents."

[e] See Horsley's *Sermons* on 2 Pet. i. 20, and the article "Adam," *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature.*

This view is in some respects more acceptable than the first, still however, it is open to the fundamental objection, that we have no evidence that the tempter of Eve was *Satan* in a *serpent form.* It is undeniably true, that *the Serpent* seduced Eve into transgression; but it must not be conceded, that this statement is equivalent to the assertion, that she was deceived by an evil spirit in the *shape* of a serpent.

The objection, that more is assumed than the scriptural statements warrant, may be urged against every interpretation which supposes that the *nahhash* was the form of the tempter, or the instrument which he employed; whether it be thought that he appeared as "a creature of the ape or ourang-outang kind," or as "a flying serpent of luminous appearance" simulating the seraphim.

There is another view of our subject which requires notice. It is the supposition that the narrative of the fall is a moral fable or allegory, in which fictitious circumstances are employed as the vehicle of truth. The alleged improbability of the narrative, when literally interpreted, is adduced as favouring this mode of explanation.

To this it may be objected, that Paul in two of his epistles alludes to the transgression of Eve, and appears to recognize the historical truth even of the *details* of the account in Genesis. In his second epistle to the Corinthians, he expresses his fear lest a vain philosophy and a persuasive eloquence should induce his converts at Corinth to abandon their simple reliance on the Crucified One even as "*the Serpent* beguiled Eve," (2 Cor. xi. 3.) And again, in his first epistle to Timothy, the apostle gives as reasons why woman should occupy a subordinate position, the fact that Adam was created before Eve, and also that Eve, and not Adam, was seduced into transgression by the tempter: "For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression," (1 Tim. ii. 12, 13.) This reasoning appears inconsistent with the supposition that the narrative of the fall is fabulous or allegorical, and possesses force only when it is regarded as a narrative of facts; as historically true. Besides, if the historical truth of the account of our first parents' transgression be rejected, where are we to stop? Is not suspicion at once awakened with regard to the whole of the primeval and patriarchal history? If it be urged, that there are peculiar difficulties attaching to this portion, we reply, that in so far as the tempter is concerned, they probably proceed, rather from the distorting influence of the current interpretation, than from any improbability essential to the inspired narrative and inseparable from it. May not these difficulties be subjective and

not objective? Is it not quite possible that much of the obscurity, with which this venerable writing is invested, may be caused by its being viewed from a false stand point? At least, a reconsideration of the subject may be allowed before we admit, that we have no satisfactory answer to that most interesting and important question, By what means was sin admitted into our world?

With respect to the antisupernaturalism which tells of a Hebrew mythology, and regards the history of our first parents' transgression as a legend whose nucleus is to be found in certain purely natural circumstances, it may be sufficient to say that we shall attempt to shew in the sequel that the account of the Serpent harmonizes so beautifully with the modes of thinking which appear to have prevailed in the infancy of our race, and is so appropriate to the position which it occupies in the primeval history, that, instead of furnishing any grounds for a disbelief of this portion of Holy Writ, it should rather conciliate credence in its historical truth.

We have rejected the popular opinion, that the tempter of Eve was a serpent possessed by Satan, and have maintained, on the contrary, that the Scriptures do not sanction the belief, that any other being than the Serpent was concerned in the temptation. Two opinions are possible respecting the tempter, if his *unity* be admitted. First, it may be considered that *the Serpent* refers *only* to the reptile commonly so designated; or secondly, that this term is *simply* a *name* of Satan. With regard to the first of these opinions it may be observed that, even were there no other reasons forbidding such a supposition, it would be sufficiently clear from intimations in the New Testament, that *the Serpent* was not a mere reptile. On the same authority, the second view may be maintained. Thus we read (John viii. 44) that the devil, "was a murderer *from the beginning;*" that "he is a liar, and the *father of it.*" There are two passages in the Apocalypse (chap. xii. 9 and xx. 2) which tend strongly to confirm the opinion that *the Serpent* is a name of Satan. In the first of these, it is said of "the old (or ancient) Serpent" that he is "*called* the Devil and Satan." At the commencement of the twentieth chapter, an angel is disclosed who, bearing a great chain and the key of the abyss, descends from heaven and binds "the dragon that old (or ancient) Serpent which *is* the Devil and Satan." By the "ancient Serpent" of these passages, we may well understand that no other can be intended than the Serpent of the primeval history, the crafty Serpent who beguiled Eve. Thus, though nothing is said of the serpent form of Satan, there yet appear to be good grounds for the belief that he WAS the Serpent. It remains to be seen whether

this view is consistent with the scope of the narrative of the fall; and whether any cause can be with probability assigned for Satan's receiving the remarkable appellation of "the Serpent." The consistency of this view with the scope of the narrative may be ascertained, if a portion of the third chapter of Genesis is presented, with the substitution of "Satan" for "the Serpent."

"Now Satan was more subtil than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made. And he said unto the woman, 'Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every (or any) tree of the garden?' And the woman said unto Satan, 'We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, 'Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.' And Satan said unto the woman, 'Ye shall not surely die.' . . . And the Lord God said unto Satan, 'Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field, upon thy belly shalt thou go; and dust shalt thou eat, all the days of thy life. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it (or he) shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel,'" (Gen. iii. 1—4, 14, 15.)

At first sight, there may seem to be somewhat of incongruity in the first verse, as we have just given it. It may very possibly be objected, could a spiritual being, even though fallen, be compared with the "beast of the field?" Is not this comparison incompatible with our regarding *the Serpent* as a name of Satan, and not as descriptive of the creature in whose form he appeared? In answer to such an objection, it may be remarked, that the comparison of two objects does not always imply, that they are both of the same class. The statement that "the Serpent was more subtil than *any* beast of the field," does not necessarily signify that he was more subtil than any *other* beast of the field. Again, the phrase translated, "beast of the field" (חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה *khayyath hassadhe*) is used elsewhere to designate carnivorous animals, wild beasts, beasts of prey; and it is not impossible that, in the comparison of the tempter with the *wild* beast, his malignity, his murderous malice, may be implied, as well as his consummate subtlety. At first, as if a wild beast, approaching his prey with noiseless tread, he gently insinuates that the command of God was harsh and obedience impossible: "Hath God even said, Ye shall not eat of *any* tree of the garden?" and afterwards, as it were, with a sudden bound, pouncing upon his victim, he boldly denies the veracity of the Eternal: "Ye shall not surely die." It may be observed, in addition, that the first verse of the third chapter is connected with the account of the creation of the animals,

and of Adam's naming them, which is given in the 19th and 20th verses of the second chapter. The sacred writer who had just contemplated the formation of the "beast of the field" and "the fowl of the air" would naturally continue his narrative by saying, that there was one more crafty than any of them, "more subtil than any wild beast which the Lord God, had made."

If the reader would see the force of the malediction: "Cursed art thou above all cattle," etc., as directed against *Satan*, let him endeavour to realize the position of our first parents, when, after the vain attempt at concealment, their doom was pronounced. They were about to be driven forth from the garden; and instead of the abundant provision for their wants which it contained, the sterile earth would exact severe exertion before yielding the products necessary for their sustenance. Access to "the tree of life" would be prevented; the cherubim and a sword of revolving flame guarding it from any unhallowed approach. Eve was placed in subjection to her husband's authority, and doomed to endure the pains attendant upon parturition. Death was indeed, as regards the final stroke, for a while deferred; but the terrible sentence remained unrepealed: "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." Whilst our first parents incurred these penalties as the consequence of their disobedience, could the enormous offence committed by the tempter be passed by? Could he be allowed to remain uncondemned? Nay, rather would the Holy One inflict on him the severest punishment, that the divine justice might be thereby clearly displayed, that the divine character might be completely vindicated from any appearance of connivance at his cruel and deceitful arts. But the tempter is a spiritual being, and as such, his present condition and future doom are, in all probability, beyond the sphere of human conception. It would be, therefore, impossible to give a *literal* description of his punishment; a necessity would arise for symbolical representation.

In order to produce the required impression upon the minds of our first parents, it is obvious that if figurative language were employed, it must have been borrowed from some object or objects with which they were familiar. Now as we have no sufficient reason to believe but that the language elsewhere used by the biblical writers, with reference to the doom of the Evil One, would have been unintelligible to our first parents while they remained in the paradisiac state, the question presents itself, Were they acquainted with *any* object, language descriptive of which could be employed to depict the punishment of the tempter? An answer to this question may be considered

as possibly implied in the account of Adam's assigning names to the living creatures which God had formed. "And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them to Adam, to see what he would call them; and whatsoever Adam called every living thing that was the name thereof." We may easily infer from this account, that Adam possessed some knowledge of the different forms of life which the great Creator had called into existence; and of the varied capabilities with which they had been endowed. He might have observed that some species were pre-eminent for sagacity; that others were distinguished by fleetness; others by their massive proportions and mighty strength. The feathered tribes may have delighted his ear by the melody of their songs, or dazzled his eye by the brilliancy of their plumage; or he may have seen them cleaving the air in rapid flight. If, after contemplating these nobler endowments of the higher orders of animals, he beheld a serpent trailing along the ground in sinuous course, it is easy to imagine, that from its want of those instruments of locomotion which other creatures possessed, its mode of existence may have appeared peculiarly grovelling and debased; that it may have been regarded by Adam as "cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field." If this were so, language descriptive of the condition of the serpent would vividly depict the state of deep degradation to which the tempter should be reduced.

This consideration may explain how it might be said of the tempter, that he should "go on his belly" like a serpent; but it does not illustrate the whole of his sentence; for it was also predicted that he should "eat dust," which serpents do not. "On thy belly shalt thou go; and *dust shalt thou eat* all the days of thy life." This part of the sentence may be elucidated, by supposing that language borrowed from the condition of the serpent did not suffice fully to set forth the punishment of the tempter. Although he should be like the serpent in its degradation, and should be as completely vanquished by the "Seed of the woman" as the serpent is destroyed by attacking its head, yet in one respect would there be dissimilarity between his condition and that of the reptile. The serpent is enabled by the capture of its prey to satiate its desire for food; but Satan must remain ever unsatisfied. His exalted faculties being completely perverted by his apostasy, he drags on an unblest existence. His subtle machinations, his deeply-rooted hatred to man, are overruled to the promotion of the divine glory, and the ultimate advantage of the human race. The attempted ruin of our first parents introduces the divine remedy, by which the

evils of the fall are more than counteracted. The gospel has a higher aim than that of restoring to man a lost paradise. It exalts him to a nearer relationship with God than that which Adam at first possessed, and contemplates the bestowment on the large majority of Adam's descendants, of blessings far surpassing even those which the garden of delights could afford. Satan's continued self-dissatisfaction, the impotence of his opposition to the divine benevolence, and the mortification which he must experience from his schemes' being baffled, may thus be considered as not improbably intended by the Serpent's eating dust all the days of his life.

While the serpent's mode of progression made it an appropriate type of Satan's degradation, the noxious qualities which some species possess would render it emblematic of his malignity. To this there appears to be an allusion in the words: "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed." In the concluding portion of the sentence, "He shall dash at[f] (שׁוּף *shuph)* thy head, and thou shalt dash at his heel," a deliverer was revealed who should be victorious over the tempter "dashing at his head." The complete accomplishment of this prophecy shall be seen in the great day of "the manifestation of the sons of God," when He who was "made of a woman" shall appear in his glory, and display as the results of his atoning work and mediatorial reign his redeemed ones, in number countless as the dewdrops of the morning, or the sand on the ocean's shore; and when the tempter shall be consigned to the fiery abyss.

We have regarded the curse upon the tempter as made known to our first parents soon after their transgression, and before they were expelled from the garden in Eden. If this view is correct, it obviously follows that *the utterance of the denunciation preceded the writing of the narrative of the fall.*[g] During the intervening period, which was probably of considerable duration, a knowledge of the circumstances attendant upon the transgression, and of the oracle respecting the tempter's doom, could hardly fail to be generally diffused. What conception of the Evil One would exist during this interval? In answering this question, we may be guided by the consideration, that the tendency to form sensuous conceptions of the spiritual

---

f The conception is not improbably that of one striking at a serpent's head with a club.

g The writer acquiesces in the opinion, that the earliest part, if not the whole, of Genesis probably consists of documents, or portions of documents, referrible to a higher antiquity than the age of the Hebrew lawgiver. (See Dr. J. P. Smith's *Scripture and Geology*, fourth edition, pp. 146, 147; also the article "Paradise," by the same writer, in the *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*.)

operated with the greatest power in the infancy of our race. This is shewn by the highly anthropomorphic representations of the Deity, which are given in the earliest records of inspiration. God—"the King eternal, immortal, invisible,"—"the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning,"—is described as influenced by changing passions, and as operating by means of members, like those of the human body. It would be unreasonable to suppose that the primeval conception of the Evil One was more exalted than that of the Deity. If the Eternal was conceived of and described as possessing a bodily form, we may well conclude that corporeity would also be ascribed to the Evil One. Then as it had been said of him that he should "go on his belly," that he should "dash at the heel" of the Great Deliverer, and be himself attacked on the head, it would seem probable that this language, descriptive of the condition of the serpent, would determine the form in which he would be conceived of; and thus the primeval *conception* of the Evil One would be that of a serpent. He would then be designated, by way of eminence, הַנָּחָשׁ *hannahhash, the* Serpent; the word *nahhash* with the article acquiring almost the distinctive force of a proper name; just as הַשָּׂטָן *hassatan* denotes *the* opposer, that great adversary of men, Satan; or הַנָּהָר *hannahar, the* river, that great river of Hebrew geography, the Euphrates. Thus there appear to be probable grounds for the conclusion, that THE SERPENT *was, during the earliest ages, the name of the Evil One, reflecting the conception of him which then prevailed, and which was moulded by the primeval curse.*

If the reasonableness of this conclusion be admitted, the difficulties which are connected with the tempter of Eve will, in a great measure, disappear. The sacred historian, in narrating the circumstances attendant upon our first parents' transgression, would naturally employ *the Serpent* as the designation of the tempter if that was the current name of the Evil One, during the period in which he wrote. The use of this term could lead to no misconception. It would be well understood that the crafty Serpent who seduced Eve, and changed the current of human destiny, was no mere reptile. We may consider this mode of expression as furnishing an instance of condescending accommodation to the views of those to whom the narrative of the fall was originally consigned.

By regarding *the Serpent* as simply a name of Satan, the historical truth of the narrative of the fall may be maintained, while at the same time we are liberated from the difficulties with which, as we have seen, the popular interpretation is beset. If the view for which the writer contends be adopted, objections

drawn from the disclosures of geological science, or from the structure and habits of serpents, cannot affect the truthfulness of this portion of Holy Writ. Serpents may have existed on our globe before man was created; their structure may forbid the possibility of their progressing in an erect position; their reputed subtlety and the notion that they eat dust may be entirely baseless; yet will the veracity of the inspired penman remain unaffected, since he neither predicates anything of serpents in general nor of any individual reptile; he is concerned only with *the* Serpent, man's powerful and insidious foe.

With respect to the *manner* in which the temptation was conveyed, some diversity of opinion may exist. It appears, however, most probable that Satan suggested the temptation *to the mind* of Eve.[h] It is indeed recorded with the simplicity which characterizes the primeval history, that "the Serpent *said* unto the woman, Hath God even said, Ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden;" but this statement must not be regarded as necessarily signifying that the tempter spoke with an audible voice; for we cannot suppose that there was always a vocal utterance when speech is attributed to the Deity; as when "God *said*, Let there be light," or when "God *said*, Let us make man in our image." So without any undue licence of interpretation, we may regard the sacred historian as narrating, in a simple artless manner, the suggestions which the tempter threw into the mind of Eve, and what "she said within herself" in reply. Should any, however, incline to the supposition that the tempter appeared in a beautiful human form, personating "an angel of light," such an opinion may be maintained without affecting our position, that Satan was denominated the Serpent in consequence of the curse.

It may be remarked in conclusion, that although the narrative of our first parents' transgression is itself entirely free from a mythical colouring, yet, reflecting the primeval conception of the Evil One, it enables us to recognize the source of those world-wide legends of the Serpent which attest the truth of the statement of the apostle, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth."

T. T.

---

[h] So Boothroyd (see his note *in loc.*). He considers also that Satan, "the tempter, might be called Serpent, because he had imitated the subtlety (?) of that creature in deluding and deceiving the woman."

THE REPHAIM, AND THEIR CONNEXION WITH EGYPTIAN HISTORY.[a]

CHAPTER V.

The Zuzim.

From the notable circumstance that the Rephaim of Bashan are not distinguished by any other particular tribe-name, and from their proximity to the primary starting-point of that prolonged line of colonization which only terminates on the borders of the Thebaid, we may infer that they were the original stock from which the junior Rapha tribes branched out in succession. Their being named separately from the Zuzim, in Gen. xiv., does not necessitate our considering them as two distinct nations. By the evidence of the Egyptian historical monuments, we learn on the contrary that the Zuzim were the body of the nation, but that the title of supremacy borne by the elder tribe of Bashan, whose chief was sovereign over the other provincial chieftains, was disregarded by the Egyptians. They designate the nation collectively, the SHAS'U, which corresponds to the Σως of Manetho, and the זוזים Zuz-im of Scripture. Manetho alone has preserved the royal prefix Ὑκ *Huk*, by which the elder tribe distinguished its chief, who, as head of the whole Rapha people, took the lead in the invasion of Egypt. He says these people called themselves Ὑκ-σως, which he interprets "*Royal Shepherds*," because Ὑκ signifies a king, and Σως, a shepherd. This epithet, Ὑκ, appears in Scripture as the title of the sovereign of Bashan, chief of the Zuzim, Σως or SHAS'U; for the Hebrew עוג *'Houg* (Og)[b] is a very fair attempt to imitate the native word, which Manetho endeavours to render in Greek letters by Ὑκ *Huk*. It is evidently allied to the Egyptian Hâk, *a ruler*, of which the reduplicate Agag אגג of Amalek may be taken as a variant. Like the Egyptian Phrâh (Pharaoh) פרעה *the sun* or *the king*,—and like the Philistine Abimelech, *royal father*,—or Rab-shakeh, *great cup-bearer*,—it is a title of dignity

---

[a] This article, devoted to the Zuzim, is a sequel to that, under the same general head, contained in our last number. To facilitate reference, all the Egyptian forms of proper local names occurring in this dissertation, will be given in small capitals, to correspond with the same in the tabular list.

[b] In the pointed Hebrew text, the guttural articulation of the initial ע is lost, and the value of the radical vowels altered.

or of office; and these are often given in the Bible as proper names.

Everything among the Rephaim of Bashan indicates a very ancient as well as powerful settlement. At the time of the Hebrew conquest, this kingdom contained "threescore cities, all cities fortified with high walls, gates and bars, besides unwalled villages a great many." (Deut. iii. 14.) This statement is amply borne out by the present state of the country. The Arabic lists of the Rev. Eli Smith[c] contain nearly five hundred names of places either inhabited or in ruins, within the area of this ancient kingdom. Among these are a great number of *tels* or mounds with ruins, relics of the fortified cities that once reared their crests on high, to overlook and defend the village dependencies of a vast agricultural and pastoral population.

The names of a few among these, known to classical antiquity, and still extant, enable us to determine how extensive were the domains of the sovereigns of Bashan. Besides the metropolis, Ashtaroth, in the centre of Bashan proper, they included the royal city of Salchah, now known as *Salkhad*, on the south-eastern confines of the Jebel-Hauran; and the Levitical cities Golan and Beeshterah, in the lands allotted to the Manassites. (Deut. iv. 33; Josh. xxi. 27.)

Both are known sites; the province of *Jaulan*, on the east side of Lake Tiberias, still retains the name of its former district capital; and Beeshterah, which, without the disguise of vowel-points is בעשתרה Bôshtrah—the ancient Bostra letter for letter, now called *Esky-Sham* (old Damascus)—is found just south of the Jebel-Hauran. Burckhardt[d] describes the remarkable remains of this city; but he and others were led by the similarity of the name, into mistaking it for the Edomite Bozrah. Finally, the royal city of Argob points out the extent of this kingdom towards the south, as the name of this district capital is still extant in the torrent and village of *Rajib*, the Regaba of Josephus. (Ant. xiii., ch. xv. 5.) All the mountain region eastward of Argob was called Gilead by the Hebrews, because of the גַּלְעֵד *Gal-êd, mound of witness* of Laban and Jacob, erected on the highest summit of the mountain tract of Jebel-Ajlûn. The southern peak of this hilly region, which alone retains the name of Jebel-Jelâd, was the limit of the king of Bashan's dominions.[e]

---

[c] *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, by E. Robinson, D.D., and the Rev. Eli Smith, (Appendix).

[d] Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, pp. 224—226.

[e] All biblical critics have felt the difficulty of defining the limit of this region, from the obscure wording of the few Scripture notices relating to it. The recent names

The homestead of the Rephaim is one of the finest countries in the east. The western part of Bashan is mountainous, and chiefly pastoral. The elevated undulating plains of the eastern province, irrigated by numerous winter torrents, are a particularly fertile arable tract; it is called "the granary of Damascus." The rocky region of the Kelb-Hauran, and the Lejah, beyond this, form another pastoral district inhabited by nomads. Its cattle, the bulls, kine, and rams of Bashan, are a frequent object of poetical comparison in Scripture; and the value of the oak timber grown on its mountain slopes, for ship-building, is particularly alluded to by the prophet Ezekiel. (Ch. xxvii. 6; compare Isa. ii. 13; Zech. xi. 2.)

The few modern travellers who have visited the region of Argob and Gilead, speak of it as a land equally favoured by nature. The Rev. Eli Smith describes it as a singularly picturesque tract; its heights are crowned with forests of evergreen oak; and its valleys, clothed with the most luxuriant herbage. It was thus an eminently pastoral country; it is therefore a circumstance of some interest, as strengthening the identity of its inhabitants with the Sôs of Manetho and Egyptian SHAS·U, that we should find them designated in Scripture by a name which is interpreted *a shepherd.*

When the descendants of Lot's second son, Ben-Ammi, had become sufficiently numerous to form a separate tribe, they established themselves on the south-eastern frontier of the Zuzim. Their first settlement and metropolis, Rabbah, was built among the hills, near the source of a small mountain stream, a tributary of the *Wady Zurka,* the Scriptural Jabbok. That stream still bears the name of *Moiet-Ammân* (Water of Ammon). The circumstance mentioned in Deut. iii. 11, that the iron couch of the last gigantic chieftain of the Rephaim

---

of the sites are our safest criterion, that Bashan proper was *El Bathanyeh, north* of the river Mandhur; and Argob, the region about *Rajib, south* of it. The author of 1 Kings iv. 13, places the Havoth-Jair in Gilead; and the Hebel-Argob, with its sixty cities, is appropriated to Bashan. Yet Moses, Deut. iii. 13—15, gives the Hebel-Argob to Jair, and Gilead to Machir. How can we reconcile this, except by supposing Argob the native, and Gilead the Hebrew, names of the same land, now called *Jebel Ajlûn;* and synonymous terms, though more particularly applied to denote—the former, the Jordanic—and the latter the hilly region?

Hebel חֶבֶל, *a line* or *band,* might mean a line or chain of frontier cities, extending from Argob or *Rajib,* northwards all along to the Aramite border of Geshur or Gether (*Jeidur*). In this way the line of Argob, given to Jair, might be partly in Gilead (*Jebel Ajlûn*), partly in Bashan (*El Bathanyeh*); by including the Golanite province (*Jaulan*). As the Gadites had the Arabah up to the sea of Chinneroth, the frontier lines of the tribes must have been inclined much more north by south, than they are generally made in Bible maps.

was preserved in their capital, is an interesting incident shewing how far southward his sway was acknowledged. As the indigenous population disappeared, the Ammonites gradually replaced them; so that their settlements ultimately extended northward to the banks of the Upper Jabbok, and westward to the river of Ammon. The political extinction of the aboriginal race is thus noticed by Moses, Deut. iii. 19—21:—

"When thou comest nigh unto the children of Ammon, distress them not, neither contend with them; for I will not give thee of the land of the children of Ammon any possession, because I have given it for a possession to the children of Lot. It was also accounted the land of the Rephaim: the Rephaim formerly settled there, but the Ammonites call them *Zamzummim;*—a great, numerous, and haughty people,[f] like the Anakim; but the Lord destroyed them from before them, and they dwell in their place."

The characteristic tribe-name of the Rephaim who originally occupied the Ammonite district appears to have been handed down to us in the first notice of them, Gen. xiv., as the Zuzim; the name "Zamzummim"—*enterprising people*[g]—being, by the account above quoted, only a distinctive epithet applied to them by the descendants of Lot.

It has always been taken for granted, from this passage, that the Rephaim were *destroyed* as well as *replaced* by the children of Ammon. But there is no direct statement to that effect in the Bible. The only intimation it affords of that people's fate, is the above summary reference of Moses. "The Lord"—certain dispensations of Providence in which the Ammonites are not even named as instruments—"destroyed the Rephaim from before them," and reduced this once "numerous, great, and haughty people" to the stricken and dismembered remnant we find them under Moses; while the Ammonite colony increased and flourished on their border, extended itself over a considerable portion of their lands, identified itself and its political interests with their's, and finally took their place in history. The traditional and monumental annals of Egypt will now explain how this mighty nation were brought so low as to fall an easy prey to the first resolute invader who openly attacked them;—how the ancient lords of the soil were swept off to make way for the troops of unsettled Canaanites who supplanted them, and

---

[f] רָם. Commonly translated *tall;* but another expression is generally used to denote expressly, bodily stature: אַנְשֵׁי מִדּוֹת *men of dimensions.* רָם in usage, rather implies elevation of mind or position—or the assumption of it. *Haughty* renders both the root, and the particular sense of its application here. Comp. 2 Sam. xxii. 28; Job xxi. 22; Isa. ii. 12, &c.

[g] From זמם to devise, purpose, undertake.

established themselves in the depopulated cities of Bashan and Argob.

CHAPTER VI.

Wars of the Hyksos and Thebans.

The distinction between the two Hamite races who colonized the valley of the Nile, suggested by the fusion of their religious systems, is equally discernible in the nature of their monumental remains. The aboriginal Mizraim were a tomb-building, and the intrusive Cushites a temple-building race. The ruling spirit of the Mizraim was attachment to their land, their ancestral institutions, the memory of their illustrious dead. This was manifested in the territorial character of their gods, the patriarchal and sacerdotal character of their government, and the grandeur of their sepulchral piles. The ruling spirit of the rival Southern race, on the contrary, was a grasping ambition. Conquest was its aim, dominion its end; and the king was honoured in proportion to his success in augmenting the national glory by his personal valour. The chieftains of this race raised the Egyptian empire on the foundation of pre-existing national institutions; but they did not maintain without a struggle the vast monarchy they had founded. Five generations had scarcely passed, ere the supremacy reverted to the aboriginal Mizraimite race. This was the era of the Pyramid-builders, during which the Thinite successors of Menes occupy the subordinate position of local rulers. But when their Theban descendants recovered the ascendancy, the era of Palace-temples began. The walls of these national edifices were blazoned with pictorial representations of the triumphs achieved by their royal builders for the glory of their country, which was thus committed to the safe-keeping of the gods. And it is a very remarkable fact, which the reader will have every opportunity given him, of verifying for himself, that, (with the exception of another aboriginal revolted race, the blacks of Ethiopia) the members of the three Rapha nations, and their tributaries, form *exclusively* the subjects of these historical sculptures. They are the only people upon whom Egypt has conferred the special and ignominious distinction of holding up to the contemptuous gaze of posterity the representation of their multitudes, in the very act of falling under the irresistible might of the conqueror's arm.

The earliest records of open hostilities between the Rapha branch of the Mizraimite race, and Egypt, is contained in the fragments of early Egyptian history quoted by Josephus from

Manetho. The substance of this account is that a people who called themselves Hyksos (or Royal Shepherds) invaded Egypt, and took possession of the country in a most unaccountable manner, without fighting; established the seat of their government at Memphis, and cruelly oppressed and ill-treated the Egyptians, as though they were bent on rooting out the race. They set up one of their chiefs as king, who, with his five successors, make the XVth dynasty of "*six foreign Phœnician kings who took Memphis*" of Manetho's lists. Their names and reigns are as follows:—

Manetho, as quoted by

I. Africanus.	Reigned.	II. Josephus.	Reigned.	Monumental Royal Titles.
1. Saïtes . . .	19y.	1. Salatis . . .	19y.	Ra·nefru·ka.
2. Bnon . . .	44	2. Beôn	44	Ra·s·nefruP·Anchi.
3. Pachnan .	61	3. Apachnas .	36y 7m.	Ra·shu Ab . . .
4. Staan . . .	50	5. Ianias . . .	50y. 1m.	Aân.
5. Archles. .	49	6. Assis	49y. 2m.	Ra·tet·ka Assa.
6. Apophis .	61	4. Apophis . .	61	. . . . *(unknown)*.

The chronological place of these kings is most probably coeval with the successors of the great Sesertasen, the Sesostris of Manetho and chief of the XIIth dynasty, "who conquered all Asia in nine years."[h] How far the ambitious Theban's exploits may have contributed to generate a hostile feeling between the two races, leading the Mizraimite tribes of the lower country to invite the help and favour the establishment of their Rapha kindred, can only be surmised. But the issue is recorded, that the invaders were successful, that they seized on the capital of Middle Egypt, Memphis, from whence they brought the lower and upper countries so completely under subjection, that the latter Theban kings of the XIIth dynasty were reduced to share the empire with their spoilers, retaining only the government of Upper Egypt. At the close of this double dy-

[h] Since the above was written, the publication of Mr. R. S. Poole's researches into the chronology of Manetho's seventeen earlier dynasties enables us to consider this supposition well established on monumental evidence. The names of Sesertasen's successors, and those corresponding to the "foreign Phœnician Shepherd-kings" have been found together on inscriptions. By this, it appears that the 11th Theban and 6th Memphite dynasties were coeval, the latter closing after the beginning of the 12th Theban, with the seizure of Memphis by the 15th.

Moreover, by his valuable discovery of the identity of the kings of the two Thinite dynasties with those of the Tablet of Abydos who precede the 11th and 12th Thebans, Mr. Poole has further demonstrated a point which I had ventured to assume on grounds of historical induction—namely, that the Theban line of Egyptian conquerors were the lineal descendants of Menes, founder of the Egyptian monarchy which they strove to restore.

I

II

III

IV

V

nasty, a period of confusion arises, and the thread of Egyptian history is completely broken. The shepherds appear to have fully established their power in the south, and reduced the Theban kingdom to the degraded position of a tributary province.

The lapse of time covered by this state of things is unknown, but has doubtless been greatly over-estimated by some recent chronologists. At last, an effort was made to shake off the foreign yoke. The king of Thebes, and the other kings of the Thebaid who were not yet subjected, combined against the usurping race; a long and fierce war ensued, which ended in the complete reduction of the shepherds. The remnant of their army was driven to a frontier-city of the Delta, called *Avaris*, where they fortified themselves so effectually, that after besieging them a long while in vain, though with an army of 48,000 men, the Theban leader Tethmosis (or Amôsis) despaired of taking the place, and capitulated with them, on condition that they would leave the country. They accordingly marched out in a body of 24,000 men, with their cattle and goods, and settled themselves, concludes Manetho, "in the country now called Judea, where they built a city large enough to contain so great a multitude, and called it Jerusalem."[i] Thus began the XVIIIth dynasty of Theban kings in Egypt, when the monarchy founded by Menes was restored entire in the line of his descendants.

At this period, a series of illustrated monumental records commences; and the conspicuous part borne in them by a people called the SHAS·U leaves no doubt that they are the Σως or Shepherds of the foregoing accounts. Their geographical identification with the Rephaim of the northern division—the Zuzim of Scripture—does not rest on the verbal similarity of the name, alone, but on a great number of collateral details which will be fully developed in the sequel. These, however, are so intimately interwoven with the monumental records relating to the cognate tribes of Sheth and Anak, that they could not be separated without losing much of their force. In consequence, I shall not be able to avoid anticipating a little the history of those tribes, in the present section, in order to exhibit such among those details as are indispensable to prove the point I now appear to assume, and on which so many historical and chronological conclusions depend.

It appears from a tablet quoted by Mr. Birch from Champollion,[j] that the Delta was the seat of war between the two

---

[i] *Josephus c. Apionem*, l. 1, c. 14—16.

[j] Birch on *Statistical Tablet of Karnak; Trans. Royal S. of Literature*, 2nd Series, vol. ii.; Champollion, *Egypte Ancienne*, p. 300.

races of Upper and Lower Egypt until the sixth year of Amôsis. Thus his first year is dated from the recovery of Memphis. The earliest campaigns against the SHAS'U in their own territory, are recorded under Thothmes II., and continue to be noticed under the chief conquerors who succeeded him, during the ensuing century. The notices of these wars cease with the latter part of the XVIIIth dynasty. At this time, the power of the Theban kings was greatly curtailed by another foreign invasion from the south. The names of these foreign aggressors, and representations of them worshipping the sun, are found on sculptures coeval with the reign of Thothmes IV. and his immediate successors, Horus, Amenoph III., and Rameses I.

The illustrious son of the latter king opens a new dynasty. His name is variously read, but SETI-MENEPHTAH seems the most authentic reading.[k] By his valour, he completely re-established the power of Egypt; and the sculptured records of his numerous triumphs over the great enemies of his nation in Palestine, cover the walls of his palace at Karnak.[l]

It appears by these memorials that, during the period of the above-mentioned foreign intruders, the SHAS'U had taken advantage of the weakened state of Upper Egypt to regain a footing in the Delta; for the opening event in the series, dated in the first year of the king's reign, is the overthrow of the SHAS'U, and the capture of a city by the sea, called "the fort of PAIROU (Pelusium[m]), which is towards the land of KANA'NA." The seat of the war is called the land of AÂN'T.[n] After routing

---

[k] This king's proper name SETI was written ideagraphically with the figure of the god SETH; but as this god became odious to the Egyptians, the figure was erased from inscriptions and that of OSIRI substituted; accordingly, Sir Gardner Wilkinson gives the name Osirei. (*Anc. Egyptians*, vol. i.) Mr. Sharpe (*History of Egypt*, ch. i., p. 41) takes the figure for a phonetic of *a* or *o*, and thus reads the name O-i Menephtah. Manetho's calling this king *Sethos* seems to countenance the reading which, on that account, I have preferred as the best authenticated.

[l] *Vide* the plates 48 to 57 inclusive, Rosellini, *Monumenti Reali.*

[m] Some read the name PAI-ROU ideagraphically, taking the sign *pai* for the article, and the lion (R) for the proper name. The article before a name written ideagraphically is unusual; and the phonetic reading adopted by Mr. Birch is supported by its agreement with the Coptic name Pheremoun, preserved in the modern Arabic name of the ruins, Farama, and which Champollion interprets to mean a place in a miry soil; so that its Greek form, Pelusium, derived from $\pi\eta\lambda os$, mud or clay, is a translation of the Egyptian name, Phere-moun or Phero-mi, of Champollion. (*L'Egypt sous les Pharaons.*)

[n] It may be worthy of remark that the western arm of the Arabian Gulf, called the Gulf of Heroopolis by the Greeks, is said by Pliny to be called the Gulf of *Æant.* (*Geog.*, l. vi., c. 29.) This suggests that both synonyms of the Gulf were taken from the land it bathed. AAN'T would thus denote the land east of the Delta—Arabian Egypt—the Scriptural Goshen, of which the southern part is the Heliopolitan nome, called in Gen. xlvii. 6, "the land of Rameses, the best of the land,"

the SHAS'U, Seti-Menephtah marched into Palestine and pursued them in their own quarters, cutting up on his way the kindred tribes who opposed his progress. The leading incidents of this campaign, delineated in the Karnak sculptures, are:—the rout of a party of AMĂR herdsmen, and capture of the fortress of ATESH; a terrible battle with the SHET'TA. The submission of the SHÂR, who offer him tribute or presents; that of the lower LET'N, and RMN'N, whom he employs as hewers of wood in his service, as equivalent to tribute; (comp. Josh. x. 21—27.) A fierce engagement with the upper LET'N, who resisted his passage; and another with the TAHI, of the MNA'N nation. The conqueror led the chiefs of these nations captive to Thebes; and the final tableau exhibits him presenting his captives, with the spoils of the conquered, and the names of all his foreign tributary lands and cities, in triumph before the local gods of Thebes, AMUN, MUT, and KHONS. It is remarkable that PI'BASH (Bubastis) occurs among these. It proves that the Theban kings looked upon Lower Egypt as a different people and a tributary state. According to Manetho, as quoted by Josephus, the title of *Αἴγυπτος* was first borne by Sesostris-Rameses II. The annotations to other copies of Manetho's dynastic lists say that it was Sethos himself who was so called. At all events, the circumstance that the territorial name *Ai-kupt* "the land of Copt" (= Caphtor) was first assumed by the kings of the XIXth dynasty who permanently annexed the Delta to their dominions, is too remarkable to be passed over without notice.

The national foes of Egypt were thus brought under subjection by Seti-Menephtah I. Nevertheless, the war broke out again under his illustrious successor, Rameses II. But the power of the SHAS'U, the leading tribe, had been too severely shaken by their disasters in the late contest, to risk the chances of another campaign. When the conqueror, in the fifth year of his reign, marched into Palestine with an immense army, preparing to march against the SHET'TA (Emim) who on this occasion took the lead in raising the standard of rebellion, the SHAS'U are said to have been so struck with terror at the vastness of the armament, and at the might of the Egyptian archers, that they sent ambassadors to the king, tendering their alle-

---

the part in which the Hebrew colony first settled, near Heliopolis (Rameses) and Scenæ Veteranorum (Succoth).—(Sharpe, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 31.) It is not unlikely that AAN'T is only the Egyptian (feminine) form of Aôn, אן, the ancient name of Heliopolis, the most noted city of that region, enlarged by the Thebans, and by them named Rameses "the sun-bearing."

giance and offering him the custody of their lands in the name of the nation.[o] There are no monumental records relating to the SHAS'U under the weak and superstitious PTAH-MEN or MENEPHTAH, (Amenophis), the son and successor of the great Rameses. But Manetho relates a revolt of the oppressed captive race in Lower Egypt, who called in the aid of their kindred in Palestine, the Shepherds of Jerusalem expelled by Amosis. Menephtah fled from before these invaders, and retired into Ethiopia for thirteen years, during which they tyrannized over all Egypt. His son, Sethos, (who is also called Rameses) expelled them, and pursued them to the frontier of Syria. Josephus quotes in full Manetho's narrative of this event; and is rather severe in his strictures on the mis-representations and anachronisms he charges upon the Egyptian priest. The fault, however, lies at the door of the Jewish historian, who has evidently misunderstood the tenor of the story, by applying it to his Hebrew forefathers, from the circumstance that, like them, the remnant of Hyksos population in Goshen had been subjected, as conquered captives, to the most oppressive bondage,—a bondage in which the Hebrews, from motives of state policy, were ultimately made their fellow sufferers. The sculptures of Rameses III., at Medinet-Abou, relate the close of this eventful history, which sealed the fate of the Rephaim. The pictures are most important, and the inscriptions copious. Two memorable campaigns are specially recorded, subsequent to the expulsion of the last Shepherd invaders.[p] This time, the Rephaim of Judea take the lead—the formidable children of Anak. The other tribes appear only as auxiliaries;—nay, in the first of these two expeditions, dated in the fifth year of the king's reign, the PULSA'TA (Philistines), are represented as having submitted to the conqueror, like the SHAS'U to Rameses II.; and the TAKKAR'U (Ekronites) are actually employed as mercenaries or as allies of Egypt against their neighbours and kindred of RBO (Arbâ) in the chief commemorative battle-scene of this war. The capture of SHALĂM (Shalem) is also recorded on this occasion. These details suggest that the SHAS'U, or Rephaim of Bashan probably were not the leaders in the last irruption of the Shepherds, but those of Judea.

However, the whole body of the nation again collected their forces, in a final effort to shake off the yoke of Egypt. We learn that all the Rapha tribes took part against Rameses in

---

[o] Rosellini, *Mon. Reali*, pl. lxxxvii. The details of this campaign belong to the history of another nation,—the Emim.

[p] *Ibid.*, plates 136 *et sqq.* The particulars of this war belong to the history of the Anakim.

this last campaign, which occurred in the twelfth year of his reign, from the curious and invaluable series of portraits of their chiefs, selected from the most illustrious among the captives he brought in triumph to Thebes, and which are sculptured round the wall of a chamber, known as his harem, at Medinet-Abou.[q] For among them are found the chief of a land called SHAIRTA'NA, whose costume is the same as the people who are united with the PULSA'TA (Philistines), and TAKKAR'U (Ekronites), against the Egyptians in the great picture of a naval engagement, forming the leading event of this campaign, and who are also identical in every respect with the SHAS.U warriors represented as tendering their submission to Rameses II., in the great historical tableau of his celebrated expedition against the SHET'TA. The helmet of these people has for a crest, the emblem of ÂSTRTA, "the two-horned Ashtaroth, tutelar goddess of the metropolis of Bashan, and of all the Rapha nations,—consisting of a pair of cow's horns surmounted by a globe; this would have sufficed to indicate their land, even if we had not found the city of SHAIRTA'NA (Zarthan) within the domains of Bashan. Another chief, whose legend SHA.... is mutilated, is nevertheless recognizable by his strong likeness to the former, and the shape of his crown, as one of the SHAS'U, which is probably the restoration of his name. The chief of SHET'TA also is there; a sly, ignoble, bloated, and singularly repulsive countenance! Among them, too, is the great chief of RBO, the 'father of Arbâ himself, and another chief, who might be cousin-german of the latter, by the strong family-likeness of their features, only that he is a rather longer-faced man; wearing also the small peaked beard and the long curl or braid hanging down the side of the smoothly-shaved cheek and temple, which are characteristic points in the costume of the Anakim, and stamp him as one of that race, although the name of his district or city, MASHUASH, is not to be found among the biblical notices. We have also the chief of TAKURI, the Ekronite Philistines, and of the AMĂR, their Amorite dependants. In the inscriptions of Medinet-Abou, the land of AMĂR is called "a land of the TAKKAR'U;" and in the biblical notices, we find that Ekron was one of the Philistine principalities in the land "accounted to the Canaanite."

All these captive figures are represented kneeling, stripped of their upper robe or mantle of distinction, with their hands bound behind them, and a rope round their necks. Notwithstanding the strong cast of individuality in features and expres-

[q] Rosellini, *Mon. Reali*, pl. 141—143.

sion that characterizes each separate profile, there is a common type by which all the countenances belonging to the Rephaim can be distinguished from the rest; it is impossible to doubt that they were all literally copied from nature. There is nothing conventional about them. The characteristic Rapha type is its *angular* profile. The nose, though arched, is not prominent; but, like the Egyptian nose, was rather flattened about the nostril; nevertheless, the profile has a sort of prominence, caused by the retiring line of the forehead above, and of the underlip and chin below. In this respect, the countenance of this race forms a striking contrast to the Hebrew profile, which, exclusive of the prominent Shemitic nose, presents a nearly perpendicular outline, from the fulness of the forehead and the frequent tendency of the underlip and chin to advance. The eyes of the Rapha face are long, flat, and rather slanting upwards at the corners, like the Egyptian; whereas the eyes of the Hebrew are full, rather round, and set on a horizontal line. The lips are somewhat flat and broad, like the Egyptian; those of the Hebrew are generally either thin or full, but never, in the genuine type, present that peculiar flattened character rendered so familiar to our eyes by the Egyptian statues.

Thus do we gather from the boastful memorials of the last great Theban conqueror's prowess, not only the fate of this doomed race, but those minute particulars of their physical characteristics from which we might venture to assign their ethnological position, as members of that prolonged line of primeval civilization that extended from the foot of Mount Hermon to the extreme borders of the Thebaid.

After the conquests of Rameses III., none of these people are ever mentioned again as enemies of Egypt, in the national records. Their civil polity was finally broken up, their remnant dispersed; their fortresses were razed to the ground, their cities depopulated. From that time they cease to be reckoned among the nations. "The land that had been left of them" retained for a brief season the name of that once "great, numerous and haughty people," as the popular type of all that had been terrible to the nations around; and from the dim traditions of departed greatness associated with its memory, that name was only lost from among the living, to pass over into the language of the country as a poetic synonym for the mighty dead.

Under this sense we meet with the closing allusion to the Rephaim, in the sublime prophetic denunciations of Isaiah. Many centuries have past away since their race was rooted out of the land. Meanwhile, the power of their ancient rival and foe, Shinar, has reached its summit, surpassing even their own.

All Asia groans within its iron grasp. Yet the prophet foretels the dissolution of this mighty empire. In a strain of the most exalted poetical imagery, he introduces the fallen power of Babylon under the figure of a man slain by the sword, and cast into an untimely, dishonoured grave, from whence his ancient adversaries are evoked, to taunt him:—

"Hades below is thrilled, to greet thy coming,
Stirring up against thee the Rephaim, all the chiefs of the earth;
He hath raised from their seats all the kings of the nations;
They address thee, saying unto thee:

"'Art thou, too, enfeebled as we? art thou become like ourselves—
Thy pomp, the tumult of thy viols, brought down to the grave—
The couch beneath thee, worms,—the grub, thy covering!
How art thou fallen from the skies, Lucifer, son of the dawn'
How art thou cut down to the ground, waster of nations!'"—
Isaiah xiv. 9—12.

CHAPTER VII.

Geographical Identity of the Zuzim and SHAS'U.

The biblical student will perceive that this rapid sketch of the great Egyptian revolutions involves an important chronological problem. If the SHAS'U, the MNA'T'U'N ... (ANKA?) and the SHET'TA of the events described in the Egyptian historical series, can be proved to be identical with the three Rapha nations known as the Zuzim, Anakim, and Emim of the biblical series, it will necessarily follow that the overthrow of these nations by the Theban kings of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties must have preceded the Hebrew conquest of Palestine. For the Egyptian monuments that record the deeds of these people,—that bear their names, with the names of the kings who contended with them, and the dates of the respective expeditions, accompanied by references to the geography, history, and worship of the inimical race which will enable us to place their identity beyond the reach of a reasonable doubt,—these very monuments expressly represent them as sufficiently powerful and daring to withstand the power of Egypt, and even to invade the country, under the two most renowned kings of the nineteenth dynasty Seti-Menephtah I. and Rameses II. Yet Moses distinctly affirms that, in his time, the political existence of the Rephaim was at an end, and that other races had the dominion over their lands. Accordingly, under any system of *relative* chronology which attempts to connect Egyptian and Hebrew

history by placing the Exodus and conquest under the eighteenth dynasty, it is necessary to suppose that in the reigns of Seti-Menephtah and Rameses II., who recorded their triumphs over the SHAS'U, SHET'TA, and MNA'T'U'N (ANKA?) the lands of the Zuzim had, for more than a century, been occupied by the Manassites and Ammonites; those of the Emim, by the Reubenites, Gadites, and Moabites; and those of the Anakim, by the children of Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim;—which is as much as to say, the seat of those wars could not have been Palestine, and those inimical nations could not have been these tribes of the Rephaim.

And as to the *absolute* place in time of the corresponding events:—the reign of Rameses II. is fixed by the astronomical sculptures of the Ramesseum, to within a very limited range, either way, from the beginning of the Canicular cycle, 1325 B.C. Accordingly, if I can substantiate the identity of the Rephaim with the great enemies of Egypt, it must inevitably follow that the most generally received chronology of the Bible history, which places the Exodus 1491 B.C., is nearly two centuries out of time; as that event ought to fall somewhere between the years 1325 and 1300 B.C., that the conquest of Palestine by the Israelites may follow, after a sufficient interval, the last expeditions by which Rameses III., in the twelfth year of his reign, struck the death-blow at the political existence of all those nations above mentioned.[r]

A fuller discussion of this chronological point, and a more definite adjustment of its dates, belong to a different section of a comprehensive history of the Mosaic Period, which our present subject is only intended to introduce. Nevertheless, this short digression could not be avoided; for, as we draw nearer to that period, we cannot follow up the destinies of the Rephaim, without encountering events which would have compelled me to assume this chronological position, at the risk of drawing the reluctant reader along a track he regarded as undermined by an inherent anachronism. It is better, therefore, to look the difficulty full in the face, and let the issue depend on the evidences I will now bring to bear on my side of the question. If they be insufficient to establish the fundamental point of identity, neither history nor chronology will have received any fresh illus-

---

[r] The reader is here referred to some most interesting and valuable remarks, by the Duke of Northumberland, inserted by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in vol. i. of *Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 76—81. Those remarks trace a series of etymological coincidences, well worthy of the historian's attention, as pointing to the very same chronological connexion as that suggested by Manetho, and illustrated by this history—whereby the Exodus falls within the reign of Amenophis on MENEPHTAH.

tration. But if they prove satisfactory to the enquirer, the chronological consequences they entail cannot be avoided.

The resemblance between the Egyptian and Hebrew transcripts of a name may be accidental. The chances of uncertainty are increased by the fact that a few sounds rendered in Hebrew by two letters, namely, *l* and *r*, *d* and *t*, *g* and *k*, *sh* and *ch*, are both represented by one Egyptian character. This ambiguity, added to the frequent omission of vowels, often leaves the identity of a name uncertain, unless we can find some more decisive criterion to confirm it. The verbal coincidence of the name and title of the זוזים ZUZIM or SHAS'U of *Houg*, with the Huk-Sôs of Manetho,—of the Scriptural שחים SHT'IM with the Egyptian local name SHT'TA'N or *Land* of *Shet*; of the Scriptural ארבע Arbâ with the Egyptian RBO, would have *suggested*, but would not have sufficed to *establish* a case of identity to my satisfaction, if I had not also been able to ascertain that the cities monumentally referred to these several nations, were to be found in the lands of the corresponding nations, the Zuzim, Emim, and Anakim of Scripture.

But there is an Egyptian document which enables me to bring the question at once to a test as decisive as the most cautious theorist could require. This document is referred to by Mr. Birch in his invaluable translation of the statistical tablet of Karnak,[s] which enumerates the campaigns of Thothmes III., the people he conquered, and the amount and nature of the tribute he levied upon them. Among other fragments of illustrative matter relating to these nations, and especially that called the SHET'TA, quoted by Mr. Birch from a variety of monumental sources, he gives an extract from the *Sallier* Papyrus, which professes to describe, in a semi-poetic form, "a journey to the land of the SHET'TA;" giving the names of the principal places which occur on the road, and of some which are situated above it, or which are visible from it. From several of the names, which he recognized, Mr. Birch remarks that this route partly lay through Palestine. By carefully searching for the biblical correspondents of the rest, I found that they were all recoverable, in positions exactly corresponding to those indicated by the ancient Egyptian itinerary; and that the route thus traced led to the very land I had previously identified by name as that of the SHET'TA. As the traveller is directed to pass through the land of the SHAS'U on his way, the proof that confirms the geographical identity of the former, equally confirms that of the latter. On this account, although it may be anticipating the subject of a future section of our history, it will be more expedient to

s *Trans. Royal Society of Literature*, New Series, vol. ii.

introduce in the present one a complete analysis of this route, than to dismiss our account of the Zuzim with the question of their identity in any degree unsettled.

The wars of Rameses II. against the SHET'TA form the subject of the papyrus from which this fragment is taken; and the document is not less curious from its remote antiquity, than from the interesting comparison it enables us to institute between the geography of the Bible and that of the ancient Egyptians.

"Thy journey lies to the land of the KHITA.[t] AUBA and SHATU'MA appear to you. In the same manner I tell you of CAFIRI, it is that which is the *Baita* of Ramessu, the fortress of the CHIRUBU; in its waters..... its course resembles that which you make in going to the ATI and TUBASHI. You go to the bow-bearing SHASU, crossing the road at MAKARU.....the heaven is...with light; it is planted with clumps of (cedars ?) and acacias. You disturb the wild animals and deer, and the camels ridden by the SHASU on its road; it leads thee up to the hill of the land of SHAVA..... I subsequently tell you of the fortresses which are above these, as thou goest to the land of TACHISA. CAFIR-MARUCHANA, TAMNEH, ATI, TAPURU, ATAI, HARUNEMA. You look at KARTA-ANBU, BATA-TUBAR;—you know ARUTUMA, TITPUTA, in the same manner. I tell you the name of CHANRUTA, which is the land of AUBA, the bull of the frontiers in its place"..... *Pap. Sallier.*, pl. lii., p. 18, lines 7, 8.

"The writer also mentions BAITA-SHA(N), the TARUKA ARU, and the passage of the IURTANA."

ANALYSIS.

"Thy journey lies to the land of the SHET'TA. AUBA and SHATU'MA appear to you."

A traveller who enters Palestine from Egypt by the usual route from the Sinaitic desert to Hebron—"the way of the spies" (Nu. xiv., xxi. 1) will have the land of Canaan before him on his left; and the Dead Sea, with the contiguous lands, on his right, as he first comes out of the desert upon the cultivated lands near *Tel Arad.* By the analysis of the concluding passage of our extract, we shall see that AUBA must have been the local name of the land of Canaan, known in Scripture only by its patronymic.

SHAT'U is the Egyptian plural form of the radical SHET; consequently, the equivalent of the Hebrew שִׁתִּים, the name of the land which the Israelites conquered from the Amorites. Its monumental form is SHT'TA'N, referring to the land; and SHT'TA'U'N,

[t] In this quotation I copy Mr. Birch's orthography of the names: the variation in his reading of KHITA=SHETTA arises only from the ambiguous power of the initial etter (the *sieve*=ש or ח), so that in such cases it is really necessary to have identified the names correctly, before you can be sure of the right reading. The original Egyptian text has no vowel; when this is the case, an *e* is supplied.

or SHT'TA, referring to the people. SHAT'U'MA is equivalent to the latter, substituting the formative of locality MA, *a place*, for the ordinary terminal N. The name is thus, "the place of the SHAT'U;" *i.e.*, the land of the children of Sheth. In another passage of the papyrus, it is called the land of SHET.

By this opening of the Egyptian description, it is obvious that some part of the land of the SHET'TA was visible to the traveller, though from a distance, on his first emerging from the desert and coming upon the high lands of the wilderness of Judea; and consequently, that the SHET'TA were very near neighbours of the Egyptians. The next station defines this land, and identifies it, still more clearly.

"In the same manner I tell you of CAFIRI; it is that which is the House of Ramessu, the fortress of the CHERB'U."

Thus, CAFIRI is the next place that appears to the traveller "in the same manner." By continuing to advance northwards, we soon come upon a site called, in ancient times, Caphar-barucha. It stands on a height commanding the desert of Judea on the right; while on the left, it covers the entrance to the vale of Hebron, from which it is distant scarcely three miles. The name בָּפַר means "a cover," a house of defence. From its being here called the *Baita* or House of Ramessu, the conqueror evidently had obtained possession of this important frontier stronghold, the fortress of the CHERB'U.

Since SHAT'U'MA "appears to you" even before reaching CAFIRI, it is clear that the southern part of the land of the Emim is the country thus described, the mountainous part which becomes visible behind the Dead Sea to a traveller in the position indicated above. Thus the local name Shittim of the Bible was not limited to the plains of Heshbon, but included all the land of the Emim. The Egyptian forms SHET'TA'N and SHAT'U'MA correspond equally to the Hebrew שִׁדִּים Shiddim, by which name the Royal valley of the Pentapolis is designated.

When we thus come upon CAFIRI or Caphar-barucha so near Hebron, and find it called the fortress of the CHERB'U, we cannot doubt that CHERB'U is HEBR'ON. The transposition of the two last radicals does not occur in the same name at Medinet-Abou. But the identity is substantiated by the fact that, in the monuments, the two names CHERB'U and RBO denote the *same people;* and in Scripture, the two corresponding names of חֶבְרוֹן Hebron, and קִרְיַת אַרְבַּע Kiriath-ARBA, (the city of Arba,) denote the *same city.* The Septuagint retain the primitive value of the Hebrew letters in their transcript, πολις Ἀρβοκ, which, accordingly, much more closely resembles the Egyptian form

—RBO—than the pointed text *Arba*.[u] (The final κ is an attempt to indicate the rough articulation of the guttural Hebrew vowel ע.) The numerous historical and geographical references which further confirm this identity must be deferred to the future section treating of their history of this formidable race, the terror and scourge of KHAM; who proved themselves to the last true to their friends—and terrible to their foes.

"Its course (*i.e.*, the road to the land of the SHET·TA,) resembles that which you make in going to the ATI and TUBASHI. You go to the bow-bearing SHAS·U, crossing the road at MAKARU."

"TUBASHI verbally corresponds to Thebez תֵּבֵץ, and still more closely to the modern name of the site, *Tubas*. It is the city Abimelech the son of Gideon was besieging, when he met his death (Jud. ix. 50—54). It lay a little to the north of Shechem. The line of road must therefore take in Aiath, עַי, the ATI of our text.

The traveller is evidently told to follow the road that would lead from CAFIRI to those places, but he is not told to go to them; he is to make for the land of the SHAS·U, by crossing some remarkable road or pass at a place called MAKARU. There is precisely such a pass to be crossed at מִגְרוֹן Migro·n. It is particularly described in 1 Sam. xiv. 2, 4, 5, "The garrison of the Philistines went out to the passage of Michmash . . . and Saul was tarrying at the extremity of Gibeah, beneath the pomegranate tree in Migron . . . and between the passages by which Jonathan sought to cross over to the garrison of the Philistines, there was a steep rock on one side, and another steep rock on the other side. . . The steep of one rock was situated northward, facing Michmash, and the other, southward, facing Gibeah." This description shews that the passage bore east and west, and accordingly intersected the northern Thebez road, which, up to that point, had been the traveller's course. Another reference to this road or passage—for it is the bed of a small winter-torrent—occurs in Isaiah x. 28, in conjunction with Aiath or ATI. The prophet is describing the sudden march of the Assyrian invader upon Jerusalem, supposing him to have crossed the Jordan at the *Shibboleth* ford, near the Wady Zurka.[v] "He is come to Aiath, he has passed by Migron, at Michmash he hath laid up his baggage; they have crossed the passage—they have taken up their lodging at Geba; Ramah trembleth—Gibeah of Saul hath fled."

---

[u] In this important name we must again set aside the Hebrew vowel-points, to obtain the true pronunciation of the original radicals.

[v] *Vide* Judges xii. 5, 6.

As no more places are mentioned between MAKARU and the land of the SHAS·U, the distance between the two cannot have been great. If the SHAS·U be the Rephaim of Gilead, as I infer from their name, the traveller is in their land as soon as he has crossed the Shibboleth ford, which is found a few miles below the confluence of the Jordan and the Wady Zurka. The journey thither, from the point where the great northern or Thebez road is intersected by the passage of MAKARU, may be accomplished in a few hours, by cutting across the naked desert which, in that part, separates Judea from the valley of the Jordan.

The direction to cross the river is not given in its place; but this poetical fragment is not a regular geographical itinerary; nevertheless, a subsequent reference to the PASSAGE of the IURTANA in conjunction with the TARUKA ARU leaves no doubt on the reader's mind that the Shibboleth ford was a well known point of the route, and the one here alluded to. For although the Israelites gave the name of Jabbok to the river which runs into the Jordan near this ford, in memory of their ancestor Jacob's contest with the celestial messenger[w]—and although that river is always called the Jabbok in the Hebrew history—we find, by the Egyptian form TARUKA ARU (or river), that the Wady *Zurka* still bears its primitive name, and that the "Passage of the Jordan" alluded to, must have been the celebrated ford in its vicinity. Thus the Egyptian route is precisely that taken by Sennacherib's army—only reversing the direction.

Having landed his traveller in the country of the SHAS·U, the Egyptian poet indulges in a short description of its leading physical features—which gives an interesting test of its identity.

"The heaven is . . . with light. It is planted with clumps of (cedars?) and acacias. You disturb the wild animals and deer, and the camels ridden by the SHAS·U on its road; it leads thee up to the hill of the land of SHAVA."

It is impossible to give in fewer words a more lively representation of a thickly-wooded country. It is not a description, but a living picture. For the accuracy of the likeness, I need only refer to the Rev. Eli Smith's account already quoted (vide ante, chap. v.), and also to the forests of thick oak in the hilly regions of Bashan and Gilead, mentioned by Burckhardt, especially one near Ammân.[x] Lord Lindsay describes these forests, like Mr. E. Smith, as consisting chiefly of evergreen oak.

---

[w] יַבֹּק akin to אבק to collide, contend. Hence the Jabbok is "the river of *the contest.*"

[x] Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, pp. 265, 348, 356.

The word Mr. Birch translates "cedars" is marked (?) as doubtful. It should probably be oaks.

And that this land was a thoroughfare for caravans with camels, is shewn by Gen. xxxvii. 25: "Behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead, with their camels, bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt."

As the entrance to the land of SHAS·U is placed at the ford, the hill of the land of SHAVA must be the Jebel Jelâd or Es Salt. This mountain marked the boundary of the Zuzim and Emim.[y] Immediately to the south is the scriptural Shittim. Here the description ends—the traveller has reached the goal—he is in the land of the Children of Sheth.

The name SHAVA, which here denotes that land, was in fact its local name. The Hebrew form, Shittim, is only a synonym, derived from the patronymic SHETH, guardian divinity of the land. As early as Gen. xiv., we find (ver. 5) one of the cities of the people whom the Moabites called Emim, bearing the name of Shaveh-kiriathaim, *the double city of Shaveh;* and in ver. 17, the Metropolitan vale of Shiddim is also called "the valley of Shaveh, the royal valley." By finding this name under the form SHAVA, referable to the northern boundary of the land of SHET;—again in Gen. xiv., to a city in its central province, afterwards given to the Reubenites,—and again to a district in the southern extremity of the land, precisely where SHAT·U·MA "appears to you,"—we have thus a clear proof that SHAVA or SHAVEH, שָׁוֵה, was not a mere province, but that this name included the whole country of the Emim.

We shall pass very lightly over the places mentioned in the second part of our extract; it is interesting to find them all equally referable to cities of note in Palestine,—and all fulfilling the only condition required by the Egyptian description—that of being situated above (or beyond) those passed on the route, and consequently more or less out of the way of a traveller bound for the land of the SHET·TA. A list of the names, with their Hebrew correspondents, will suffice to shew their identity.

"I subsequently tell you of the fortresses which are situated above these as thou goest to the land of TACHISA."

---

[y] At the foot of this hill lay Jâzer. In Numb. xxi. 24, we read: "for the border of the children of Ammon was strong." כִּי עַז גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן but the Septuagint have ὅτι Ἰαζὴρ ὅρια υἱων Ἀμμών ἐστι—having read כִּי יעזר "For Jâzer is the border of the children of Ammon;" probably the true reading, as it gives a geographical limit required by the context, whereas the Hebrew reading has no obvious connexion with it. Jâzer was at the foot of Jebel Jelâd. Moses sent to "spy out Jâzer"—intending to cross the ford, had not the Amorites interfered with his movements and compelled him to give them battle.

CAFIR-MARUCHA-NA, כְּפִירָה, "Chephirah of the royal abode," a fortress a little to the north of Shalem (Josh. ix. 17).

TAMNEH, תִּמְנָה, Timnath-Serah or Timnath-Heres, city of Joshua in Mount Ephraim (Josh. xix. 50; Jud. ii. 9).

ATI, עַיָּה, Aiath, generally supposed to be the same as Ai, a little eastward of Beth-El.

TAPURU, תָּבוֹר, Tabor, a Levitical city (Josh. xix. 22; 1 Chr. vi. 77).

ATAI, עִתְּהַקָּצִין, (ÂTAH). Probably Ittah-kazin or Ittah "*the chief*" (Josh. xix. 13).

HARUNE-MA, בֵּית חוֹרוֹן, Beth-Horon. The place, or House of Hor. A noted fortress on the Benjamite border (Josh. x. 10), and a Levitical city (Josh. xxi. 22). Site extant: *Beit-Ur.*

"You look at KARTA-ANBU, BATA-TUBAR; you know ARUTU-MA, TITPU'TA, in the same manner."

This means that these places are visible to the traveller from the road, either from their proximity, or their conspicuous situations. Such is the case with the following places, to which they correspond by name:—

KARTA-ANBU, עֲנָב, Anab, a city of the Anakim. In the Bible, the prefix קִרְיָה, *a walled city*, characteristic of the chief cities of the Rephaim, is wanting; the Egyptian text supplies it (Josh. xi. 21). Site extant: *Anab.*

BATA-TUBAR, דְּבִיר, Debir, otherwise Kiriath-Sepher. From being here classed among cities *visible* from the road above particularized, it must have been on the eastern side of the mountains: but the site has perished. The occurrence of the name Debir, like that of Hebron, is remarkable: for it proves the antiquity of these two local names (Josh. xv. 15—19; xi. 21.)

ARUTU-MA, עֲרָד, Arad. A city of the Amorites in southern Canaan (Numb. xxi. 1). Site extant: *Tel Arad.*

TITPU-TA, בית תַּפּוּחַ Beth-Tappuah,[z] on a height of the mountain pass, overlooking the vale of Eshcol (Josh. xii. 17). Site extant: *Teffûh.*

"I tell you the name of CHANRU'TA, which is the land of AUBA, the bull (chief or principal place) of the frontier in its place."

Since the land of AUBA begins as you enter Palestine from the south, and the city of Chinneroth, כִּנֶּרֶת, on the border of the lake to which it gave its name, is still "the land of AUBA,"

---

z In the Hebrew form, the letter ת coming awkwardly before פ at the end of a syllable, is struck out, and supplied by doubling the פ.

it is clear that the Egyptians must have understood all Canaan by that name; it was probably derived from אוֹב, Aub, (producing,) name of a Canaanite god, often alluded to in Scripture, but usually mistranslated by *a familiar spirit*. The priests and priestesses of this god pretended to possess oracular powers; hence the Israelites are repeatedly warned not to be ensnared by their juggleries; and having recourse to the אוֹבוֹת Auboth, and יִדְּעֹנִים Iddônim, "*knowing ones*," was made a capital offence. Saul went to consult a priestess of Aub, בַּעֲלַת־אוֹב, (lit. *mistress of Aub,)* at Ain-Dor, when the oracle of the Lord had refused to answer him (1 Sam. xxviii. 6, 7). The region of Dor was contiguous to Chinneroth, which is "the land of Auba" (Josh. xi. 2).

It is particularly worthy of notice that the Egyptian author of this geographical fragment, by calling CHANRU·TA "the chief place" (bull) of the frontier of AUBA, corroborates in a remarkable manner the ethnographical division of Palestine laid down by Moses, who, as we have already seen, assigns the lake of Chinneroth as the eastern limit of the Canaanite.

CHAPTER VIII.

Cities and Dependencies of the Zuzim.

Our chance of identifying whatever cities of the Zuzim are mentioned separately on monumental inscriptions, are but slender. Of the three-score they boasted, very few are alluded to in the passing references to this land, in the Bible. Among these, two very important frontier-cities can be traced with certainty to well-known monumental names, viz.: Zarthan and Pethor. The lists of Rameses III. at Medinet-Abou give, among other names, GAL·NA and ADAR, which correspond so exactly with גּוֹלָן, GOL·AN, *(Jaulan,)* and אֶדְרֶעִי, ADRÂI (Edrei, now *Adra* or *Dráa)* as to render their identity more than probable, notwithstanding the double power of their radicals.

Zarthan, צָרְתָן (also Zartanah,) SHAIRTA·NA, is mentioned three times in the Bible, so as to define its geographical position very satisfactorily, although the site is not extant. From Josh. iii. 16, it appears to have been a remarkable place, well known to the Hebrews:—

"The waters which were coming down from above, stopped; they rose in an accumulation[a] very far beyond Adam, the city which is by the

---

[a] נֵד literally *a removal* or transposition, indicating that the waters were transferred from their usual course or place. There is no English word to convey this idea with precision, but *heap* does not: it gives a false idea of the physical aspect

side of Zarthan; and those which were coming down towards the Sea of Arabah, the Salt Sea, failed, were cut off, and the people passed over, opposite Jericho."

The site of Adam is unknown; but from 1 Kings iv. 12, we gather that Zarthan itself was very far up the Jordan; as Beth-Shân is there placed—אֵצֶל—on the opposite side of Zartanah. Finally, in 1 Kings vii. 46, we find that Solomon cast the brazen vessels for the temple, in the clay-ground between Succoth and Zarthan; whence we infer it must have been on the opposite bank of the river, for the foundries in the cavity of the watercourse (בְּבִקְעַ) to have Succoth on one side, and Zarthan on the other.

The inscription facing the Zarthanian captive "SHAIRTA'NA n pai iuma," "Zarthan by the sea," may be urged as an objection to my referring this name to an inland city. However, it only proves that the ancient Egyptian *iuma* was a term as comprehensive as its Hebrew correspondent *iam* יָם, and the modern Arabic equivalent *bahr*, which at the present day—both in Egypt and in Palestine—stands indifferently for any considerable body of water, whether a sea or a lake, a river, or even only a canal. Nahum (chap. viii. 3) compares Nineveh to No-Amun, "whose rampart was the sea, and her wall from the sea;" meaning the Nile. Dr. Robinson's Arab guide, who spoke English, always translated his native term *bahr* by *the sea*. And Jeremiah (chap. xlviii. 32) calls the Jordan "the sea of Jâzer," because that city was near it, opposite the Shibboleth ford. The ford of Beth-Shan *(Beisan)* is the next place where the Jordan is passable. Zarthan overlooked and guarded this critical spot. Some ruins not far from Jabesh-Gilead *(Yabes)*, nearly opposite Succoth *(Sukhot)*, probably mark the site of Zarthan.

PETUR is mentioned as early as in the reign of Thothmes III., in the statistical tablet of Karnak, and again in the inscriptions of Rameses III. The identity of this name with the Pethor of the Pentateuch has never been doubted, from its collocation with NAHARI'NA, which is universally and indisputably referred to the Aram-Naharaim of the Bible. But most Biblical and Egyptian scholars will be somewhat startled at finding Pethor ranked among the domains of Bashan, having been accustomed to the prevalent opinion that it was in Mesopotamia beyond the Euphrates.

---

presented by the phenomenon, both in this place and in Exod. xv. 8. *Vide* Isa. xvii. 11, where the translation is judiciously corrected in the margin, to "the harvest shall be *removed*." In Ps. xxxiii. 7, *heap* also very inadequately expresses the gathering together of the waters to form the natural ocean.

This city is first mentioned as the residence of Balaam, (Nu. xxii. 5.) "Pethor, which is near the river of the children of בְּנֵי עַמּוֹ, *his people,*" is the reading of the printed Hebrew text; whereupon Kennicott justly observes that although this passage was evidently intended to convey a definition of Balaam's abode, it is really very indefinite, as the form of expression describes no particular land or river. But the Samaritan Pentateuch clears up the obscurity by supplying the terminal ן, accidentally lost out of the Hebrew עַמּוֹ, and thus gives the description: "Pethor which is near the river of the children of Ammon;" and as this reading is supported by the Syriac and Vulgate versions, and fourteen ancient Hebrew MSS. of high authority, twelve of which were examined by Kennicott, no stronger evidence can be desired to settle its authenticity; whereby the site of Pethor is transferred from the neighbourhood of the Euphrates to that of the Jordan.

The Eberite prophet's own allusion to his birth-place:

> "From Aram hath Balak, king of Moab, led me;
> From the mountains of the East."

suggests that Pethor was situated among the mountains out of which the river in question takes its rise, though we cannot be certain whether this was the Wady Zurka or the Moiet-Ammân. It also implies a very important geographical fact: that in the primeval distribution of races, these mountains were part of the Aramite settlements.

All the country included between the land of the Rephaim and the great Syrian desert, seems to have been known as "the East country" by the people of Palestine, although its patronymic was "the land of Uz," derived from the elder branch of the Aramite family, its earliest settlers. The vale of Damascus, its northern limit, still retains the old name עוּץ *Hûtz* in the modern form "El Ghuta;" and we learn from Lam. iv. 21, that it also extended southward so as to include Edom; whence, the Edomite Job, who dwelt in the land of Uz, is called "the greatest of the children of the East." The statement of Balaam, that the land on the eastern Ammonite frontier was Aram, is thus well supported by other Scriptural references. The land actually occupied by the Ammonites, as we have already seen, was that which was formerly the land of the Rephaim.

From Deut. xxiii. 4, we further gather that Pethor was geographically referable to that part of the Aramean settlements known as Aram-Naharaim. Here, as in many other places, the Septuagint has taken upon themselves to paraphrase the Hebrew name by *Μεσοποταμια*, a "land *between rivers*," in-

stead of simply transcribing it, and leaving it to expound itself, a land of two rivers נַהֲרַיִם. This led to the inference that the two rivers understood must be the Euphrates and Tigris, although in no part of Scripture is there any authority for thus transporting the Aramites beyond the Euphrates into the land of the Chasdim. It is much to be regretted that by copying the Septuagint form of the name, instead of the Hebrew, our old English translators have unfortunately contributed to disseminate this mistake so far and wide, that we are completely thrown off our guard by its very universality; and every one has accepted the proposition that Aram-Naharaim is Mesopotamia beyond the Euphrates and Tigris, without stopping to examine the foundation upon which it is propounded. Rosenmüller even makes it an objection to our receiving the corrected reading, "the river of the children of Ammon,"—that the Ammonite settlements never extended so far!

Dr. Beke was the first to notice this grave misapprehension;[b] and ingeniously suggests that Aram of Damascus may have been the land known descriptively, in early times, as Aram of the two rivers, these being, in his opinion, "Pharpar and Abana, the rivers of Damascus." (2 Kings v. 12.) He further remarks that the fact of Abraham's relative, born in his house, being called "Eliezer of Damascus," implies that the residence of his family must have been near that city. But another reason added to these by Dr. Beke, appears to me even more conclusive against the site generally chosen for Padan-Aram, than against that of Aram-Naharaim; for these two different localities are usually confounded, as though they were the same place under another name, which is not altogether true. It is expressly stated, in Gen. xxxi. 26, that Laban overtook Jacob in the mountains of Gilead, on the seventh day after his departure from Padan-Aram. Now between the central summit of the Gileadite mountains (north of the *Jebel-Kafkafa*—) and Charræ of Mesopotamia beyond the Euphrates, so commonly supposed to be the Scriptural Haran and city of Nahor,—the distance is upwards of three hundred geographical miles. It would take, not a week—but a month—to accomplish this journey on foot, considering also the difficulties of a route partly across the desert, and the additional circumstance, pleaded by Jacob as an excuse for journeying more slowly than his brother—that it was the breeding-season of the flocks, and it would be unsafe to urge them on the road. (Gen. xxxiii. 13, 14.) This incident involves a fact absolutely fatal to the assumption that Padan-Aram lay beyond the Euphrates.

[b] *Origines Biblicæ*, pp. 122—132.

But if we refer the Scriptural Padan-Aram, "Aram of the fields" (or plains), to those extensive plains of well-watered and luxuriant pastures which are now well ascertained to extend for more than three days' journey eastward beyond the Jebel Hauran, the distances, and all other circumstances relating to this land in the course of the Patriarchal history, will be found to agree perfectly with this supposition. For—firstly: we have already shewn satisfactory Scriptural authority for fixing the "land of Uz" and chief Aramite settlement, along a line of which the Hauran mountains form the nucleus; and to which these very plains belong;—secondly: the name of Nahor's settlement, Haran, is actually found unchanged in the present name of those mountains, known to Patriarchal antiquity as "the mountains of the East;" (comp. Gen. xxviii. 2; xxix. 1;) and the central rocky region, Kelb-Hauran, abounds in remains of deserted villages, frequented only by the wandering Arabs who pasture their flocks on the plains beyond. Thirdly: it is from the southern prolongation of those mountains, that the river Zurka descends—and beyond that, its tributary the Moiet-Ammân, either of which may be taken for "the river of the children of Ammon." Lastly, all this region,—the plains and the mountains,—as part of the "Land of Uz" or "East country," was reckoned in the domains of the chief Aramite tribe, whose seat was Damascus; and would thus be politically referable to Aram-Naharaim as the head of the nation. In this sense only can Pethor be alluded to in Deut. xxiii. 4, as "Pethor of Aram-Naharaim;" not as situated in the part of the land strictly so called, but as included in the range of its dominion;—just as a city in Wales might be spoken of as an English city, in a general historical statement, by a foreign writer, without entailing upon him a charge of geographical inaccuracy.

In thus adopting without hesitation Dr. Beke's valuable suggestion as to the true position of the scriptural Aram-Naharaim, which seems fully borne out by a long series of biblical references, I nevertheless find it necessary to make its application "with a difference;" as there are strong reasons for believing that this name, in its geographical acceptation, should no more be limited to the limits of the present vale of El-Ghuta, than that vale, which represents in *name* the ancient land of Uz, should be taken to represent in *fact* the whole of that land. It is even more than doubtful whether the present site of *Esh-Sham* or Damascus be that occupied in primeval antiquity by the "Head of Aram." It is a very remarkable fact, that, in a land singularly tenacious of primitive local names, a city should be found as far down as the south-western extremity of Jebel-

Hauran, bearing to this day the significant name of *Esky-Sham*, Old Damascus—or rather "Old Shem," patronymic of the Aramite race; though in scriptural and classical antiquity it bears another name, Boshtrah or Bostra;—that it should be historically included in the domains of the king of Bashan, and as such, pass over to the Israelites by right of conquest;—and yet form, geographically and ethnographically, no part of his land; for the modern province *Ard-el-Bathanyeh* ceases a little beyond the sources of the river Mandhur—near Mezareib, the site of its ancient metropolis, Ashtaroth-Karnaim; and Boshtrah or Esky-Sham itself is in the province En-Nukrah, the fertile agricultural region of the Western Hauran. Salchah or *Salkhad*,—Boshtrah, which, from being a place of consequence, was made a Levitical city;—and Kenath, to which Nobah the Manassite gave his own name, and which bears that name in Scripture, (comp. Numb. xxxii. 42; Jud. viii. 11,) although it still retains its primitive name Kunawath, and was always known to the ancients as *Καναθα*;—all these cities of note were in the Hauran; not in Bashan proper. They are found under the rule of the Rephaim; as such, are acquired by the Israelite conquerors. But the geographical and historical notices of yet earlier scriptural ages all demonstrate that they must be "counted to the Aramite," in like manner with Pethor itself.

The inference so manifestly deducible from the transfer of those cities—that the Aramites were subject to the Rephaim—is confirmed by a direct admission of the fact that the lands of two genuine Aramite tribes were in the same manner obtained by the Israelites, by right of conquest, namely: the Getherites, whose province, north of Bashan proper or *Bathanyeh*, is called *El-Jeidur* to this day;—and the Maachathites: "Gilead, and the border of the Geshurites and Maachathites, and all Mount Hermon, and all Bashan, unto Salchah; all the kingdom of ʿHoug (Og) in Bashan, who reigned in Ashtaroth and in Edrei,—he who was left of the remnant of the Rephaim: for these did Moses smite, and cast out. Nevertheless, the children of Israel expelled not the Geshurites and the Maachathites; the Geshurites and Maachathites dwell among the Israelites to this day." (Josh. xiii. 11—13.)

This casts the much-desired gleam of light over the political relation of the Shemite race of Aram to the Hamite Rephaim, dimly shadowed forth by the indications deducible from the monumental history of Egyptian conquest. There, the name of NAHARI'NA, is usually connected with the SHAS'U, or with names referable to their domains. In the notices of wars with the SHET'TA, we also encounter NAHARI'NA among the allies or

subsidies of that nation. Mr. Birch quotes from an ancient Papyrus in the British Museum[c] an enumeration of troops sent to aid the SHET'TA: 1205 of Naharina, 270 Shairtana, etc., etc. We shall moreover find the names of NAHARI'NA and PADI together, in the expedition of Rameses II. against the SHET'TA, among the lands "stricken in the war." This collocation proves the identity of PADI with the scriptural PD'N or *Plain*-Aram.[d]

From these indications, the political status of the Aramites among the Rephaim is made clear. Like the Canaanites under the Hebrew invasion, they appear, in course of time, to have yielded with a good grace to the dominion of a more powerful people, whom they found they were not strong enough to withstand. By thus timely consenting to join the great political body of the Stranger race, they secured the advantages of its protection; and, at the expense of a nominal national independence, they preserved their national existence, so as to survive even the destruction of their subjugators, and recover the dominion of their own territories.

During the last century of their political existence, when the ranks of the Rephaim had been decimated by the war of extermination waged against them by Egypt, and their cities were left defenceless by the destruction of their fortresses and the wholesale deportation of the population as captives into Egypt—the Canaanites began their inroads into the land. The Girgashites spread their habitations southward of Lake Chinneroth into Bashan. The Amorites of Southern Canaan, originally co-residents with the Anakim, began also to establish themselves in the southern provinces beyond Jordan, from whence they ultimately extended their settlements to the banks of the Zurka. Thus, in the time of Moses, half the people who lived under the sway of the ancient sovereigns of Bashan may have consisted of these encroaching settlers. On this account, the last king of the native race, and the usurping Amorite chief who had seized the metropolitan province of the neighbouring nation, are both referred to in the general terms of the narrative as "the two kings of the Amorites;" from which it has been rather hastily inferred that the king of Bashan also was an Amorite, and the Rephaim themselves, in consequence, a tribe

---

[c] *Select Papyri*, published from the British Museum: *Papyrus Anastasi*, i., p. 13.

[d] It further confirms the distinction I have already insisted on above, to be made between the two regions of the land of the Uz or east country: Aram of the two rivers—Naharaim—west of the Jebel Hauran; and Aram of the plain—Padan—east of it. The Wady Burada and the Wady-el-Liwa, both running into the Bahr-el-Merj from opposite directions, may be the two rivers marking the nucleus of the country understood by Aram Naharaim.

of Canaanites. Independently of the reasons I have already given, which exclude the Canaanites as original claimants of any part of the lands beyond Jordan,—it is easy to shew this inference to be grounded on a mistake. A sovereign of one race may rule over a nation of another. The bulk of the people with whom the Israelites were brought into collision, were the Amorites who resided within the realms of Bashan, on the river Zurka; they had not, like their southern brethren, gone the length of setting up a king of their own race, but apparently yielded a partial obedience to the native sovereign of the land. Thus, when the last *Houg* of Bashan had become the nominal leader of a considerable body of Amorite people, and the ally by necessity of a genuine Amorite chief established in a neighbouring province, it is no great lapse of ethnographical accuracy on the part of the sacred historian, to designate him and this chief together as "the two kings of the Amorites;" a form of speech that in no wise justifies our classing the king of the Rephaim himself and his almost extinct race, among the Canaanites who were only interlopers among them. The Amorites of Sihon—themselves usurpers — evidently regarded the Israelite newcomers with suspicion; the king of the Rephaim likewise. He was therefore willing to join the Amorites, in the hope of preserving the small domain over which he yet retained a nominal rule, when the Israelites, by requesting a passage through their territories, alarmed him for the safety of his own, and he thus became impelled to his doom by courting the hostile demonstration he so greatly feared.

As the Moiet-Ammân formed the western limit of the Ammonite settlements on the south side of the upper Jabbok, the country between it and the Jordan, acquired by the Israelites after the defeat of Sihon, formed no part of the lawful Ammonite territory, but only of so much of their predecessors, the Zuzim, as had been taken by the Amorites. The injunction of Moses, to respect the lands originally allotted to the tribe of Ammon by the Rephaim, and in no wise to molest them, was scrupulously fulfilled. "Thou didst not approach the land of the children of Ammon, neither the bank of the river Jabbok, nor the cities of the mountain-tract; nor any place which the Lord our God had prohibited." (Deut. ii. 37.)

The Israelites paid the same regard to the lawful territorial claims of the Aramean sub-tribes of Geshur and Maachah, who remained in the land. The elder branch had probably removed its seat of government farther to the north. The fact that its former lands in the Western Hauran were appropriated by Israel, sufficiently accounts for the aggressive course taken by the king of Aram-Naharaim, soon after the death of Joshua.

We must not suppose that the residue of the Rephaim in Bashan were utterly extirpated, because the army of Israel had routed the mixed Amorite and native forces, and slain their king, who marched upon the frontier to oppose its passage. It is said in Joshua xiii. 12, that Moses *smote and cast out* the remnant of the Rephaim. They were so weakened, that a single defeat sufficed to crush their power of resistance. They fled before the victorious Israelites. They knew that the land of the children of Ammon would be respected by Israel. The Ammonite tribe had long considered itself a member, by adoption, of that ancient nation under whose civil jurisdiction it had been allowed to settle. Among the children of Ammon, the scattered and broken remnant of that nation found protection in its adversity. The Ammonites gratefully requited the hospitality granted to their forefathers, and continued loyal to the chieftains whose ancestors, in the days of their power, had received and befriended their infant colony. The ancient race and its name thus became lost among the Ammonites. Under their influence, these learnt to consider themselves aggrieved by Israel's occupation of the land from which their legitimate sovereign had been driven. From that time, they shewed themselves ever ready to join in hostility against the Israelites with the kindred border nations, the Midianites, Moabites, Amalekites, Aramites of the north, and Children of the East. At last, in the reign of David, their turbulence was finally checked. Their chief city Rabbah was captured, and reduced to servitude. The royal couch or throne of the ancient line of chiefs, preserved in this city, bears witness to the fact that the children of Ammon regarded these chiefs and their dispossessed successors as the head of the nation, and themselves, as one of its members; and the territorial pretensions which they grounded on this fact sufficiently explains their subsequent enmity towards their Eberite kindred, Israel. F. C.

P.S. At the end of the tabular list of local names, will be found three which cannot be referred with certainty to their proper ethnographical group, because their exact sites are unknown. One of these is TUIRSHA by the sea, the legend of a captive chief of Medinet-Abou, placed immediately behind those of SHAIRTA'NA and SHA(SU), whom he closely resembles. TUIRSHA is obviously the strong fortress of Tarichæa on Lake Tiberias. (Jos. *Bell. Jud.*, b. 2, ch. xxi.; b. 3, ch. x.) But it is uncertain whether this place was on the Canaanite or on the Golanite side of the lake. On the other hand, the characteristic points in the costume of the figure, especially the beard—from which we might have learnt whether he was of the Rapha or Canaanite race—are unfortunately destroyed.

GROUP I.

Rephaim (of Bashan.)

1.
R. pl. LXI.
SHAS·U — *ZUZ·IM*
Σως. M. — זוזים
Zuzim

2.
Ch. CCIV.
GAL·NA — *GOL·N*
Γαυλων — גולן
Golan
Jaulan

3.
Ibid.
ADAR — *ADR-ÂI*
'Εδραιμ — אדרעי
'Αδραμα. P. — Edrei
Adra

4.
R. CXLIII.
SHAIRTA·NA — *ZRTH·N*
Σεσαρθαν — צרתן
Zarthan
.....

GROUP II.

Canaanites.

5.
R. XLVIII.
CANA·NÂ — *CNÂ·N*
Χανααν — כנען
Canaan

6.
R. CXLII.
AMAR — *AMOR*
ὁ 'Αμορραιος — אמור
Amor

7.
L.
ARD·T·U — *ÂRD*
'Αραδ — ערד
Arad
Tel'Arad

GROUP III.

Aramites.

8.
L.
NHRI·NA — *ARM-NHR.IM*
ארם נהרים
Aram Naharaim

9.
R. C.
PADI — *PDN-ARM*
פדן ארם
Padan Aram

10.
Ch. CCIV.
HAIR·N... — *HR·N*
Χαρραν — חרן
Haran
Jebel Hauran

11.
R. XLVI.
RMN·N — *HRM·ON*
'Ærμων — חרמון
Hermon

12.
L.
PTUR — *PTHOR*
Φαθουρα — פתור
Pethor

13.
R. LXV.
SHAR — *SHÂIR*
Σηειρ — שעיר
Seir
Esh Sherah

14.
R. LXI.
PUN·T — *PUN·N*
Φινω — פונן
Punon

15.
Ibid.
LT·N — *ELTH*
Αιλαθ — אילת
'Ελανα. P. — Elath

GROUP IV.

Emim.

16.
R. LXI.
SHT·TA·N — *SHT·IM*
Σαττειν — שטים
Shittim

17.
R. CI.
SHB·T·UN — *HSHB·ON*
'Εσεβων — חשבון
Εσβουτα. P. — Heshbon
Hesban

18.
R. CXVI.
AR·NA — *ÂR*
שבת־ער
Dwelling of Ar.

19.
Ibid.
ARNA·TA — *ARN·ON*
'Ορνας. J. — ארנן

20.
R. XCI.
ATSH·N

21.
R. CXVI.
PILKA. — .....
Kulat Belka

22.
Ibid.
SAR-PAI·NA — *BÂN*
Βαιαν — בען

23.
Ibid.
KAITAVATA·NA *KHZV·TH*
קרית חצות
Kiriath Huzoth

24.
Ibid.
KADA.... — *KDM·OTH*
Κεδαμωθ — קדמות
Kedemoth

25.
R. LXI.
BAR-NU·MA — *BR-NÔ*
Καδης Βαρνη. — ברנע
Kadesh Barnea

26.
Ibid.
ANSHU — .....
Ιηνυσος. H.

R. CXLIII.
39. TUIRSHA . . . . Ταριχαια. J.

Ch. CCIV.
40. TARBUSA. . . . Θαραβασα. J.

Ibid.
41. LUSS··· . . . . . Λυσσα. J.

GROUP V.

Anakim.

27.
R. LXI. CXXXIX.
MNA·T·UN ANKA
Ποιμενες Φοινικες.

28.
R. CXL.
SHALÂM·U — *SH*
Σαλην — ם
Shal
Jerusal
El-K

29.
R. C. Ch. CCIV.
CHEBRU — *HBRO*
Χεβρων — רון
Hebr
El Kh

30.
R. CXLII.
RBO — *ARI*
πολις 'Αρβοκ — ת ארבע
Kiriath Ar

31.
R. LV. R.
TAHI TH·N·NU — *ITA*
Ιταν, Τανυ — ה
Jutt
Yutt

32.
R. CXLIII.
MASHUASH — .....
Μααχως ?

33.
R. CXL.
PULSA·TA — *PLSH·T*
Φυλιστιειμ — שת
Peleshe

34.
R. CXLIII.
TAKURI — *ÂKR·*
'Ακκαρων — רון
Ekr
'A

APPENDIX. *Delta.*

R. LXV.
35. GSHI - Goshen ?

R. XLVIII.
36. PAIRU. Pelusium

Ibid.
37. AÂNT - On ?

R. XLI.
38. PAI-BASH. Bubast

As the Egyptian forms of proper names will often recur in the course of these papers, it is desirable that the student should be able to verify the readings, by a reference to the original orthography. I have accordingly drawn up a classified list of these names, selecting, from the numerous monumental sculptures which yield them, the fullest and most accurate forms, when they happen to vary.

The Egyptian names are rendered, *letter for letter*, from the hieroglyphics, in upright capitals, with the corresponding Hebrew form beside each, in slanting capitals. In both, the root or *true name*, is separated from the grammatical affixes by a point.

The student will find the following remarks on the latter, useful in facilitating his comparison of these and similar names.

The Egyptian formatives are always suffixed in the same order, though all are not often combined in the same name, viz.:

1. The sign of gender, when *fem.* or *neut.*, next to the root; T, TH, or, written full, TA. It corresponds to the Hebrew הָ and תָ.

2. The sign of number, *pl.*, U, dual, UI; corresponding to the Hebrew וֹת יִם and dual יִם.

3. The terminal formative of a proper name, N, or NA, sometimes UN or NU, corresponding to, and resembling the Hebrew ן or ון Occasionally, the formative of locality MA, "a place," is suffixed. This is rare in hieroglyphics. Vowels that are not radical, are often written *after* the name or syllable. The reader will find that in the Egyptian form of a name, the gender has sometimes been changed, or that the finals differ; but with these simple rules to guide him, he will not be perplexed in discovering the identity of any two names which agree in the radical letters.

A few of the names in this list have already been satisfactorily identified. Since the days of Champollion, 5, 8, and 12, CANANA, NAHARINA and PETHOR, have become universal property. Mr. Birch's opinion that 33 is the Philistines, has never been questioned; and I am indebted to his suggestions for the identity of 28 with Jerusalem or Salem, and follow him in reading 36, Pelusium. Mr. Osburn, in his *Ancient Egypt*, has also indicated the correspondence of certain groups to several biblical names, which I cannot but assent to, though differing materially from him as to the nations they represent. His referring 6 and 34 to the Amorites and Ekronites, is quite satisfactory. I have little doubt that his suggestion that 38 and 25 are Bubastis and Kadesh Barnea, is correct, though the final M of the latter never was part of the Hebrew name, being only an Egyptian formative. He also refers 14, 11, and 1 to Punon, Hermon, and the Zuzim, but appropriates those names and places to the Arvadites and Jebusites, to whom we have no Scriptural authority for assigning any territorities beyond the Jordan. The geographical position of the two former localities clearly brings them within the Aramean group, to which their costume corresponds; and my reasons for setting aside the supposed connexion of the Zuzim with any Canaanite family, have been fully explained.

ABBREVIATIONS.

R., Ch., L., denote respectively a reference to the monumental illustrations of Rosellini (*Mon. Storici*), Champollion, and Lepsius: H., Herodotus: M., Manetho: J., Josephus: P., Ptolemy. Greek forms without initials, are those of the Septuagint. Recent names of sites are put in italics.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MIRACLES.

1. *Lectures on the present position of Catholics in England:* addressed to the Brothers of the Oratory. By John Henry Newman, D.D. London: Burns and Lambert. 1851.
2. *Foreshadows; or, Lectures on our Lord's Miracles as earnests of the Age to come.* By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D. London: A. Hall, Virtue and Co. 1851.
3. *The Evidence for Popish Miracles not to be heard.* By the Rev. G. E. Biber, LL.D. London: Rivingtons. 1851.

It would be, in many respects, extremely difficult to account for the varying phases of the popular mind with regard to subjects of interest. Often will public attention be aroused to some particular point, and within a limited interval of time die away, or rather will be transferred to another of a widely different nature. Some controversies seem to recur in regular periods, like comets which move in an orbit whose elements have not been ascertained. In general, the causes on which popular interest depend are sufficiently capricious,—they may arise from the casual suggestions of incidents or individuals that were beyond the control of any definite law of operation. There are, however, certain states of public opinion which involve the examination of corresponding groups of questions. The occurrence of an epidemic will urge enquiry into those laws of human well-being which are classed under the title of "sanitary;" the breaking out of war, or any other contingency which draws heavily upon a national exchequer, will cause more minute enquiries into the means of developing a nation's resources. In like manner, the movements of the human mind in reference to religion, awaken interest in subjects which may for a lengthened period have been set aside.

Among other topics of discussion which have this ebb and flow, may be enumerated Christian miracles. If, at the great religious epochs of the world, miracles have been wrought for the purpose of calling attention to the promulgation of new doctrines, so, at the minor epochs, when truth has revived in the souls of men, or even when it has been assailed by new weapons, miracles have become a matter of enquiry. There are various reasons for this. The most conspicuous of which is, that they are the chief evidence of revealed religion, and therefore a most important outwork of the citadel of truth, whether

for attack or defence. Another reason lies in the test which they are presumed to afford of the authority of a church, which has been an inducement to certain ecclesiastical communities to appeal to them for the establishment of their claims. At the present time the church of Rome, amid the other means which she is using to recover her lost ground, is not forgetful of this. It is commonly supposed that Romish miracles are essentially appeals to the ignorant, and that Romish tactics would only suggest their being employed in "the dark places of the earth;" but the most enlightened champion of their system which our country has afforded them in recent times,—a writer who had the peculiar advantage as a sincere professing Protestant of examining positive truth, and who actually employed his pen in exposing the very errors he now labours to maintain,—has not scrupled to take up an heroic position at this most indefensible of posts, and bring weapons from the armoury of reason to defend that which is most irrational in a system which more commonly repudiates reason altogether. We are glad that men should be led, from whatever cause it may be, to examine the subject. If the generation has passed away that witnessed the miracle-controversy in which Hume and Voltaire were the assailants, let the men of our own day examine the basis on which revealed truth takes its stand,—let them see the bearings of the whole case,—above all, let them examine alike the Pentateuch and the Gospel narratives, that in tracing the full significance of those wonderful works which are true, they may learn the hollowness of those that are false. No volume could issue at the present moment from the press so well-timed as one which, even without directly attacking prevalent errors or annihilating presumptuous claims, should exhibit the calm light which the Scripture miracles diffuse over mankind.

It appears doubtful whether a definition can be given of the term "miracle," which shall embrace all the characteristics belonging to it. As in most controversies, so in this, each disputant starts with his own conception of the matter under dispute, and charges upon his opponents such deductions from their arguments as they are not disposed to admit. A sufficient definition to which all parties would agree *in limine,* could not but save much superfluous discussion. Hume, for example, says that "a miracle is a violation of the laws of nature;" and this definition contains a portion of the truth. Perhaps if it were the whole truth, it would justify what he proceeds to remark, that "as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is as entire as any argument from experience can possibly

be imagined."[a] But the fallacy lies in the premiss. A *violation* of the laws of nature is tantamount to a resistance offered to the will of the God of nature, who gave those laws. God cannot do violence to his own will, any more than he can surrender his own nature; and consequently to assert that a miracle as so defined is impossible, is simply to utter a truism. But the sceptical philosopher has a more subtle meaning in the background. He would have all men believe with himself that the Creator of the universe has established from the first a certain order, traceable by experience, and from which there can be no deviation. Hence he pretends, that it is contrary to experience that miracles should be true, but not contrary to experience that testimony should be false. "No testimony," he says, "is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavours to establish." We may turn to the definition usually given by Christian writers as much nearer to the truth. A miracle is defined as an effect contrary to the *established* constitution and course of things, or a sensible deviation from the course of nature. Now there is a very wide distinction between the "established constitution of things," and Mr. Hume's "laws of nature." We shall presently observe that that which is established may be essentially *irregular*, and that the "violation" may be more observable in things as they are, than in the results of miraculous interposition. In any case, however, we have no right to speak of laws further than as they are the results of our experience, and we are not always competent to assert whether any given phenomenon is "miraculous," or only wrought in obedience to a higher law which is beyond our cognizance. All that we can say is, that results are to ourselves miraculous which are deviations from that course of nature to which we are habituated;[b] but until we can bring together sufficient evidence to demonstrate the non-existence of any sufficient cause for what is presented to our notice, we are bound to exercise supreme caution before we pronounce that a miracle has been wrought. The earthquake at Lisbon was no miracle, because adequate causes could be assigned; the success of the submarine telegraph—the instantaneous discharge of a piece of ordnance at Dover by bringing two wires in contact at Calais—however mar-

---

[a] Hume, *Essay on Miracles.*

[b] Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, l. 21, cap. 8) says,—"Omnia quippe portenta contra naturam dicimus esse: sed non sunt. Quomodo est enim contra naturam, quod Dei fit voluntate, quum voluntas tanti utique conditoris conditæ rei cujusque natura sit? Portentum ergo fit, non contra naturam, sed contra quam *est nota natura.*

vellous, is not miraculous, because the successive steps by which that result has been obtained are no more than applications of known laws. These phenomena occurring in the natural world are wonders which science has either explained or wrought; but the true test of a miracle was in all simplicity brought to bear by the man described in the Gospel, whose blindness had been cured. (John ix. 32.) "Since the world began was it not heard, that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind."

A miracle, therefore, may so far be described as a deviation from the established constitution of things, for which the ordinary laws of nature are insufficient to account. We shall be helped towards the attainment of a scriptural view of the point under discussion, if we notice the terms applied in the Gospels to the works of our Lord. The first word we may notice is (τέρας) "wonder," which is employed (ἀπὸ τοῦ τρεῖν) to express the sense of awe and astonishment produced in the spectator. It is not often found in the New Testament, and when introduced it is associated with other terms, "signs" or "miracles," and even then we may, in most cases, infer that allusion is made to the idle wonderment of the unbelieving. Except ye see signs and wonders (τέρατα) ye will not believe (John iv. 48). The same term is applied to works wrought by persons, whose main object would be to excite an undiscriminating enthusiasm. There shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders (τέρατα); insomuch that if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect (Matt. xxiv. 24). The word παράδοξα, translated "strange things," is used but once (see Luke v. 26); and then quoted as the language of the people, and not deliberately applied by the inspired writer to the description of our Lord's acts. This sparing use of the only words to which our term "miracle" accurately corresponds, is worthy of notice in connexion with the subject, as treated by Hume and others.[c] "Wonders" address themselves to the igno-

[c] Professor Trench (Notes on the Miracles, p. 3) has a valuable note on the inadequate rendering of the word σημεῖα by "miracles," in the English version of John vi. 26, where the term signs would have expressed the meaning with far greater force. "Our version makes Christ to say to the multitude, which, after he had once fed them in the wilderness, gathered round him again, 'Ye seek me not because ye saw the *miracles*,' &c. But rather should it be, 'Ye seek me not because ye saw *signs*' (σημεῖα without the article); not because ye recognized in these works of mine *tokens* and *intimations* of a higher presence, something which led you to conceive great thoughts of me; they are no glimpses of my higher nature, which you have caught, and which bring you here; but you come that you may again be filled. The coming merely because they saw miracles, in the strictest sense of the word—works that had made them marvel—the coming with this expectation would have been as much condemned by our Lord, as the coming only for the satisfying of their lowest earthly wants." (see Matt. xii. 39; xvi. 1—4.)

rant, but, to the discerning, far more is included in (σημεῖα) "signs"; and this is the word constantly used. The word δυνάμεις (mighty works) by metonymy, substituting the cause for the effect, is employed to denote the agency which was present. St. Matthew employs it twice in succession (Matt. xi. 20, 21); once as conveying his own meaning, and afterwards quoting it from the saying of our Lord. "Then began he to upbraid the cities wherein most of his mighty works (δυνάμεις) were done, because they repented not; Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works (δυνάμεις) which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes."

With miracles under the sense of (σημεῖα) "signs," we are now more especially concerned, for we believe them to have been wrought in every instance, not to awaken senseless amazement, but intelligent belief. If therefore they had a defined meaning, if these irregularities of nature were wrought in system and in series, it may be vouchsafed to us to ascertain that "higher law" by which they were governed. It is a principle in science, which is unceasingly developed, that events of the most incongruous nature admit of ultimate classification, that in the long run they obey a defined law. To what are called the "perturbations" of the heavenly bodies, are accurately assigned the disturbing forces to which they are due, and their nature and periods accurately determined. Astronomers had long observed the perturbations of the planet Uranus; they catalogued their results, and, by an inverse application of the celebrated problem of the three bodies, our countryman Adams, and his rival Le Verrier, discovered the planet Neptune the disturbing body. Here was the determination of that "higher law," which had been heretofore concealed. So it may be presumed that miracles, however they may be deviations from the constituted order of things, have been influenced by some uniform moral cause, which is not withheld from the enquirer.

Let us briefly investigate the characteristics that rendered them "signs." In the first place, they implied the direct operation of the Author of nature. And to awaken men's attention to this, needed not that the miracle should be of a portentous nature; it was sufficient that, in a particular instance, an ordinary law should either be suspended or exhibited in a more intense form, to declare that the giver of the law was exerting direct power. It has been remarked, that had man been bound by a law of absolute necessity, miracles would have been of no avail; because whatever might be the emotions aroused, no new course of action could have resulted. It may still more empha-

tically be remarked, that had man never succumbed to the influence of sin, miracles would have been superfluous; because the operations of Deity would not thereby be more distinctly acknowledged than before. My Father worketh hitherto, said our Lord, and I work. God had worked unceasingly in the silent operations of nature, and now the Son of Man was seen as it were at the helm, directing the forces which had always existed. The miracle did not involve more power,[d] but exhibited it in a manner that could only be referred to Him who was its author.

We shall do well at this stage of our enquiry, to quote Dr. Cumming's lucid remarks:—

"A miracle itself is not a mere action, or a mere operation of nature, and yet it need not imply any more power than is already put forth in creation. The difference between what we call a natural thing and what God pronounces a miraculous thing, is not so much the extent of power that is manifested as the manner of the manifestation of that power. Thus we read in the Epistle to the Romans, that the invisible things of God 'are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead.' So that all creation, we are told in its action, as clearly intimates, and proves the power of God as any miracle, strictly and properly so called, could prove it. Then where is the difference, you ask, between a miracle and the natural laws, as they are called, or operations of nature? I answer, the difference arises from the new and strange formula, shape, mode, or manner in which that power is put forth." *Lectures on Miracles*, p. 5.

It is very commonly remarked, that several of the miracles recorded indicated *creative* power. This is quite true, if we understand "power" rather than "agency." It may safely be questioned whether any single miracle was an *act* of creation, that is to say, whether substances were called into being out of nothing. We see water turned into wine; we see the widow's meal rendered sufficient for a lengthened period; the morning dew brings manna with it; five loaves do more than feed five thousand. Transformations there are, and miraculous increase; but in all cases the results are closely analagous with such natural operations as would accomplish similar results, though under different conditions of time and place.[e] It might almost be

---

[d] Quamvis itaque miracula visibilium naturarum videndi assiduitate viluerint, tamen cum ea sapienter intuemur, inusitatissimis rarissimisque majora sunt. Nam et omni miraculo quod fit per hominem, majus miraculum est homo. Quapropter Deus qui fecit visibilia cœlum et terram, non dedignatur facere visibilia miracula in cælo vel in terrâ, quibus ad se invisibilem colendum excitet animam adhuc visibilibus deditam. Aug. *De Civ. Dei.* lib. x. cap. xii.

[e] One miracle must be noticed, the most ineffable and transcendant of all others, which is sometimes pronounced an act of creation, though not without endangering

doubted whether an act of creation would have exerted the influence intended by the miraculous exhibition of a known law of nature. There would not be the same appeal to experience; and if there might be more to create surprise, there might be less to awaken thought. Miracles therefore were *significant*, as announcing that God is the God of nature.

Moreover, they were significant in giving authority to the worker of them. It would not be possible to suggest any way for promulgating a message from heaven, except by the aid of miracles. We are aware that infidels demand universal inspiration, and refuse to believe what is not imprinted on every understanding. Now miracles harmonize with the divine plan of leaving those who are addressed, to exercise their free choice. It is notified to them by what they see, that a divine messenger calls their attention; it remains for them to listen to his admonitions, or incur the responsibility of a refusal. The commission given to Moses is very much to the point. "And Moses answered and said, But, behold they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice: for they will say, The Lord hath not appeared unto thee. And the Lord said unto him, What is that in thine hand? And he said, a rod. And he said, Cast it on the ground. And he cast it on the ground, and it became a serpent; and Moses fled from before it. And the Lord said unto Moses, Put forth thine hand, and take it by the tail. And he put forth his hand, and caught it, and it became a rod in his hand: That they may *believe* that the Lord God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, *hath appeared unto thee*" (Exodus iv. 1—5). The same principle is distinctly observable in the miracles of the Gospels. Our Lord wrought them to obtain a hearing for his doctrine. The Jewish Nicodemus rightly interpreted the significance of the wonderful works which he had seen, when he observed to our Lord, We know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him (John iii. 2). For the same reason that our Lord wrought miracles himself, he empowered his apostles to do the same. They went forth healing the sick, cleansing the lepers, casting out devils, raising the dead; and thus the infancy of the

---

the whole fabric of the momentous doctrine, which rests upon it. We refer to the Incarnation. The ordinary law of reproduction was clearly set aside, and the συλλῆψις ἐν γαστρὶ may easily be supposed to have been διὰ κτίσεως, and not διὰ γεννησέως; but it was essential that the second Adam should be *descended* from the first, which could not have been the case if he owed his human nature to a new creation. The compilers of the Thirty-nine Articles cautiously and accurately laid down; *Filius qui est verbum patris, in utero beatæ virginis, ex illius substantiâ naturam humanam assumpsit.* Art. II.

church was an age of miracles. The revelation was as yet new; it required the help of extraordinary attestation, that men to whom it was altogether an unwonted sound might be prevailed upon to give it their attention. Dr. Cumming remarks:—

"They (miracles) cluster around each great epoch, or crisis, or era; they are not spread over the whole dispensation as every-day things, but they seem to cluster into masses, to occur at special intervals, or on specific occasions, when there was a great crisis at which the interposition of omnipotence was necessary; then and there only omnipotence developed itself. . . . . .

"The introduction of God manifest in the flesh was a new epoch so remarkable, so strange, so unexpected by the mass of mankind, that you might expect on such an occasion and such a crisis, there would occur miracles to attest it. What is a miracle? It is just God's omnipotence becoming a pedestal or candlestick on which to plant God's truth; it is omnipotent beneficence coming down from heaven, pointing to a doctrine, or specifying a person, and saying the one is of God, and the other is God manifest in the flesh." p. 101.

The term *σημεῖον* therefore finds an interpretation, partly in the principle that miracles arouse the attention of men to the divine government of the world, partly in the principle that they demanded a hearing for a divine messenger. There is a further *significancy* to be discovered from a general view of miracles, both in the old and new dispensations; for by embracing the entire series, we can alone arrive at a satisfactory generalisation. Beginning at the flood, and observing the several groups of these manifestations of divine power, those which attended the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt, the wanderings in the wilderness, and the subjugation of Canaan, the remarkable incidents described in the book of Judges, the miracles of Elijah and Elisha, and the divine interpositions vouchsafed to the children of the captivity, we arrive at the group which is incomparably the most awakening of interest, the *σημεῖα* of our Lord and his apostles. Now we may safely divide these recorded incidents into manifestations of the divine presence, and manifestations of the divine power, or miracles strictly so called. With the former we are less concerned. They include, among other examples, the awe-inspiring scenes of Sinai and the mount of transfiguration, Manoah's vision, the voice at our Lord's baptism, and the celestial appearance witnessed by St. Paul at his conversion. Of these we can scarcely say whether they were deviations from the course of nature or not. We see at once that our definition of a miracle would not apply. The latter class exhibit two very different kinds. The turning of the waters of Egypt into blood, and the change of water into wine

at Cana, are severally types of that to which we refer, presenting features strongly antithetical; whilst in the passage of the Red Sea, the two features are shewn in the same miracle, the destruction of the enemies of God and the deliverance of his own people. On the one hand we have *judicial* miracles, on the other *redemptive*, or restorative: the former preponderating in the old dispensation, the latter in the new; whilst as it were to shew the close relation existing between the times of the law and of the gospel, we have the multiplication of the loaves closely corresponding to the manna, of which "he that gathered little had no lack;" and the withering of the fig-tree, parallel to the destruction of the vegetation of Egypt. These are points of contact in the two series which add materially to the significance of the whole.

The miracles which were of a judicial character might appear to fall in more with Hume's superficial definition that they are violations of the laws of nature; our object however is to shew that even they were mutually consistent, in harmony with the divine government of the world, and more especially foreshadows of the age to come. In commenting upon the plagues of Egypt, the author of the apocryphal book of Wisdom remarks: "For the elements were transposed among themselves (*μεθαρμοζόμενα*) without losing their proper harmony; as in a psaltery, the sounds of the harmonic scale, new proportioned among themselves, change the mode of the music (*πάντοτε μένοντα ἐν ἤχῳ*), and yet all continues regular and in tune; which one may guess (*ἐκ τῆς τῶν γεγονότων ὄψεως ἀκριβοῦς*) from an accurate view and examination of what then happened; for earthly things were turned into watery, and the things that before swam in the water now went upon the ground. The fire had power in the water, forgetting his own virtue; and the water forgat his own quenching nature. On the other side, the flames wasted not the flesh of the corruptible living things, though they walked therein; neither melted they the icy kind of heavenly meat, that was of nature apt to melt." (Wisdom, xix. 18—21.) Reference is here made, though in very obscure terms, to the Israelites walking through the sea as on dry land, and the frogs (that before swam in the water) going on the dry land; to the lightning, mingled with the hail, running like fire along the ground, and the locusts escaping its destructive power. The plagues of Egypt, and all other "judicial" exercises of divine power, have a uniform significance, being no more than emphatic exhibitions of the law already imposed on created things from the time when it was said to Adam, "Cursed is the ground

for thy sake." It is not, as we shall presently shew, consistent with *nature* that the waters should be turned into blood, any more than that the hard clod should need the plough, or the garden bed demand the removal of noxious weeds; but it is the present constitution of things that sin should produce these results, and even worse. The whole creation groans and travails with pain; nay, we know that the groaning will issue in an awful catastrophe. The earth, and the works that are therein, shall be burned up. The flood itself was a mighty miracle, terribly suggestive of the final judgment. But whether we look at that waste of waters, or at Egypt desolated by the locust, or the thick darkness that might be felt, or the carcases of Pharaoh's host, or the unburied army of Sennacherib, or even at the less awe-inspiring fig-tree cursed for its pretentious foliage,—we see the same law in operation, of which we are made sensible at every turn that the elements are by reason of sin "transposed among themselves," and made to utter in a minor key that solemn dirge which chaunts the ruin of a fair creation. In the judicial miracles, therefore, we discern what too closely resembles the existing state of things, differing only in the essential feature, that the operation of the law by which the transgression is visited with punishment was made more palpable. Moreover the infliction of vengeance by means of the forces of nature, did not do away with that which was miraculous in their application. The antediluvians might have read in the strata of the earth the history of former convulsions. Volcanic action was no new thing; it had already upheaved great mountains, and could be summoned by the God of nature to "break up the fountains of the great deep." So the people of Sodom and Gomorrah had often witnessed the fury of the elements, and seen the "sulphurous and thought-executing fires, vaunt couriers to oak-cleaving thunderbolts," and these were ready at any moment to expend their anger upon their polluted city. The miracle consisted in the degree of the infliction rather than the kind,—in the fact that their repentance would have stayed the destruction, and not so much in their sin calling down the vengeance. Judicial miracles were therefore not otherwise than significant, calling attention to the divine operations—demanding a listening ear to the exhortations of the heavenly prophet—and at the same time not widely deviating from the course of things which sin had introduced into the world.

The other class of miracles, and that with which we are specially concerned, has already been referred to under the title of "redemptive." To justify this term, and at the same time

to render it intelligible, we must call to mind the past, present, and future conditions of the world. We need not dilate on the state of the earth as it was constituted prior to the fall,—

> "The seat of men,
> Earth with her nether ocean circumfused
> Their pleasant dwelling place. Thrice happy men,
> And sons of men, whom God hath thus advanced,
> Created in his image, there to dwell,
> And worship him, and in reward *to rule*
> *Over his works, on earth, in sea, or air,*
> And multiply a race of worshippers,
> Holy and just; thrice happy, if they know
> Their happinesss, and persevere upright."

It is clear that a main characteristic of Paradise, was the sway given to man over the forces of organic nature and the instincts of the brute. The earth brought forth abundantly—sickness was unknown—and amid the animals that tenanted the forest and the plain, man was the paramount lord. "Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet; all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field; the fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the sea." (Psalm viii. 5—8.) This original dominion over the created world is now to be discerned only by its ruins. Man has still the mastery, but under the condition that he shall maintain a perpetual conflict. Adam needed only to dress and keep the garden, to curb as it were its superabundant luxuriance; now, the hard clod demands "*adunci vulnera aratri rastrorumque;*" and if the plough is left unused, the ground soon refuses to yield any other increase than the noxious weed. But where industry is energetically maintained and scientifically directed, what wonderful advances the human family are able to make! It is a theme well worthy of the deepest reflection, that God permits his fallen creatures to recover so much lost ground. Careful investigation and an unwearied following up of discovery have revealed the more recondite powers of nature, and applied them to results so miraculous that we are constrained to refer to them just to repeat that they are *not* miracles. Steam and electricity, chemistry and the mechanical powers, have produced results which are gigantic and marvellous, and have a direct tendency to elevate the condition of mankind, not physically alone, but in an intellectual and social aspect. But when we have passed in review all the attainments of modern science, and even considered the possibility of future development, we only discern a certain capability in the constitution

of things; we are not able to predict a perfect state. The moral degradation of human nature will ever be a bar to physical and social improvement. There are thousands in our Queen's dominions who are no more civilized than the Arab of the desert, and who avail themselves no more of the products of an advanced age than if they lived in the days of Abraham. Science reveals her treasures only to the few, and is unable consequently to redeem the world.

Revelation bids us expect what human effort can never accomplish. Let science and industry make their greatest advances in developing the fertility of the soil, it will be only in a regenerated earth that "the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose; the parched ground shall become a pool, and the thirsty land springs of water." (Isa. xxxv. 7.) Here is a distinct promise of the removal of the curse pronounced on the ground for Adam's sake,—a predicted withdrawal of thorns and thistles. So also the woes that more directly afflict humanity will be taken away. Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped; then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing. (ver. 5, 6.) The power also of man over the lower animals will be restored to its primitive completeness. "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the lion and the fatling together; and *a little child shall lead them.*" (Isa. xi. 6.) We do not pause to dispute with those who would give to these prophecies an interpretation applying only to the spiritual state of the redeemed church. That they will have a plenary literal fulfilment may be argued from an undeniable fact, and one that we are here more concerned to notice, viz., that the "redemptive" miracles recorded in the Scripture literally correspond to these predictions. We are now endeavouring to prove this peculiar feature from this correspondence, though the argument may easily be extended to establish the expectation of a real state of the world when the creature shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God.[f]

---

[f] "In order to understand the full force of miracles, we must bear in mind their double aspect—outward as well as inward—as works of power and works of redemption. The former view, which was almost exclusively studied in the last two centuries, is now well nigh forgotten; . . . but still the miracles are as important to the Christian faith providentially as morally; and, as their redemptive significance is deep and varied, so is their outward manifestation perfect in extent and glory. It has been well observed, that there is nothing in them contrary to nature, while all is above nature; that the laws of existences around us are not broken, but resolved into higher laws; that there is no creation out of nothing, but a freeing of the primitive order (κόσμος, *mundus*) from the lets and limitations of sin. Again, it is equally

"A miracle," says Dr. Cumming, "is not, as some have tried to shew, contrary to nature, but is above and beyond what we call nature. For instance, when we read of our Lord's healing the sick, and in other instances raising the dead, we hear it said this is contrary to nature. It is no such thing. We call it contrary to nature, because we say that sickness is natural. Sickness is not natural; it is an unnatural thing; it is a discord in the glorious harmony; it is a blot upon the fair creation; it is most unnatural; and was never meant originally to be. When we see our Lord raising the dead, we say it is unnatural; but it is not so; because death is the unnatural thing, and the natural thing is putting an end to death, and bringing back everlasting and glorious life. Thus, then, the healing of the sick and the quickening of the dead are not contrary to nature, but the perfection of nature; it is the bringing back of nature to her pristine state; it is restoring the primeval harmony; it is the evidence of ancient happiness, and the augury of future; it is the demonstration to us that all the prophecies that describe the paradise that is to be are possibilities; and hence, every miracle of our Lord was a flower snatched from the paradise that is to be—a tone of the everlasting jubilee sounding in the depths of the human heart; a specimen of that new genesis, under which there shall be no more sickness, nor sorrow, nor trial, but wherein former things shall have passed away, and all things shall be made new."—*Foreshadows*, pp. 9, 10.

We have already said that the judicial miracles preponderated in the Old Testament dispensation, and the redemptive in the New. We remarked at the same time that each exhibited features held in common with the other, and that points of contact could be discerned in the two series. We may now add, that some of the redemptive miracles of the Old Testament are peculiarly worthy of notice, not only as being distinct in their character from those recorded in the New Testament, but as proleptically fulfilling certain prophetical descriptions of the age to come. The deliverance of the three children from the furnace, to which the proud anger of Nebuchadnezzar had consigned them, was a literal fulfilment of the promise—"When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flames kindle upon thee." So also the deliverance of Daniel from the lions was significant of man's revived dominion over the beasts of the forest. The position of the faithful man

---

true, though less observed, that they penetrate into every class of being with which we are connected—material, animal and spiritual; that they now involve and again exclude natural means; that they alike give life and destroy it; that they rise above the laws of matter and change its accidents. The constancy and harmony of nature have been converted into an argument against an almighty Providence; and in miracles we find the proper vindication of the perpetuity and extent of the Creator's power. They prove his presence in all things against those philosophers, who, from the time of Epicurus, confound the law and Him who works the law; and, by a strange confusion, substitute, as it were, a theory of motion for a living force."—Westcott's *Elements of the Gospel Harmony*, p. 18, 19.

of God afforded a glimpse of the authority once possessed by man in paradise; the instincts of fierce beasts were kept in submission—their natures cowed before him. Our Lord, in his charge to his apostles, was not unmindful of this characteristic: "They shall take up serpents; and if they shall drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them." (Mark xvi. 18.) The water flowing from the rock, was significant of redemption extending to the earth itself. The same curse which had multiplied thorns and thistles, made large tracts into barren deserts. Now, as we have a subsequent promise that the parched land should become a pool, so do we see a miracle in which this promise was exemplified. There is every reason to believe that the water made to flow from the rock at Meribah followed the Israelites as a refreshing stream in all their wanderings. Had it been otherwise, the miracle must have been repeated with the same frequency as the supply of manna; but we gather from the expression used by St. Paul (1 Cor. x. 4) that they drank of the rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ. Hence this miracle corresponded most closely to those of the New Testament, not only in affording a glimpse of a restored constitution of things, but in conveying a deep spiritual lesson. Without referring to the miracles which remain, we may well remark that a comparison between the two dispensations, allowing for the acknowledged difference, will shew that on the whole these deeply mysterious transactions present many points in common, but more especially will alike carry out the principle on which we insist, that besides indicating the presence of a divine worker, they harmonized with the constitution of nature, and afforded glimpses of that state of perfection to which our present condition is parenthetic and exceptional.

With these qualifying remarks we submit to our readers the following passage of Dr. Cumming's.

"All the miracles recorded in the Old Testament scriptures were more in contact with external nature; they were more visible, more colossal, and, if I might use the expression without being misconstrued, more gross in their character. It was the rending earthquake, the fire losing its power to consume, the wild beasts their ability to devour,—great, startling, portentous acts, fitted to awe and subdue the senses of all that beheld them. But when we look at the miracles of the New Testament, we find they are neither the whirlwind that rushes in its fury, nor the earthquake that spreads its terrible vibrations,[g] nor the fire that consumes all that ap-

[g] We ourselves confess to a liability to the traditional exaggeration of the contrasts between the dispensations of the Old Testament and the New. The personal presence (παρόνσια) of Messiah gives the latter immeasurably the pre-eminence; his miracles are not mediately but directly wrought; but are there no *earthquakes* in the New Testament series? See Matt. xxvii. 51; xxviii. 2; Acts xvi. 26.

proaches it, but the 'still small voice,'—miracles that relate more to man's soul than to man's body, and occupy as it were a loftier sphere, hold communion with sublimer things, and give evidence of a new, and nobler, and more glorious dispensation."—p. 71.

This redemptive character we have no difficulty in tracing, when the benevolent acts of our Lord, and through his power those of his apostles, are passed in review. Here we are specially reminded that the world is in an abnormal state through sin, and that He who came to redeem exercised his power, and gave evidence of the nature of his mission, by the "foreshadows and earnests of the age to come" which transpired in his miracles. They were equally memorials of primeval perfection, and as He who wrought them was perfect man, so in these works we see the Messiah. And this consideration is worthy of notice, for though we discern creative power, they are rather the acts of Him who "*upholdeth* all things by the word of his power,"—of the Lord of the inheritance,—of the second Adam. Moreover, he commissioned his apostles to work the same miracles, and the miraculous power extended to less prominent believers, suggesting to us that hereafter all the people of God will recover a control over created things, which has been in a great degree forfeited. The works themselves were varied in their character; indeed, those which have been recorded present a variety that is worthy of special attention. St. John tells us that there were many other miracles which Jesus did, of which no record was made. If so, we have an instance of the silence of inspired Scripture, demanding the more close examination of that which is described. Let it be borne in mind, that these redemptive acts were in close harmony with the spiritual work of Christ; that they were each of them parabolic in their character: not mere displays of power, but shewing a deep relation to the dispensations of divine grace. It will be seen to be most important to study the series as a whole and in its natural sequence. The narratives that we possess are not written at random. An analysis of any one Gospel will shew, not only that each miracle has its own essential characteristics, but that the order in which they occur is most systematic. We will take the first evangelist to exemplify our remark. The majority of the miracles given by St. Matthew are included in chapters viii. and ix. The sermon on the mount ends with chapter vii. He who taught as having authority, had revealed in his oral teaching the πληρωμα of the law. So far, men were instructed by precept, and in a mode that addressed itself to the reason and the conscience. The same teaching now assumes a form more immediately addressed to man,—appealing to sense, to the active emotions,

to the imagination, and at the same time calling the reason no less into exercise. These miracles divide themselves into two groups, coincident with the respective chapters. The first (chap. viii.) exemplifies Messiah reigning in his external kingdom; the second, as reigning over the souls of men. We subjoin an analysis.

I. Messiah reigning in his external kingdom, by manifesting authority over—

1. The law.
   The leper cleansed by a *touch* (ver. 2—4).
2. National exclusiveness.
   The healing of the centurion's servant (5—13).
3. Diseases.
   a The healing of Peter's wife's mother (14, 15).
   b Many healed, as Esaias prophesied (16, 17).
4. The powers of darkness.
   Curing the demoniacs (16).
5. The disturbances of the physical world.
   The stilling of the storm (23—27).
6. The brute creation.
   Sending the devils into the swine (28—34).

II. Messiah reigning over the souls of men. (chap. ix.)

1. In forgiving sins.
   The paralytic healed (1—8).
2. In answering prayer.
   a Acknowledging the power of faith.
   Woman with issue of blood (20—22).
   b The prevalence of intercession.
   Raising Jairus' daughter (23—26).
   c Joint prayer.
   The blind man healed (27—31).
   d Prayer that lacked verbal utterance.
   The dumb devil cast out (32, 33).

In thus analyzing any group of miracles, it is to be admitted that each one offers a choice of characteristic features; but if we have selected the leading feature in every instance, no one can deny that the order in which the evangelist has recorded them is very remarkable. Be it remembered that many demoniacs were cured, many blind, many sick with divers diseases; a selection has been given, and that obviously guided by the design to embody the whole of Christ's redemptive work. The instances recorded of Christ raising the dead admit of a marked distinction. They were three in number, and form an ascending series of degrees of difficulty. In the case of Jairus' daughter,

which we may take first in order, the spirit had but just quitted the body, and would be supposed by the Jewish relatives to be hovering near its relinquished tenement, when Jesus commanded the reunion. The next case was that of the widow's son at Nain, who was being carried to the place of interment when the miracle was wrought. Last in order is the raising of Lazarus, and as the narrative is more explicit in its details, and the Saviour's lesson which he drew from it more fully recorded, so was the miracle itself the most signal example of power, and most deeply prophetic of the general resurrection. He had lain in the grave four days, and decomposition had begun; nevertheless, the summons was given to come forth, and Lazarus obeyed. Here then was evidence of the power of Christ to raise the dead, either from the couch, the bier, or the sepulchre. Three instances sufficed to show this, and no more than three appear to have taken place. Moreover, miraculous power was exerted only so far as was necessary. Men were commanded to roll away the stone; men were commanded to release the raised Lazarus from the grave-clothes, though in our Lord's own resurrection angels were summoned to perform these offices. The significance therefore of the miracles, however great in each instance, is immeasurably enhanced by viewing the entire series. They are not without a general law, and in their harmonious working present a foreshadowing of a glorious future. Dr. Cumming's series of lectures develop this united view. This beautiful variety in the miracles themselves at once supplies him with distinct topics. He finds what any other preacher would readily discover, that in elucidating these narratives every doctrine of Christianity presents itself to the notice; every relation of life passes under review—every social or political duty may be enforced. Indeed, the miracles of our Lord supply a mine of heavenly wisdom which can never be exhausted. Deeply has Dr. Cumming dug into this mine, and faithfully has he displayed its treasures. Some of his finest passages are to be found where he describes their connection with future blessedness. We subjoin examples :—

"When he fed the thousands with a few loaves and fishes, he gave an instalment of the reversal of the curse of barrenness, which fell upon the whole earth when man was sent forth from Eden to water it with his tears, and fertilize it with the sweat of his brow. And when he walked upon the yielding waves, and beckoned to the obedient winds, and the former slumbered at his feet like gentle babes, and the latter came to him like his own hired servants, he then showed that he was creation's Lord, about to retune creation's tangled strings, and bring it back again, like an Æolian

harp, to its ancient order and perfection, when God's spirit shall sweep over it, and bring out glorious and inexhaustible melody."—p. 50.

Again, in speaking of final bliss, he says :—

"It will be a festival—a feast for the imagination, a feast for the intellect, a feast for the heart; all the faculties of man's soul will be feasted with things congenial to their nature. It will be the repose which all humanity, after its exile and its weary wanderings below, shall feel to be its home; and in which home-born joys, like swallows under a roof, shall nestle for ever."—p. 92.

In the Lecture on Calming the Storm, we have the following :—

"No act of Jesus was finished when it was done; but it was significative of a greater act yet to be. All things, I believe, are far more typical than we think them; all facts are pregnant with effects yet more glorious than these. There is no such thing as a dead fact—it is always living and prolific; and whatever Jesus did, especially, was significant of something yet brighter and better that Jesus will do. So then, the fact that he quelled the storm is only an earnest of that better day, when the great Peacemaker will come forth like the high priest from the holy of holies, and screw up creation's strings to their primeval harmony, bring all things back to their Eden bliss, give the wind, and waves, and sea a new and a divine commission, recover and resume the sceptre, expel the disturber, reverse the curse, strip nature of her ashen garments, in which she has wept and groaned, a penitent and a sufferer, and put on her coronation robes, her bridal apparel, when the marriage of the Lamb shall have come, and all nature shall be made glad."—p. 278.

In the Lecture on the Restored Son, a similar thought is developed :—

"There is in this a type and foretaste of that which shall be at the grand resurrection of the pious dead; the delivery of this son to the mother is only a type and earnest of what shall be when every restored son shall be delivered to the rejoicing mother, and the joy that was felt in the home at Nain shall only be a dim, dim forelight of that intenser joy that shall be felt in the heavenly home, when all lost relationship shall be restored, all suspended communion shall be resumed, and each shall know the other, and reciprocate each other's joys, and sing as they never sang before, that new song which is ever new and ever old, because it never wearies, and can never be exhausted."—p. 424.

The following passage is one of peculiar beauty :

"Sleep is the Christian name for death; it is the beautiful and prophetic colour that Christ spreads over the features of the dead; and is designed to teach us, that as sure as a morning comes to the sleeper on his couch, so sure an everlasting morning shall break upon the tenants of the tomb."—p. 449.

We have endeavoured to establish, what is very clear to our own convictions, that redemptive miracles were acts of power and grace, bearing a definite relation to that condition from which the world has fallen, and which is reserved for its future enjoyment. We will not call them links between the past and the future, like an isthmus uniting two tracts of land; rather would we compare them to those scattered islands that form the archipelago between the Floridas and South America, suggestive of the fact that that was once solid continent which now the ocean has submerged. So our condition is one over which the waves of sin roll; but He who calms the waves can make the dry land to appear, and clothe it with ever-blooming verdure. This uniform tendency of our Lord's miracles towards a happier condition of the human family, harmonizes with the efforts of scientific industry and skill. We have already observed that we are permitted to recover some of the ground that we have lost, though on the condition of unceasing toil. If the miracles accomplished these results, though by a process immeasurably more rapid, we discover in them an additional feature which demands our interest. And when we assert that miracles and the efforts of human skill had the same tendencies in this respect, we do not in the least derogate from the former, for whatever be the amount of human attainment, miraculous results were always ultra-human and argued the presence of divine power. Indeed, the fact that the redemptive miracles in general tended to the amelioration of the species, supplies a new test of their reality, and this in opposition to the claims of the Romish thaumaturgists. Dr. Newman, for example, in writing to the Bishop of Norwich, says, "I really cannot conceive a thoughtful person denying that the history of the ark at the deluge is as difficult to reason as a saint floating on his cloak." And in his own volume, (p. 299), says, "I think it impossible to withstand the evidence which is brought for the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius." We think it a circumstance calculated to throw doubt, antecedently to all testimony, that floating cloaks and liquefying blood, would serve no useful end. At least we may assert this of the latter. The ark on the other hand accomplished a mighty purpose, in strictest harmony with the dealings of Providence with the world. Dr. Newman proceeds in his letter to say that the account of the ark was *more* difficult to the reason, and the saint's crossing the sea on his cloak *less* difficult. This we deny. It is infinitely more reasonable to suppose that where an important object is to be attained God will exert power sufficient, and as there are no limits to his power, the test of rationality must be applied to the end in

view, and not to the means which might be requisite. On the other hand, it is essentially contrary to reason to suppose that God should work *little* miracles; if the stone was removed from the sepulchre of Lazarus by the attendants without, and not by the man emerging from within, we may well conceive that St. Raymond would be left to cross the sea with very different appliances from those which Dr. Newman attributes to him.

Most of our readers are aware that Dr. Newman has, with the greatest boldness (we might use the word effrontery), asserted the claims of his newly adopted church to miraculous gifts. He is so far consistent in so doing, inasmuch as Romish divines have always included miracles among the true tests of a church. It may be worth our while to examine this dogma before we proceed further, for it must be admitted that the power manifested in miracles generally would afford *primâ facie* evidence of a divine mission. Now a reference to Scripture shews that there have been good men who lived and died without working them, whilst there have been bad men who have worked them. Abraham, for example, may be classed among the former; Isaac and Jacob in like manner; Joseph's name follows in the same category. David and Solomon likewise; and finally, it is said expressly of John the Baptist (John x. 41), that he did no miracle. Remarkable it is, that this should be placed on record. Our Lord would have us know that among all those who were born of women none were greater than John the Baptist, and yet the Evangelist is careful to inform us that he wrought no miracle. All the features of his history are bold and prominent; his manners were those of an ascetic; his denunciations of vice unflinching; he was honored as the person selected to administer baptism to our Lord. His preaching attracted thousands from Jerusalem and the country round. But if he did all this, if he drew multitudes into the wilderness, if he were resorted to by the Pharisees and Sadducees, and even consulted by soldiers, if he rebuked a Herod for his sins, he resorted to no miracle. However such a gift might appear to us essential to the discharge of his exalted functions, he had it not. On the other hand, evil men have wrought miracles. We are aware that Dean Graves, Farmer, Patrick, and others, have been most careful to shew that when the magicians of Egypt imitated the miracles of Moses and Aaron, they produced only a semblance, that all that they accomplished was jugglery or optical delusion. The same arguments are used with reference to the witch of Endor, and her summoning the spirit of Samuel. But there seems to be no Scriptural reason for denying the reality of these transactions or seeking to twist

from its natural sense the plain letter of the narratives. In the one case, Pharaoh, who had an opportunity of comparing the works of his magicians with those of Moses and Aaron, was apparently satisfied of their reality, and allowed himself to be deceived by them. The divine lesson conveyed was not that Satanic miracles were impossible, but that divine miracles were superior to them. Jannes and Jambres, like Moses and Aaron, turned their rods into serpents, but the rods of the latter swallowed those of the former. In the other case, the witch of Endor was herself affrighted by the apparition of Samuel, and the same preternatural power, we may surmise, that enabled her to raise the departed spirit, gave her discernment of Saul's identity. Now we know that idolatrous Egypt, the tyrannical power by which God's people were held in bondage was a type of the Antichrist of the latter day. But we know that the miracles of Antichrist will be real. There shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew (δώσουσι) great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect (Matt. xxiv. 24). "He doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men," (Rev. xiii. 13). We have therefore a strong presumption that the magicians were permitted to exercise Satanic power and so allure Pharaoh to his final destruction. But without laying great stress on these disputed instances, we appeal to a statement of our Lord, which implies that miracles were wrought by those who were not his saints, and yet not wrought through Satanic influence. Judas was probably an example of a class of those who do not attain to eternal life though placed in possession of the greatest privileges and opportunities. "Many will say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name have done many wonderful works (δυνάμεις)? And then I will profess unto them (not, your wonderful works were unreal, but) I never knew you; depart from me, ye that work iniquity," (Matt. vii. 22, 23.) Let those who would seek to establish their claims by miracles take heed. The church of Rome may prove too much, and any other church that would use the same argument, even if the miracles could be attested by sufficient evidence, might place itself in a false position. The object of such unusual displays of divine power has been to establish a new revelation. They have clustered round great epochs, and have invariably ushered in the promulgation of a new portion of the written Word. Can we conceive any of our modern divines working a miracle? Dr. Newman sarcastically admits that it would be absurd to conceive such a thing at the hands of a bishop

of the establishment, or a Wesleyan preacher, or a member of parliament. No more absurd, we think, than if St. Alphonsus Liguori or St. Philip Neri do the same. But by way of dismissing the incongruous association of ideas that would be involved in the miracle-working of a living man, What, may we ask, would John Wesley or George Whitfield have effected, had they healed the sick or recalled to reason the frenzied lunatic? If they had no new message from heaven, they would only have deceived the people and even hindered their own usefulness. Their distinctive views would have been stamped with infallibility, and their differences would have become stumbling blocks to the unbeliever. Their miracles would have accredited them as apostles if not *priests (sacerdotes)*, whilst in fact they were no more than ministers of the Word. By going forth in the spirit and power of him "who did no miracle," they were blessed in turning the hearts of many disobedient to the wisdom of the just. Blessed be his name who raised up such instruments for the revival of religion in a century of darkness, and who has not yet withdrawn from our land men on whom their mantle has fallen. Let us, however, quote the testimony of the Spirit in order that we may be reminded of our duty, if such pretensions are advanced as those to which we have alluded. "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether ye love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul," (Deut. xiii. 1—3.) Dr. Biber, in his valuable and well-timed sermon, preached from this passage, thus comments on the pretended claims of the church of Rome.

"As to their 'antecedent credibility,' though we deny not that God is able to produce, and may produce, any miraculous effect, if it so pleases him, and that therefore any alleged miracle is, in the abstract, credible, we emphatically deny that God will produce any miraculous effect in support of the Anti-christian doctrine of the church of Rome. And as regards the 'evidence,' we are not careful to answer the church of Rome. Whether the alleged miracles be mere human frauds and impostures, or whether they be of a supernatural character is to us a matter of perfect indifference. If they are supernatural, we are satisfied that they are of the devil and not of God. With this answer we dismiss the call made upon us to 'listen to evidence,' adduced for the 'ecclesiastical miracles' of Rome. We repel the invitation as a snare of Satan, of whose devices we are not ignorant. The very fact that Rome does put forth such miracles,

the increased zeal and boldness with which she puts them forth, is but an additional proof that she is advancing with rapid strides towards the consummation of her Antichristian system, the great apostasy and revelation of the man of sin, the son of perdition, to whose portraiture, as set forth by the Holy Ghost through St. Paul, the Papacy already bears so striking a resemblance."—Biber, p. 12.

The most curious, we might perhaps say grotesque, characteristic of Dr. Newman's recent lectures, is the clever manner in which he manages to keep his countenance, whilst "appealing to reason" for these absurd legends. The whole book in its every page is an ingenious sophism, and indeed its author evinces many of the best traits of an able controversialist. He knows how to be calm and gentlemanly, seldom indulges in invective, though he is an adept in the use of biting satire. If he has occasion to refer to an Oxonian bishop or a county member, he is a model of courtesy, though if a converted priest falls within his grasp, his libels are so furious and unguarded that he at once places himself within an easy distance of the law. When he can afford to be generous to his opponents, he gladly avails himself of the opportunity, and occasionally in his descriptions of Protestantism points out its strong elements in a manner for which we are disposed to thank him. He panegyrizes our translation of the Scriptures in glowing terms, exalts Milton's poem as the great epic of Protestantism, and gives John Bunyan the credit of supplying to successive generations many of their stock-ideas. We can always discern in Dr. Newman the scholar thoroughly versed in the literature of his own country, the polished member of Oxford circles, but what is worse for himself, the old well-skilled *Protestant* controversialist. His arguments against us are in fact, *mutatis mutandis*, what he was long accustomed to use against his new friends. We learn, for the first time, that we are the adherents of tradition, believers in infallibility, worshippers of pomp and pageantry, stiflers of free enquiry, afraid of reason, partial to twilight. How his arguments will be approved when translated into classical Tuscan and read aloud in the camera privata of His Holiness, we cannot predict. If some of his pages find their way into the "Law Reports," we think that others may be inserted in the *Index Expurgatorius*. At the same time we know that Rome is not too scrupulous in the use of weapons, and is willing even to go to the armoury of the infidel, if so be advantage may be secured against the "heretic."

Thus we have this "Catholic" reasoner alleging the difficulty of believing the Incarnation, as an argument why we should believe that which is less mysterious in the cures wrought by saintly relics or in other miracles of the breviary. The infidel

will of course reply that as they are all confessedly beyond reason and experience, and he knows the traditional miracles to be unsupported by evidence, therefore he will deny the Scriptural accounts also. Popery or Infidelity are Dr. Newman's alternatives. Is he quite sure which of the two he has himself adopted?

Let us quote another paragraph, in which he makes a great parade of *reason.*

"For our first principle is reason, in the same sense in which theirs is their reason, and it is quite as good a reason. Both they and we start with the miracles of the Apostles, and then their first principle or presumption against our miracles is this: 'What God did once, He is *not* likely to do again;' while our first principle or presumption for our miracles is this: 'What God did once, He *is* likely to do again.' They say, It cannot be supposed He will work *many* miracles; we, It cannot be supposed He will work *few*." p. 228.

We need scarcely point out how shallow is the logic here employed. The writer knows as well as we can tell him, that the very object of a miracle is defeated if it recurs constantly, or rather it ceases to be a miracle. By so doing, it becomes *nature,* the law by which it is originated is constant, and no end is gained by its exhibition. In the infancy of civilization, the man of science is invested with the attributes of the magician, he who predicts an eclipse is an astrologer, the physician is a god and divine honours are offered to him. The results of science are to the inexperienced essentially miraculous, but as knowledge is diffused they excite no more wonder than the phenomena with which we are familiar, the rising of the sun or the recurrence of the seasons. A saintly thaumaturgus would at best be a physician, more commonly perhaps, as his feats degenerated in usefulness, a conjuror and a mountebank.

We may indeed marvel that modern Romanists should choose to remind us of this most frivolous chapter of Rome's history, that the tenth century should be so ostentatiously forced upon the nineteenth; but Dr. Newman is determined to promulgate to the world that he is an entire convert, and does not refuse the most indigestible dishes which he finds on the table where he has of late sat down. He saw from the first, that the condition imposed on every disciple of the one infallible church was a surrender of private judgment. "*Ac si cadaver*" is the Jesuit motto; not easy to be adopted by living, thinking, obeying, responsible man. Hard saying is this. What is to become of the five senses meanwhile? what is to be done with those noble faculties of the soul, which stamp us as immortal beings? However, Dr. Newman makes the desperate plunge, "*credo omne*

quod credit ecclesia," and into his belief he sweeps all that he finds. Infallibility, Mariolatry, rebaptization, the surrender of orders, transubstantiation, the denial of the cup, indulgences, penance, the confessional, monkery, saint-worship, and thaumaturgism, all are to be swallowed down at one tremendous effort of nature. And then with a plethora that almost chokes him, struggling for breath, but with a desperate effort to appear calm, he boasts of his feat to an astonished but compassionating world.

"For myself, lest I appear in any way to be shrinking from a determinate judgment on the claims of some of those miracles and relics, which Protestants are so startled at, and to be hiding particular questions in what is vague and general, I will avow distinctly, that putting out of question the hypothesis of unknown laws of nature (which is an evasion from the force of any proof), I think it impossible to withstand the evidence which is brought for the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, and for the motion of the eyes of the pictures of the Madonna in the Roman States. I see no reason to doubt the material of the Lombard crown at Monza; and I do not see why the Holy Coat at Trèves may not have been what it professes to be. I firmly believe that portions of the True Cross are at Rome and elsewhere, that the crib of Bethlehem is at Rome, and the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul also. I believe that at Rome too lies St. Stephen, that St. Matthew lies at Salerno, and St. Andrew at Amalfi. I firmly believe that the relics of the saints are doing innumerable miracles and graces daily, and that it needs only for a Catholic to show devotion to any saint, in order to receive special benefits from his intercession. I firmly believe that saints in their life-time have before now raised the dead to life, crossed the sea without vessels, multiplied grain and bread, cured incurable diseases, and stopped the operation of the laws of the universe in a multitude of ways. Many men, when they hear an educated man so speak, will at once impute the avowal to insanity, or to an idiosyncracy, or to imbecility of mind, or to decrepitude of powers, or to fanaticism, or to hypocrisy. They have a right to say so, if they will, and we have a right to ask them why they do not say it of those who bow down before the mystery of mysteries, the Divine Incarnation. If they do not believe this, they are not yet Protestants; if they do, let them grant that He, who has done the greater may do the less." p. 299.

Do we, dear friend, charge you with insanity, or fanaticism, or hypocrisy? No, we only charge you with *consistency*. The saintly acts are mere hospital cures or chemical experiments, in comparison of the one gigantic miracle that you believed years before you left Oxford. Yes, there is a miracle which you profess to have wrought yourself, more astounding, more prodigious, involving an infinitely greater exertion of thaumaturgic power, than any recorded in the Gospels. We can understand how a divine person can have multiplied a few loaves to feed five thousand, but how in the name of all that is sacred, or that appeals

to reason, or to faith, can a priestly word, or a priestly act, or a priestly *intention*, transubstantiate a wafer into the "body, blood, soul, and *divinity*" of Christ? Yes, you may say that the word only is that of man, but the power is of God; still the "intention" of the priest gives the command to the Divine Essence, for if that intention is withdrawn, you suppose no more change to take place than when the profligate priests were heard by Luther to say, "Panis es, et panis manebis; vinum es, et vinum manebis."[i] If any of your own church repudiate a belief in these legends, and we believe that the majority of thinking men among them consider them useful for the common people, and no more, we apply to them your own argument, "They have a right to say so, if they will, and we have a right to ask them why they do not say it of those who bow down before the prodigy of prodigies, the transubstantiated wafer. If they do not believe this, they are not yet Romanists; if they do, let them grant that priests who have done the greater may do the less."

One question remains, which involves more difference of opinion, and requires more lengthy investigation than our readers would be disposed to attend to. We refer to the enquiry, When did miracles cease in the Church? Our Lord's parting charge to his apostles implies that they were to be continued for a time at least:—"These signs shall follow them that believe: in my name they shall cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them: they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover" (Mark xvi. 17, 18). Augustine speaks of miraculous works being acccomplished in his own time, and church historians are unwilling to deny that in the first three centuries of the Christian era, miracles were common. The cautious Mosheim says[k]: "As to the miracles attributed to Antony, Paul the Hermit, and Martin, I give them up without the least difficulty, and join with those who treat these pretended prodigies with the contempt they deserve. I am also willing to grant, that many events have been rashly esteemed miraculous, which were the result of the ordinary laws of nature; and also that several pious frauds have been imprudently made use of, to give new degrees of weight and dignity to the Christian cause. But I cannot, on the other hand, assent to the opinions of those who maintain that, in the fourth century miracles had entirely ceased." The history of Gregory Thaumaturgus, and indeed all the best accredited accounts of

---

[i] *Tischreden*, 441.
[k] *Eccles. Hist.* Cent. IV. Part. I. Cap. xxiii.

the miracles of the early church indicate that they were wrought chiefly as signs to the unbelievers, that so long as a necessity existed similar to that which made them useful instruments in the hands of the apostles, they were sparingly permitted. The question itself, however, offers *primâ facie* evidence that they were not continued in a settled state of the church. If we arrange these gifts in three divisions—tongues, the casting out of devils, and healing the sick, we see that the latter was the most likely to be continued. We believe that demoniacal possession was confined to the apostolic age, and was Satan's great artifice to counterfeit the Incarnation. This opinion, we know, is held by many, and if true at once disposes of our question with regard to the power of effecting its cure. With regard to tongues, St. Paul expressly tells us, (1 Cor. xiv. 22), that "they are for a sign, not to them that believe, but to them that believe not." This was exemplified on the day of Pentecost, when Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, men of all countries, heard, each *in their own tongues*, the wonderful works of God. The church of Rome has not aspired to this gift, but has done just the reverse, depriving the people of all lands of the privilege of hearing the word of God, except in a language that they do not understand. We know that this gift is claimed even in our own day, but we doubt whether it has been tested. Let a Welshman hear in Paris, or an Abbeokutan in London, an addressin his o wn vernacular, and let the speakers be acquainted only with French and English respectively, and tongues will then "be for a *sign*." When the Jewish nation shall be converted in a body and assembled at Jerusalem, they will present the spectacle, without miraculous aid, of a missionary body prepared to go out into all the world and preach the gospel to *every* creature. They are learning those tongues in their dispersion which they will continue to speak when they are gathered. We infer then, that as the early church assumed a more settled aspect, the miraculous gifts gradually ceased. That they will again be resumed in the last days we are prepared to believe, and not the less so because we are warned that Antichrist will have his counterfeits. What then, meanwhile, is our duty? To hold fast by the Word of God, to covet earnestly the best gifts. The miracles of our Lord are left on record in all their fulness of divine teaching, that we may know how to distinguish between the precious and the vile. It would be well if Christians at the present crisis gave heed to their instruction, and consider well that infallible inspiration which they demonstrate as existing in the written word of truth. C. D.

ANCIENT ORIENTAL PALACES.

The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis restored. By James Fergusson, Esq. London. 1851.

Science owes its development to two very different classes of investigators. In the one, the observant faculties predominate, in the other, the reflective. A spirit of enterprize leads men who ally themselves with the former to ascertain new facts regardless of the relation which acquired knowledge may assume with the results of other men's labours. It is the province of the other order of enquirers patiently to digest these results, and in teaching the world how to bring them to a useful application, they render a service if not equally brilliant with the former, at least as valuable. Of these, the one may be found risking health and life in the ice-bound circle of the polar region, or tracing a civilization anterior to that of Greece or Rome in the wilds of Yucatan, or roaming amidst the jungles of an African interior in quest of new tribes of animals and birds, while the other brings to bear the synthetical powers of an observant mind, and on the data thus supplied builds a superstructural theory perhaps more consonant with truth, from the very fact that his isolated position enables him to take a wide and comprehensive view of the matters under discussion. The book before us ranks among this latter class. "It has," to quote Mr. Fergusson's own words, "no new discoveries to announce of facts or things brought to light in the countries of which it treats, all the reasonings being founded on data already published and in the hands of the public." From this statement we are led to expect that the accumulated labours of Botta, Rawlinson and Layard, will undergo the digestive process, and receive such coherency as to make them available for the purposes of illustration. Nor are we disappointed; the biblical critic, the historian, and the antiquary, will alike find that one earnest mind has been engaged in their behalf, and that results which a few years ago would have been deemed purely hypothetical are now reduced to absolute certainty. Little did Dr. Jules Mohl think, when in 1842 he advised M. Botta, then about to proceed as consul to Mosul, to turn his attention to the probable site of Nineveh, that he was opening a vein of knowledge which promises to be as fruitful in results as it was unexpected in its discovery. The Doctor certainly deserves our most grateful acknowledgments for promoting an investigation which otherwise might have been delayed for some generations—no less than the indefatigable savan, by

whose agency we are enabled to realize the state of art and civilization as they existed 3000 years ago.

The early part of this book is devoted to the mutual relation of Egyptian and Assyrian chronology, in which Mr. Fergusson enters with all the zest of an antiquarian and controversialist, and exhibits in a tabular form the parallelism of the two empires, allowing to Egypt a priority of eight centuries. There is one feature common to the early history of these two countries, upon which much light has been thrown by the interpretation of the inscriptions recently disclosed; viz., the discrepancy that exists between native and foreign historians. Without the internal evidence of the hieroglyph the veracity of Manetho would have been called in question, and the preference have been given to the Greek historians, who from uncertain sources and at second hand compiled their histories, and not unfrequently called invention to the aid of memory—and thus all that has been learned from the cuneiform inscriptions tends to confirm the account of Herodotus whenever he relates an event on his own responsibility.

But the annals of Assyria have yet to be disclosed, expectation is rife, and fancy already associates each sculptured slab with the names, dates, and localities, of Scripture history, soon we hope to be identified by the interpretation of the "handwriting on the wall."

The second part of Mr. Fergusson's work is devoted to architecture, such as we find it in Persepolis and Nineveh, two cities, which, though not more than 800 miles apart, present a most extraordinary difference in appearance and construction, although a common origin is suggested by the similarity of their detail. The difference alluded to is the absence of what Mr. Ruskin, in his *Stones of Venice*, calls the "wall veil" at Persepolis, while in Khorsabad and other Ninevite ruins this feature constitutes the sole point of interest. We must, in default of a better, accept Mr. Fergusson's solution, though purely conjectural, that in the one city the walls of sun-burnt brick have been washed away, while in the other case the columns have been removed by some sacrilegious victor; an example followed in later times by the nephews of Paul III., who reared a Farnese palace out of the spoils of a Colosseum.[a]

In order that we may the more readily enter into the spirit of Persepolitan architecture, Mr. Fergusson has presented us with a restoration of the Palace of Xerxes, and invested with a profusion of Oriental magnificence the fragments that in their

[a] Gibbon, chap. lxxi., p. 1283.

isolated grandeur remind the beholder of those equally singular but unpretending monoliths that lie scattered on Salisbury Plain. To those accustomed only to the nicely calculated proportions of classic, or the expressive luxuriance of Gothic architecture, there is something bewildering in the apparent incongruities of this most singular palace. To form a conception of its ancient appearance we must figure to ourselves a platform about 1500 feet long and 900 feet deep, divided into three terraces of very unequal size and differing in level. The ascent to the northern terrace is perhaps the noblest example of a flight of stairs to be found in any part of the world. It consists of a double ascent, divergent at the base but coincident on a spacious landing at the level of the terrace, the steps being laid at such an angle that horsemen could ascend without difficulty. The adaptation of this arrangement for military processions, and the prominent position it offers for sculptural decoration will be obvious on a slight consideration. "These staircases were in fact to the Persians what the tympana of their temples were to the Greeks,—the great iconostases or image places whereon they lavished all the resources of their art. As being so much nearer the eye, the Persian arrangement had perhaps in many respects the advantage." Generally the flat part in front between the tops of the two converging stairs is occupied by colossal guards with spears standing face to face, in the centre the spandrils are filled by a combat of a lion killing a bull. In the smaller examples the processions of persons bringing gifts are represented on the balustrades, as if ascending the stairs; but on the example we have above alluded to these figures occupy the whole space between the central and side flights, and are there arranged in three rows, one above the other. As no instance of an Assyrian staircase has yet been found, we cannot do better than supply the hiatus by an analogous arrangement until future excavations render this appeal to Persepolis unnecessary. It will greatly add to the interest that the description of Solomon's literal or Ezekiel's mystical temple inspires, if we conceive such an ascent to the platform as this, guarded by symbolical effigies whose colossal size and unnatural conformation would create a feeling of wonder closely allied to reverential awe. The effect produced on the mind of a royal visitor, herself no stranger to the trophies of Egyptian skill and science, is thus graphically depicted: "And when the Queen of Sheba had seen all Solomon's wisdom, and the house that he had built, and the meat of his table, and the setting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers and their apparel, and his cup bearers, and his

ascent by which he went up into the house of the Lord, there was no more spirit in her," 1 Kings x. 4, 5. From a consideration of the ascent we now come to the building itself. The walls have totally disappeared, but we are not left entirely to conjecture as to their size, since there must have been a correspondence between the wall and the door-jamb that formed a part of it. This is 17′ 10″ in thickness, according to Texier, plate 93, a fact which leads us to the conclusion that the walls were built of mud bricks, and covered with glazed and enamelled tiles, which would afford a field for the polychromatic decoration that is a prevailing feature in all Eastern architecture. Internally there were six rows of hexastyle pillars, whose bases occupy one eleventh of the whole area. The columns themselves both of the central platform and the porticoes by which the building is flanked bear an affinity to Ionic, but far surpass the Grecian development of that order in elaboration of detail, and evince a combination of invention and contrivance that well accord with the magnificence of the whole design. When we have supplied the walls in conformity with the situation and dimensions of the door-jambs, and sixty-four feet high to correspond with the columns that are yet standing, we shall encounter another difficulty in covering over an area equal to that of the quadrangle of Somerset House. The interval between the columns is so great that we cannot conceive *stone* architraves carried on these points of support so as to form a flat ceiling. The difficulty might have been met by the more modern process of vaulting, but the Persepolitans seem to have been unacquainted with the use of the arch. We must therefore resort to trabeation, and to this end the form of the capitals is eminently suited. They are composed of two demi-bulls, addorsed, and in the hollow junction of their backs there is great reason to believe the ends of the principal bearing beams were secured. So far the restoration is complete and in accordance with the existing ruins, but Mr. Fergusson proposes an addition which may be looked upon as his most ingenious hypothesis, for if we once recognize its admissibility it will be found equally applicable to the buildings in process of exhumation at Khorsabad and Koyunjik.

At a distance of three or four miles from Persepolis there is a tomb dedicated to the memory of Darius, representing a portico similar in design to the palace we have above described, over which there is a stage supported by two rows of figures bearing it on their uplifted hands, upon which the king is represented in the act of adoration. This rock-hewn temple of Darius offered to Mr. Fergusson an explanation of the anomalous

features not only of Persepolitan and Assyrian, but even of Jewish architecture. Assuming that the *upper* chamber is the principal apartment, we gain an explanation of the disproportionately low roof and deficiency of light observable both in the palaces and temples of the East. A reference to this will illustrate the "summer chamber of Eglon" (Judges iii. 20), "the upper chamber" to which David retired, in his excess of grief (2 Sam. xviii. 33), and the "altars that were on the top of the upper chamber of Ahaz, which the kings of Judah had made" (2 Kings xxiii. 12), all rendered in the Septuagint by the word ὑπερῳον; but more than all it will confirm the description of the upper story of wood, so circumstantially detailed in the eighth book of Josephus,[b] an account hitherto misunderstood or discredited. When the temple was rebuilt by Zerubbabel, this upper story, or talar, seems to have been omitted—at least, that is the inference drawn by Mr. Fergusson from the assigned reduction of sixty feet in the height;[c] but subsequently it formed part of Herod's restoration, as we incidentally learn from an account of a failure in its foundations, which does not seem to have interfered with the performance of public worship in the substructure.[d] Mr. Fergusson avoids entering into the question of the use of this upper stage, when thus grafted on a Jewish temple, but holds out the hope that we may yet obtain further information from Syrian or Assyrian exhumations. From a consideration of the temple we proceed to another of Solomon's buildings, known in Scripture phraseology as the "House of the Forest of Lebanon." This building was used as a judicial court, and from its size and arrangement would form a noble edifice, worthy of its royal founder, and the magnificent design of which it made an integral feature. The few verses that inform us as to the nature of its construction are sufficiently obscure, and the manner in which the passage is rendered in the Septuagint and the *Archæologia* of Josephus does not afford us any additional information. We give the passage as we find it in the 1st Kings vii. 2—5 :—"He built also the house of the forest of Lebanon; the length thereof was an hundred cubits, and the breadth thereof fifty cubits, and the height thereof thirty cubits, upon *four* rows of cedar pillars, with cedar beams upon the pillars. And it was covered with cedar above, upon the beams that lay on *forty-five pillars, fifteen in a row.* And there were windows in three rows: and light was against light in three ranks." The contradiction involved by the statement that there were four rows of pillars (in the second verse), and

[b] *Ant. Jud.* lib. viii. 3, 2. [c] Josephus xv. 11, 1. [d] Ibid. xv. 11, 1.

the indirect allusion to three rows in the third verse, might be reconciled by supposing the number four to have reference to the intervening aisles, were it not for the description that follows of the windows in three rows, which must refer either to those at the end or at the side; the context will not admit of the former, we must therefore adopt the latter arrangement, though we differ from Mr. Fergusson in the precise way in which he has carried it out. If we were to take the Exhibition Building in Hyde Park, and strip it of its outermost aisles, we should gain some idea of the probable outline of this Jewish basilica. There would then be a nave and two side aisles. The nave roof, according to Mr. Fergusson's plan, would be carried by *two* rows of pillars, but as *three* rows are mentioned in the Scriptural account, he would adopt one of the rows dividing the aisle from the nave, and reject the other, "as it may probably have been walled up or divided by a screen, so that though four ranges, or sixty pillars, supported the roof, only three ranges, or forty-five, stood free on the floor, which would at once explain the apparent discrepancy of the text." Our own idea is, that the four rows refer not to the columns themselves, but to the intervening aisles. This tristyle arrangement would give forty-five columns in three rows of fifteen each, and the four *alleys*, to use an old expressive word, would coincide with the number as quoted above in the second verse. The upper story of wood, or talar as we may call it, would give one "rank" of lights, and the main building the other two. But whether this be the true version or no is of little consequence.

"What principally interests us here," says Mr. Fergusson, "is to know that the roof of this great basilica was supported by rows of cedar pillars about ten feet apart, in the direction of the length of the hall, and fifteen apart in a lateral direction if there were four rows, and eighteen apart if three: in this respect strongly resembling most of those of Persepolis, and all those at Nineveh, as well as that at Ecbatana above referred to. The proportions of the hall were also about half way between those of Persepolis and Nineveh, for at the first-named city they were always square. Here two squares, or twice the length of the breadth, was the proportion given; and at Nineveh they were seldom under three squares in length."—p. 227.

No commentary ever proved more useful in reducing the involved account of Josephus to the level of architectural criticism than the recent discoveries at Nineveh. Does he tell us that Solomon "made use of stones of ten cubits, and wainscoted the walls with other stones that were sawn?" the description would literally seem intended for Khorsabad. "Does his fancy revel in the 'galleries devoted to pleasure,' and splen-

did halls for feasting and drinking, adorned on all sides with gold;" or the "groves which were beautiful to look at, and at the same time protected the body from the fierce rays of the sun?" we look to Assyria, and while the recent discoveries attest the veracity of his graphic sketches, they owe much of their elucidation to his correctness of detail. Such are the sources whence we must derive our illustrations of Hebrew architecture:

"All analogies drawn from any Egyptian buildings have most signally failed in this respect, and those derived from classical architecture only serve to show how men may deceive themselves on such a point. An Assyrian temple would be of course the best illustration, but till that is found, the Persepolitan must suffice, and in fact leaves very little to be desired."—p. 224.

Here we may take our leave of Persepolis, and travel northward, to the long-lost capital of Assyria, where Shalmaneser and Sennacherib ruled, Jonah prophesied, and over which Zephaniah, Nahum, and Ezekiel uttered their sublime denunciations. The names of Khorsabad and Koyunjik have now become familiar to us; whilst the accurate descriptions of modern travellers enable us to conjecture the limits of the ancient city, and to realize its present aspect. Situate on the alluvial plain of the Tigris, now strewed with the debris of palaces and temples, (which for centuries have served to supply the requirements of Arabian builders), is the field or quarry in which European energy has been as busily engaged in the search for antiquities as ever Californian settler was in the search for gold. The first object that betokens the former grandeur of the buried city, is a mound traversing the site of a rectangular wall, and enclosing an area of rather more than a square mile, capable of containing about 65,000 inhabitants, at the rate of fifty square yards to an individual—a large population for an eastern city. Impinging upon this wall, and partly projecting beyond it, is a group of buildings consisting of a palace and temple, with their respective courts, the nucleus probably of that "rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly, that said in heart, I am, and there is none beside me." The greater part of the Assyrian importations now lying in the Louvre, have been derived from this source, nor can we wonder at the number of the bas-reliefs, when we find that the surface-wall thus enriched, extended 2,500 feet internally, and 1,500 externally, with an average height of ten feet. The subjects embrace warlike achievements and peaceful processions, scenes of domestic life, and the trophies of the chase. In these the king appears at one time exercising regal, at another sacerdotal functions, and maintains the two-

fold character history has assigned to Eastern monarchs, and which we find exemplified in the Scripture in Melchisedek, and subsequently in Solomon, who though not of the priestly order, yet himself performed the most solemn service at the dedication of the temple. It is singular that in this palace, which has been assigned by tradition to the warlike Semiramis, no female should be represented, except in a servile attitude, or incidentally pleading for the life of a captive—a fact which tends to strengthen the argument of those who would rank this royal Amazon among the mythical characters of an heroic age, or regard the exploits attributed to her genius as unclaimed acts of valour, which a poetic has concentrated on a fabled conception of its own creative fancy. It is satisfactory to leave "tradition's doubtful light," and examine the internal evidence now made public through M. Botta's magnificent folios. From the plan there given of this temple, we have no means of ascertaining either the number or material of the columns employed to support the roof; and as the stylar arrangement is absolutely necessary in a building of such magnitude, their disappearance argues either removal or destruction. If we suppose them to have been of stone, their convenient size would favour the former supposition; but if wood was the material employed, there would be an additional liability to destruction from the effects of fire or time.

At Persepolis we have no evidence to lead us to suppose that the revêtement wall, or sculptural panel above alluded to, existed in the decastyle hall of Xerxes or elsewhere; but in Khorsabad the bas-reliefs have been discovered *in situ*, and present certain conditions that must be attended to in any attempt at restoration. As the walls have been traced to a height of thirteen feet, and the position of the alabaster slabs precludes the ordinary fenestral arrangement, much ingenuity has been exercised in attempting to discover the method by which the light was introduced. Flandin published a theory that the roof consisted of a single kiln-burnt brick vault, thirty-three feet span. Botta rejects this idea as inconsistent with probability, not one such brick, or even fragment of a brick, having been discovered, and would substitute "a mode of roof still found in Armenia, by which timbers laid horizontally are made to form a sort of domical skylight, or rather louvre, to admit light and carry off smoke." This theory is hardly tenable, if we reject, as M. Botta does, the intermediate points of support. Mr. Layard simply takes off a portion of the roof, a plan obviously unsuitable in a country obnoxious to the vertical rays of a meridian sun, and the drenching torrents of a rainy season. Mr. Fergusson's

solution of the difficulty meets all the requirements of the case, and affords an explanation of the unusual size of the circumferent walls. His proposition is to raise the wall eight feet above the slabs, or in other words, eighteen feet above the ground, and carry up a parapet two feet high round its outer and inner face, thus forming a terrace round the whole building, probably boarded to protect the perishable nature of the wall. Ranged at intervals there would be dwarf pillars supporting the roof, and forming a second terrace, while the central roof would be carried by two rows of columns, and lighted by a species of clear-story. The light thus admitted through the loggias might be modified to any extent by the use of curtains, and the angle at which it entered would render the apartment inaccessible to the direct rays of the sun, or the inclemency of a driving storm. This theory not only meets the architectural requirements of the case, but is perfectly in accordance with the nature of the climate and the habits of the people:

"The ground floor thus arranged," says Mr. Fergusson, "was composed of rooms of great height, perfectly lighted and well ventilated, while from the immense thickness of their walls they must have been warm in winter and cool in summer; whereas the upper story had a series of inner apartments through which the fresh breeze always blew, and of outer ones which must always have afforded a cool and shady side, for they face every point of the compass except the south; and either for recreation during the day or sleeping at night, as men sleep in the east, must have formed a suite more suitable to the climate than any modern palace I am acquainted with."—p. 275.

To account for the ruin of such an edifice we must suppose that the fire which has left its destructive seal on all the Ninevite palaces first took effect on the wooden columns, and spreading to the roof spent its fury on the beams and superimposed story of wood, the floor of which (probably of indurated mud some three or four feet thick) falling in by its own weight, would bury everything beneath it, and at once complete the ruin: the walls, too, stripped of their protection from the weather, would speedily disintegrate and add to the general wreck, but by a fortunate paradox increase the security of the alabaster tableaux which constitute the Assyrian Fasti.

Such is Nineveh in the nineteenth century,—a "solitary, silent, solemn scene." But let us raise it awhile from its nadir of degradation to its zenith of prosperity, and notice how far the religion of the country has influenced the development of its art. The nation, that from an uncertain origin seeks to establish a religion will summon the aid of the *Ποιητὴς*, and by a skillfully woven epos clothe her heroes with the attributes of

gods, and her deities with the sympathies of men; and by such inventions as the theogony of Hesiod, the machinery of the Homeric poem, or the hero-worship of the Roman Pantheon, assume a divine original, and willingly admit a claim of spiritual subjection to those under whose tutelage she places herself. But with Assyria it was not so,—hers was no uncertain history. "Out of the land of Shinar went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great city." The second arch-progenitor of mankind yet trod the soil on which his great grandchildren were founding initial empires. Traces of the deluge were yet fresh in the eyes of the mighty hunter before the Lord, when he first set patriarchal government at defiance, and instituted the more despotic sway of an absolute chieftain. Here we recognize the true epos,—each bas-relief that signalizes the feats of Nimrod's warlike successors is a fragment of a grand epic poem, which, unlike "the tale of Troy divine," presents no fabled hero or mythic plot of intriguing deities. The religion of Assyria must have taken its rise in the traditions communicated by Noah to his immediate descendants. These would consist of the unity, spiritual existence, and infinite power of the Deity. The abstract idea thus presented to the faith of the worshipper would soon find its equivalent or representative in some appreciable object, of which the highest type is Sabæanism, and the lowest the reptile-worship of the Egyptians,—the anthropomorphism of Greece and Rome holding an intermediate position. This latter form of worship was regarded by eastern nations with horror.

"The Persian," says Mr. Fergusson, "never dared attempt the noble blasphemy of the Greek, and was content to represent his fellow men, such as they were, never as following their ordinary avocations but only in their festive state, as administering to the greatness of their sovereign lord."

This abhorrence from investing the image of a living creature with the insignia of a god is not incompatible with further declension from the truth. The first and most natural development, the worship of fire, is substituted for that of the heavenly host; and there are the remains of temples erected for this service at Istakr, Koyunjik, and elsewhere. But a more numerous class of these sculptural representations is to be traced to the language of symbolism, and this is the third phase of Assyrian mythology. Two of the most important symbols are the winged figure in a circle attendant on the king, and the Asheerah or sacred tree before which the king does homage: the former of these two is identical with the corresponding symbol used in

Egyptian delineations of royalty, and may be regarded as the index of the royal mind or guardian of the royal person, and in it we recognize the prototype of the *Δαίμων* of Socratic celebrity. The symbol of the sacred tree is equally conventional, but more obscure in its meaning and application. We leave Mr. Fergusson to speak for himself.

"My own impression is, that it is the object so frequently mentioned in the Bible as the grove or groves which the Israelites are so frequently accused of worshipping,—a conclusion which seems tolerably evident from the following reasoning: First, many biblical scholars, amongst others the learned Gesenius, scout the idea of the word Asheerah meaning a grove (*lucus*): he translates it fortune, or Astarte the star of Venus, or Asteroth the companion and wife of Baal,—anything, in short, but grove. In a more recent work by an excellent biblical scholar and philologer (Dav. Margoliouth) it is stated, that it is well known to the Jews that the word ought never to have been translated, but remain as a proper name, Asheerah or Asheerim; though he makes its signification 'the blessed,' and points out, without being aware of its resemblance to this Assyrian emblem, that it was a symbolical tree representing the host of heaven."

The word occurs between thirty and forty times in the Old Testament, and in every instance, the sense would justify us in leaving this word untranslated; and in many besides those quoted by Mr. Fergusson, the passage is unintelligible unless we substitute Asheerah or Asheerim for grove or groves.

"On the whole," he adds, "I am inclined to read the names in the Bible in this manner;—Baal I consider as Assarac, or Saturn, the principal of the planets. According to the Assyrians, the Baalim as the seven planets collectively; and this Asheerah as representing the host of heaven, or all the stars except the planets. Be this, however, as it may, we have here, I think, indubitably a representation in the Assyrian sculptures of an object so frequently mentioned in the Bible, and are from that book enabled to apply it to a name and at least an approximative meaning with which we shall soon be able to make out all that yet remains obscure about it."—p. 304.

We have now noticed the most striking Assyrianisms in Hebrew architecture, and are at least in a position to reject the unfounded hypotheses of the biblical critics of a past generation, whose illustrations on this subject were drawn from the Acropolis or the Forum. We now understand, that when Josephus makes use of the word *Κορίνθιως*, he alludes to a particular method of construction and not to the insignia of an architectural order. We can also, by a comparison of the accounts of Scripture and Josephus with the ruins of Persepolis and Nineveh, reproduce Solomon's temple more faithfully than the churches built by our Saxon ancestors, after an interval of fifteen centuries, in our own

native land; of whose very existence we should have been ignorant, had they not found a chronicler in the venerable Bede.

Such buildings have a like value in every quarter of the world as the expression of a nation's mind, even though they appear to have been built for the gratification of an individual, and each successive change that takes place in a nation's history finds its parallel in a new phase of art. The Ideal of Beauty has ever been Protean. To the old-world architects, she was associated with stupendous effort and solidity of construction: to a subsequent age she was invested with proportion and harmony: later still she developed herself in decoration and congruity: but in the nineteenth century her image is so dim that to the undiscriminating mass, she is identified with constructive skill or a fatal facility of reproduction. It is true that we no longer require walls eighteen feet thick; it is true that there are other sources of information more copious than hieroglyphs, and more intelligible than the language of symbolism, but it is equally true that there is in the ruins of these mighty cities a feeling more allied to truth, more congenial to the spirit of the nation, than we can detect in nine-tenths of the ill-assorted architectural utterances that crowd our metropolis. To those who linger over the past with that affectionate regret that is inspired by the contemplation of its time-honoured memorials, and to those who regard unity of action as the only source of truth in art, we urge the study of Assyrian archæology, as the exponent of a system directly antagonistic to the modern impetus of civilization; and to those who regard with interest any subject illustrative of Holy Writ, we commend this book—the result of Mr. Fergusson's labours—as the best commentary which has yet been made public on the subject of Sacred Architecture.

S.

THE LAST VISION OF EZEKIEL.

Ezekiel, and the Book of his Prophecy: an Exposition. By the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1851.

Since the commencement of our career it has always been our endeavour to mark out for special notice such books as have supplied acknowledged or recognizable wants in our biblical literature. These have been more in number than probably would have been known to ourselves had it not been our duty to register their appearance; and it is likely that some have escaped our notice. The book before us enables us to add one more to our list of desiderata supplied. We have ourselves had ample occasion to know and lament the truth of Mr. Fairbairn's declaration, that "Ezekiel has been the most neglected of all the prophets," and that "we are at this moment without a commentary in the English language that can be properly said to grapple with the difficulties that attach to his writings." Not "at this moment," for the present work redeems our literature from that reproach, but certainly until now this has been the case. The difficulties of this book are however not greater than those in books of Scripture on which numerous expositions have been furnished; it is probably therefore not the mere difficulties, but their peculiarity, in their close connection with the Jewish economy, and in the apparent Jewish hierarchal tendency of the closing vision, which have formed the chief obstacle to the same close and systematic study of this book that has been given to those of other prophets. We have often suspected that men have been *afraid* to explore the prophecies of Ezekiel, lest it should drive them into a conclusion they are unwilling to receive, —that the Jewish worship is yet in some shape or other to be re-established, as the Jews themselves gather from this and other prophecies, and as they most firmly expect and believe. None but those who have had occasion to consider these matters, would apprehend the degree in which special and generally unfounded notions regarding particular books have influenced the number of the commentaries and expositions given to them.

To those acquainted with the German language, Hävernick's Commentary on Ezekiel, published in 1843, in a great measure supplied the deficiency which English readers have still had to endure. We are glad to see that Mr. Fairbairn is sensible of the high value of this important work, and frankly acknow-

ledges his considerable obligations to it, although obliged, as might be expected, occasionally to differ from the views and opinions that it offers. Among former commentators Venema is one whom it is not safe to slight, and we are somewhat surprised to find Mr. Fairbairn, who sharply censures Adam Clarke for a statement concerning a book he had not seen, saying: "The commentaries of Starck (1730) and Venema (1790) I have not seen, having reason to believe that they could not be of any material service." We are of a somewhat different opinion, at least as to Venema, and, at any rate, the actual examination of a book is the only valid "reason" that any one ought to have for deciding that it may not be of use.

This is a book which most readers will, we suppose, be inclined, as we have been, if not exactly to read backward, yet to begin near the end. Our first want with an exposition of Ezekiel is to know what view the author takes of the last eight chapters, which are so variously interpreted, and concerning which most Bible readers wish to entertain some definite views. It is chiefly to this portion that we shall give our attention; for besides the peculiar interest belonging to the subject, this part furnishes a very fair sample of the whole work, being indeed well calculated to call forth the best gifts and powers of any expositor.

At the commencement of his labours on these obscure and difficult chapters, Mr. Fairbairn supplies a satisfactory and interesting account of the views which have been entertained upon the vision generally, and particularly on the description of the temple which it contains: these views he ranges under four classes.

"1. The first is what may be called the *historico-literal;* which takes all as a prosaic description of what had existed in the times immediately before the captivity, in connection with that temple, which is usually called Solomon's. Ezekiel just delineated, it is thought by those who hold this view, what he had himself seen at Jerusalem, that the remembrance of the former state of things might be preserved, and that the people on their return might restore it as nearly as they could. Such is the opinion sought by a huge apparatus of learning to be maintained by Villalpandus; and he is substantially followed by Grotius, Calmet, Secker, in part also by the elder Lowth, Adam Clarke, Böttcher, Thenius, &c. But, of course, it obliges those, who espouse it, to separate between what is written respecting the construction of the temple, and the distribution of the land, as well as some other things, which are known to have been quite different in the times before the exile. And even in regard to the temple itself, and the things immediately connected with it, making due allowance for any changes that may have been introduced, there are many, and some of them most palpable contrarieties between what is known to have existed in the times before the exile, and the scheme of things delineated by the prophet. These will fall to be noticed in the sequel.

"2. The straining required to maintain this view, and its utterly unsatisfactory nature, gave rise to another, which may be called the *historico-ideal*. According to it, the pattern exhibited to Ezekiel differed materially from anything that previously existed, and presented for the first time what *should have been* after the return from the captivity, though, from the remissness and corruption of the people, it never was properly realized. 'The temple described by Ezekiel should have been built by the new colonists; the customs and usages which he orders should have been observed by them; the division of the country should have been followed by them. That the temple did not arise out of its ruins according to his model, and that his orders were in no manner obeyed, was the fault of Israel. How far were they behind the orders of their first lawgiver Moses? What wonder, therefore, that they as little regarded their second lawgiver Ezekiel?' So wrote Eichhorn, and of the same mind were Dathe and Herder. But it is a view entirely at variance with the dimensions assigned to the temple, the mode of the distribution of the land, and the description of the river, all of which were connected with physical impossibilities to the new colonists. Some, therefore, who hold substantially the same general view, so far modify it as to admit, that there were things in the prophet's delineation, which could never have been intended to receive a literal accomplishment, yet conceive that the prophet did not the less design to present in it a perfect draught of what it was desirable and proper for the people to aim at. In so far as the actual state of things fell short of this, there was a failure—but only in the realization, not in the idea; and it was simply this last, not the other, which was properly any concern of the prophet's. So various of the older rationalists, (among others Doederlein,) and in the present day, Hitzig. The view manifestly proceeds on an abandonment of the strictly prophetical character of the vision, and reduces its announcements to a sort of vague and well-meaning anticipation of some future good, such as a strong faith and lively hope might cherish, and throw into any form the writer's own fancy might suggest. It cannot, therefore, be concurred in by any one who believes that the prophet spake as he was moved by the Holy Ghost, and uttered what, according to its genuine import, must be strictly fulfilled.

"3. The *Jewish-carnal* view is the one we shall next advert to; in its main character the opposite extreme of the last mentioned. It is the opinion of some Jewish writers, that the description of Ezekiel was actually followed by the children of the captivity as far as their circumstances would allow, and that Herod also, when he renovated and enlarged it, copied after the same pattern. (Lightfoot, *Desc. Templi*, c. x.) But they further hold, that as this was necessarily done in a very imperfect manner, it waits to be properly accomplished by the Messiah, who, when he appears, shall cause the temple to be reared precisely as here described, and carry out all the other subordinate arrangements. A considerable party has of late years been springing up in the Christian church, especially in England, who entirely concur in these Jewish anticipations, with no further difference, than that, believing Jesus to be the Messiah, they expect the vision to receive a complete and literal fulfilment at the period

of his second coming. The whole seed of Israel, they believe, shall then be restored to possess anew the land of Canaan, where they shall become, with Christ at their head, the centre of the light and glory of the world; the temple shall be rebuilt after the magnificent pattern shewn to Ezekiel, the rites and ordinances of worship set up, and the land apportioned to the tribes of Israel, all as described in the closing chapters of this book.[a] This opinion has also found its advocates on the continent; Hoffmann, for example,[b] and Hess, in his letters on the Apocalypse, who says:—'So then it shall come to pass, that our Lord, who once was rejected and crucified by his own countrymen, shall by the same be publicly and formally acknowledged, and in the restored temple shall be honoured—and that as Israel of old was often made to do service to the nations for the rejection of his God and Messiah, so now the nations shall be subjected to him, when acknowledging his Messiah, and confiding in his God.'[c]

"4. The last view is the *Christian-spiritual*, or typical one, according to which the whole representation was not intended to find either in Jewish or Christian Times an express and formal realization, but was a grand, complicated symbol of the good God had in reserve for his church, especially under the coming dispensation of the gospel. From the fathers downwards, this has been the prevailing view in the Christian Church. The greater part have held it to the exclusion of every other; in particular, among the Reformers, and their successors, Luther, Calvin, Capellus, Cocceius, Pfeiffer, followed by the majority of Evangelical divines of our own country. But not a few also have combined it with one or more of the other opinions specified. Thus Diodati, joining it with the first, says, 'Now the Lord sheweth the prophet the frame of Solomon's temple, which had been destroyed by the Chaldeans, that the memory of its incomparable magnificence might be preserved in the church, for a figure and assistance of her spiritual temple in this world, but especially in the celestial glory.' To the same effect, Lowth, in his commentary; and Lightfoot only differs, in so far as he rather couples the second view with the last, regards the vision as intended to 'encourage the Jews with the prospect of having a temple again,' though the temple and its ordinances were neither formed after Solomon's, nor designed to be actually set up, but prefigured 'the enlargement, spiritual beauty, and glory of the church under the gospel.' This is also the view adopted by Greenhill in his work on Ezekiel, who supposes, indeed, that the vision 'represented the restitution of the Jewish church, their temple, city, and worship, after the captivity; yet not simply, but as they were types of the church under the gospel; for as we must not exclude these, so we must know this is not the principal thing intended; that which the vision doth chiefly hold out to us, is the building of the Christian temple, with the

---

a "See Fry on the *Unfulfilled Prophecies*, as one of many.

b "*Weissagung und Erf.* i. p. 359, where, however, it is only briefly indicated; Baumgarten also seems to incline to the same view in his *Comm. on Pent.*

c "Quoted by Delitzsch in his *Biblisch-prophetische Theologie*, p. 94, but without giving assent to it; and at p. 308, he seems to mark the opinion as a false extreme in a few remarks on some passages of Baumgarten's."

worship thereof, under Jewish expressions, which began to be accomplished in the apostles days,' (Acts xv. 16.)"—pp. 386—389.

The question as to the literal or the typical fulfilment of this and other prophecies, is one of those which we regard as open to discussion in the pages of this Journal—where, in fact, papers have appeared under both views of this important subject, which will perhaps never be definitively settled until that which is now prophecy unfulfilled becomes prophecy accomplished. We regard ourselves as accumulating materials whereby students may be assisted to form their judgments, and not as presenting prepared judgments to which our responsibility is committed, and to which assent is required. This however we can do in conformity with our individual conviction, that both the realists and the idealists press their respective conclusions too closely, and that there is no one rule which will be equally applicable to the interpretations of all the prophetic visions and utterances regarding future times and events, some being more or less literal, and some more or less ideal according to the degree of clearness with which the Lord deigned to make his will concerning the future known. Sometimes in prophecy the Spirit speaks in "dark sentences," and sometimes so plainly that he who runs may read.

After remarking that Mr. Fairbairn appears to have an inadequate apprehension of the prevalence which the view of the literal or semi-literal interpretation of prophecy has of late years gained in England, though not proportionably in Scotland, we proceed to give some account of the principles upon which his own exposition is founded.

Those who are acquainted with the author's previous labours, as exhibited in his valuable work on *Scripture Typology*, will be prepared for the view he here takes and the interpretation he offers. Indeed, it appears that the researches involved in that work created the desire of instituting that formal examination into the writings of Ezekiel which has now been so successfully accomplished.

Our author thinks that Greenhill, together with most of the writers of the class and period to which he belonged, failed in a correct appreciation of the nature of the vision, and of the distinctive principles that ought to be kept in view in its interpretation. The traces of the proper line to be pursued must first be laid by distinguishing correctly the character of this species of composition, and the relation in which the vision stands to other parts of Ezekiel's writings. To this task Mr. Fairbairn therefore addresses himself, and the following is, we believe, a correct report of his statements.

First of all it is to be borne in mind, that the description

purports to be a vision; a platform exhibited to the mental eye of the prophet in "the visions of God!" This alone marks it to be of an ideal character, as contradistinguished from anything that ever had been or ever was to be found in actual existence, after the precise form given to it in the description. Such is seen to have been the character of the earlier visions imparted to the prophet. It has been objected that the perceptive character of the vision—the ordering to be done rather than the promise of doing, is hardly consistent with any other than a literal interpretation. But our author contends that, rightly understood, the perceptive form of the revelation is an evidence of the non-realistic character of what was communicated, especially when taken in connection with the variations it presents to the handwriting of Moses. Never in any period of the church has God given laws and ordinances to it simply by vision; and when Moses was commissioned to give such in the wilderness, his authority to do so was formally based on the ground of his office being different from the ordinarily prophetical, and of his instructions being communicated otherwise than by vision (Num. xii. 6). So that to speak by way of vision, and at the same time in the form of precept, as if enjoining laws and ordinances materially different from those of Moses, was itself a palpable and incontrovertible proof of the ideal character of the revelation.

What has been said respecting the *form* of the prophet's communication is confirmed by the *substance* of it—as there is much in this that seems obviously designed to force on us the conviction of its ideal character. There are things in the description which, if taken literally, are in the highest degree improbable, and even involve natural impossibilities. One of these is, that urged by Lightfoot, that the dimensions given to the holy ground exceed, "many times over," the whole area of Mount Moriah—and that Ezekiel's temple is larger than all the earthly Jerusalem, and his Jerusalem larger than all the Land of Canaan. According to Dr. Robinson, there is no reason to suppose the circumference of the ancient city exceeded two miles and a half, but here the circumference of the wall of the temple is nearly twice as much. The impossibility of the literal sense is also shewn by the mode in which the territory is divided among the twelve tribes, in parallel sections running across from east to west, without any respect to the particular circumstances of each as to their relative numbers. A similar objection is supplied by the supposed separate existence of the twelve tribes, which now at least cannot be regarded otherwise than as a natural impossibility, since it is an ascertained fact that such

separate tribeships no longer exist; the course of providence has been ordered so as to destroy them; and once destroyed they cannot possibly be reproduced. Of the same kind is the "very high mountain" on which the vision of the temple was presented to the eye of the prophet; for as this unquestionably refers to the old site of the temple, the little eminence on which it stood could only be thus designated in a moral or ideal, and not in a literal sense. On this point Mr. Fairbairn insists further in a note; but in point of fact the site of Jerusalem being towards the summit of the central ridge of mountains, up to which there is a long gradual ascent from the east and from the west, the spot is very high, though the immediate altitude when one is there seems inconsiderable, simply because one has *ascended* to it. But it is our own custom to distinguish mountains not by their apparent altitude, but by their real height above some common level, such as the sea; and, in this point of view, the site of Jerusalem is a very high mountain—one of the most elevated in all the land, being greatly higher than the summit of Tabor or of Carmel. The same kind of objection is taken, on better grounds, to any literal interpretation of the account given of the stream issuing from the eastern threshold of the temple, and flowing into the Dead Sea, which, both for the rapidity of its increase, and the quality of its waters, is unlike anything that was ever known in Judea or in any part of the world.

"Taking all together," says our author, "it seems to me as if the prophet had taken every possible precaution, by the general character of the delineation to defeat the expectation of a literal fulfilment; and I should despair of being able in any case to draw the line of demarcation between the ideal and the literal, if the circumstance now mentioned did not warrant us in looking for something else than fulfilment according to the letter of the vision."

A further consideration, urged by Mr. Fairbairn, is, that the vision of the prophet, if literally understood, must imply the ultimate restoration of the ceremonials of Judaism, so as inevitably to place the prophet in direct contradiction to the writers of the New Testament; the entire cessation of the peculiarities of Jewish worship being as plainly taught by our Lord and his apostles as language could do it, and on grounds which are not of temporary, but of permanent validity and force.

On these grounds, holding the description in this last vision to be conclusively of an ideal character, our author advances a step farther, and affirms that the idealism is of precisely the same kind as appeared in some of the earlier visions,—visions

which must necessarily have already passed into fulfilment, and which must therefore be regarded as furnishing a key to the right understanding of the one before us. This key he takes up and endeavours by its means to unlock the mystery of the vision.

The leading character of those earlier visions, which coincide in their nature with this, our author finds to be *the historical cast of their idealism.* The representation of things to come is thrown into the mould of something similar in the past, and is presented simply as a reproduction of the old, or a returning back again of what is past, only with such variations as may be needful to adapt it to the altered circumstances contemplated; while still, the thing meant was not that the outward form, but that the essential nature of the past should revive. He instances this from chaps. vi.; xx.; xxviii. 11—19; xxix. 1—16; but considering the great stress that his argument necessarily lays upon these examples, and the strong inferences he draws from them, we are bound to say that they are scarcely of such force as to warrant his conclusions as to this peculiar character of Ezekiel's prophecies. His main position may be right in fact,—we do not attempt to pass judgment upon it, being content to make our readers acquainted with the author's views,—but if right in fact, it is scarcely proved to be so by the instances he adduces. We have read all these passages over afresh to test our recollection of their insufficiency for Mr. Fairbairn's argument, and we certainly have been surprised to see how little they furnish in aid of the case for which they are produced. So far from evincing the retrospectively historical cast of Ezekiel's idealism, as a peculiarity of his prophecies, the allusions to the past are not more marked than those which occur in Isaiah and other of the prophets, nor more than might be expected from one whose mind was, with those of the other prophets, and indeed of the whole nation, thoroughly imbued with the knowledge of the Lord's ancient dealings with his people, which furnished a continual supply of thoughts and images to their minds, and of expressions to their tongues. There is assuredly nothing in those prophecies that our author relies on for his clue to the interpretation of the closing vision, for which we cannot thus very satisfactorily account; and, indeed, taking the natural operation of these circumstances into consideration, we are somewhat surprized to find how few portions of this large book of prophecy, and these so inconclusive, our author has been able to adduce in support of the position he has advanced.

However, after producing his instances, Mr. Fairbairn goes on to say,—

"If now we bring the light furnished by those earlier revelations of the prophet, in respect to which we can compare the prediction with the fulfilment, so as to read, by its help, and according to its instruction, the vision before us, we shall only be giving the prophet the benefit of the common rule, of interpreting a writer by a special respect to his own peculiar method, and explaining the more obscure by the more intelligible parts of his writings. In all the other cases referred to, where his representation takes the form of a revival of the past, we see it is the spirit and not the letter of the representation that is mainly to be regarded; and why should we expect it to be otherwise here? In this remarkable vision we have the old produced again, in respect to what was most excellent and glorious in Israel's past condition—its temple, with every necessary accompaniment of sacredness and attraction; the symbol of the Divine presence within, the ministrations and ordinances proceeding in due order without, the prince and the priesthood—everything, in short, required to constitute the beau-ideal of a sacred commonwealth, according to the ancient patterns of things. But, at the same time, there are such changes and alterations superinduced upon the old, as sufficiently indicate, that something far greater and better than the past was concealed under this antiquated form. Not the coming realities in their exact nature and glorious fulness, not even the very image of these things, could the prophet as yet distinctly unfold; while the old dispensation lasted they must be thrown into the narrow and imperfect shell of its earthly relations. But those, who lived under that dispensation might get the liveliest idea they were able to obtain of the brighter future, by simply letting their minds rest on the past, as here modified and shaped anew by the prophet—just as still, the highest notions *we* can attain to of the state of glory, is by conceiving the best of the church's present condition refined and elevated to heavenly perfection. Exhibited at the time the vision was, and constructed as it is, one should no more expect to see a visible temple realizing the conditions, and a re-occupied Canaan after the regular squares and parallelograms of the prophet, than in the case of Tyre to find her monarch literally dwelling in Eden, and, as a cherub, occupying the immediate presence of God; or to behold Israel sent back again to make trial of Egyptian bondage and the troubles of the desert. Whatever might be granted in providence of an outward conformity to the plan of the vision, it should only be regarded as a pledge of the far greater good really contemplated, and a help to faith in waiting for its proper accomplishment." pp. 397, 398.

The manifold and minute particulars given in the description, have inclined many to think that nothing more than an exact and literal fulfilment can be intended. Had it been only a general sketch of a city and temple, as in Isaiah lx., and other portions of prophecy, they could more easily enter into the ideal character of the description, and understand how it might chiefly point to the better things of the gospel dispensation. But with so many exact measurements before them, and such an infinite variety of particulars of all sorts, they cannot conceive how

there can be a proper fulfilment without corresponding objective relations. Mr. Fairbairn meets this by producing another special characteristic of the prophet, which seems to us much better founded, and more happily defined than the one to which our attention was previously directed. The passage is well worthy of attention, as certainly we are much helped to the clear apprehension of any writer's meaning by the accurate discrimination of his habits of thought or expression.

"Above all the prophetical writers, he (Ezekiel) is remarkable for his numberless particularisms. What Isaiah depicts in a few bold and graphic strokes, as in the case of Tyre, for example, Ezekiel spreads over a series of chapters—filling up the picture with all manner of details—not only telling us of her singular greatness, but also of every element far and near that contributed to produce it—and not only predicting her downfal, but coupling with it every conceivable circumstance that might add to its mortification and completeness. We have seen the same features strikingly exhibited in the prophecy on Egypt, in the description of Jerusalem's condition and punishment under the images of the boiling caldron, (chap. xxiv.), and the exposed infant (chap. xvi.), in the vision of the iniquity-bearing (chap. iv.), in the typical representation of going into exile (chap. xiii.), and, indeed, in all the more important delineations of the prophet, which, even when descriptive of ideal scenes, are characterised by such minute and varied details as to give them the appearance of a most definitely shaped and life-like reality.

"Let this, then, be borne in mind respecting the distinctive character of our prophet's delineations generally, and there will be no difficulty felt in regard to the number and variety of particulars in this concluding vision. Considering his peculiar manner, it was no more than might have been expected, that, when going to present a grand outline of the good in store for God's church and people, the picture should be drawn with the fullest detail. If he has done so on similar, but less important occasions, he could not fail to do it here, when rising to the very top and climax of all his revelations. For it is pre-eminently by means of the minuteness and completeness of his descriptions that he seeks to impress our minds with a feeling of the Divine certainty of the truth disclosed in them, and to give, as it were, weight and body to our apprehensions."—pp. 398, 399.

Still more weighty is the next argument which our author advances against the literal interpretation—that is, *any* literal interpretation, of this prophecy. He asks, whether the feeling against the spiritual understanding of the vision, and the demand for outward scenes, are objects literally corresponding to it, does not spring, to a large extent, from false notions regarding the ancient temple and its ministrations and ordinances of worship; as if these possessed an independent value apart from the spiritual truths they symbolically expressed.

"On the contrary, the temple, with all that belonged to it, bore the

impress of divine realities; it presented to the eye of the worshipper a manifold and varied instruction respecting the things of God's kingdom. And it was by what they saw embodied in those visible forms and external transactions, that the people were to learn how they should think of God and act toward him in the different relations and scenes of life—when they were absent from the temple, as well as when they were near and around it. It was an image and emblem of the kingdom of God itself, whether viewed in respect to the temporary dispensation then present, or to the grander development every thing was to receive at the advent of Christ. And it was one of the capital errors of the Jews in all periods of their history, to pay too exclusive a regard to the mere externals of the temple and its worship, without discerning the spiritual truths and principles that lay concealed under them.

"But such being the case, the necessity for an outward and literal realization of Ezekiel's plan obviously falls to the ground. For if all connected with it was ordered and arranged chiefly for its symbolical value at any rate, why might not the description itself be given forth for the edification and comfort of the church on account of what it contained of symbolical instruction? Even if the plan had been fitted and designed for being actually reduced to practice, it would still have been principally with a view to its being a mirror, in which to see reflected the mind and purposes of God. But if so, why might not the delineation itself be made to serve for such a mirror? in other words, why might not God have spoken to his church of good things to come by the wise adjustment of a symbolical plan? And when commentators like Hitzig, or writers of a more spiritual cast, incredulously ask what is the symbolical meaning of this small particular or that, we might reply by putting the like question regarding the temple of Solomon or the tabernacle of Moses; while yet nothing can be better established on grounds of Scripture, than that these sacred fabrics were constructed so as to embody and represent the leading truths of God's character and kingdom."—pp. 399, 400.

After shewing that this mode of representing spiritual truths is frequent in Scripture, our author comes to the similar vision which is in the two last chapters of the Revelation, "employed to set forth the ultimate condition of the redeemed church." We had a notion that he would be likely to contend for the essential identity of the two visions—but are glad to find that we are spared the trouble of pointing out the essential differences. He fails not to perceive that there are not only real differences, but that the same identical set of circumstances are not symbolized, or represented in them, but rather two conditions, two truths, or as he rather intimates (and the difference is of no consequence) the same truth in different states of development. His words are,—

"While the temple forms the heart and centre of Ezekiel's plan, in John's no temple whatever is to be seen. But in the two descriptions the same truth is symbolized, though in the last it appears in a state of more perfect development than in the other. The temple in Ezekiel, with God's

glory returned to it, bespoke God's glory among his people to sanctify and bless them; the no-temple in John indicated that such a select spot was no longer needed, that the gracious presence of God was everywhere seen and felt. It is the same truth in both, only the later representation, in accordance with the genius of the new dispensation, as less connected with the circumstances of place and form."

Finally, Mr. Fairbairn points attention to the necessity of keeping carefully in view the circumstances under which this vision was given, looking at it not from a New, but an Old Testament standing point, and throwing ourselves back as far as possible into the position of the prophet himself. This, as we have very often had occasion to urge, is of great importance in the study of all Scripture, but in none of such essential consequence as in the study of the prophets, and especially of such prophets as Ezekiel and Jeremiah.

The view which our author takes is essentially the same with that of the accomplished and too early lost Hävernick, as from the account we have given, will be perceived by those acquainted with his excellent work on Ezekiel, and which he avows by adopting the summary which that writer has furnished of the purport of the prophet's vision.

"'In the gospel times, there is to be on the part of Jehovah a solemn occupation anew of his sanctuary, in which the entire fulness of the Divine glory shall dwell and manifest itself. At the last, there is to rise a new temple, diverse from the old, to be made every way suitable to that grand and lofty intention, and worthy of it; in particular, of vast compass for the new community, and with a holiness stretching over the entire extent of the temple, so that in this respect there should no longer be any distinction between the different parts. Throughout, everything is subjected to the most exact and particular appointments; individual parts, and especially such as had formerly remained indeterminate, obtain now an immediate Divine sanction; so that every idea of any kind of arbitrariness must be altogether excluded from this temple. Accordingly, this sanctuary is the thoroughly sufficient, perfect manifestation of God for the salvation of his people, (chap. xl.—xliii. 12.) From this sanctuary, as from the new centre of all religious life, there gushes forth an unbounded fulness of blessings upon the people, who in consequence attain to a new condition. There come also into being a new glorious worship, a truly acceptable priesthood and theocratical ruler, and equity and righteousness reign among the entire community, who being purified from all stains, rise indeed to possess the life that is in God, (chap. xliii. 13, xlvii. 12.) To the people who have become renewed by such blessings, the Lord gives the land of promise; Canaan is a second time divided among them, where, in perfect harmony and blessed fellowship, they serve the living God, who abides and manifests himself among them,' (chap. xlvii. 13, xlviii.)"[d]

[d] Hävernick, *Comm.*, p. 623. A translation of the Introduction to this work was given in the first number of the First Series of the *Journal of Sacred Literature.*

In examining books of this nature we like first to take notice of the most important or interesting portion, whether it occur at the beginning, the middle, or the end, and then to give a more general attention to the other parts. In the present instance we have purposely given such full consideration to Ezekiel's closing vision, that we have little space or inclination to turn back to the other matters of interest in this prophecy—and they are many—to the explanation of which Mr. Fairbairn has brought a degree of learning, of judgment, of acuteness, and of acquaintance with the literature of his subject, highly creditable to him and to the biblical scholarship of the country. It is not much to say, that we do not concur in *all* his views, for we never yet met with any one interpreter of unfulfilled prophecy into *all* whose views we could unreservedly enter. Conceiving, as we do, that some prophecies and visions must be literally and some symbolically understood, according to the difference of clearness with which the Spirit designed to afford its intimations of things to come, we apprehend that Mr. Fairbairn exhibits throughout far less tolerance of any literal interpretation, and far more uncompromising hostility, not to say *animosity* against it, than is needed. But we not the less believe that he has succeeded in producing a work which was greatly wanted, for which he is entitled to our thanks, which will give his name no mean place among the Biblical expositors of his country and language; and—what is of far more importance to him and to us—which has cast considerable light upon one of the obscurest portions of God's Word.

The work is somewhat unequal, in that by much the largest proportion of the author's attention is given to the visions and symbolical prophecies, while the other parts receive comparatively light treatment. We cannot but think that the book would be materially improved by a more equal and therefore more adequate investigation of *all* the details of Ezekiel's utterances. An author may be right in giving his chief consideration to the matters with which he feels best qualified or most inclined to deal: but in a separate exposition on any book of Scripture, where the writer is under none but self-imposed restrictions in regard to space, the reader is entitled to expect that degree of completeness which shall prevent any but critical students from feeling the need of resort to other sources of information.

The same feeling of incompleteness is also left upon the mind by the partial character of the translation. Only certain portions of the book, to which the author wishes to direct particular attention, are translated; and these portions are very

inconveniently mixed up in the body of the exposition, so as to be scarcely distinguishable from it. The translations afforded are so satisfactory and so critically exact, that we the more strongly desire that a complete version of the book should be given. We feel assured that the work will be rendered much more generally acceptable by these enlargements, and will be the better qualified to take its place as the standard English work on Ezekiel.

The volume is printed in the usual style of the Messrs. Clarks' octavos; but in going through it we have observed a number of misprints, especially in proper names, which bespeak the need of increased care in a future edition of the work. Persons with such experience as our own, however, make more allowance for these things than unfledged readers and reviewers, who usually make much noise when they have found a mare's nest of this sort. Z.

CRITICAL REMARKS UPON THE COMMON TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETATION OF MATT. v. 21, 22.

"Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and Whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment:

"But I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever (ὃς δ' ἄν) shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: *but whosoever* (ὃς δ' ἄν) *shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.*"

Do these words denounce a threefold grade of punishment against a threefold grade of criminality? Are we to understand them as asserting that anger without just cause is one degree of violation of the law, "Thou shalt do no murder;" one term of thoughtlessness or of reproach, another; and another abusive or thoughtless epithet, another?—that to be unjustly angry is less criminal than to call a brother, Raca? and to call him Raca, less criminal than to call him, Fool? The common translation of the final δέ, if that translation be correct, would seem to warrant, and even to demand the supposition: for whilst it is said that "Whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the Judgment;" and "Whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the Council;" it is added, (as if the offence now about to be named was of a far more flagrant character than either of the other two,) "*but*—Whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of *hell fire.*"

The word δέ, (the word here translated "*but,*") is however quite as often employed in the sense of *and,* as in the sense of *but.* Its equivalent is *but,* only when the sentiment which it serves

to introduce is adversative to that by which it is preceded. In the present instance, the point therefore to be determined is, Is it in this instance adversative? or is it simply continuative? To me it appears to be here used simply as continuative, connecting the second of our Lord's declarations (viz., "Whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca," with the third—viz., "Whosoever shall say, Thou fool." There seems to be no reason in the world why the δέ of the preceding clause being translated "*and*," the δέ of this (the following clause), should be translated "*but*." The first ὃς δ' ἄν being translated, "*And* whosoever," I would therefore, knowing no good reason why I should not, so translate the second. Had the sentiment implied by the common translation, (viz., that to call a brother, Fool, is an offence of greater malignity than to call him, Raca, or greater than to be angry without cause,) been the sentiment intended, the antithesis, one would think, would have been somewhat more decisively expressed. If δέ were employed at all, Ὅστις δέ (instead of a second Ὃς δ' ἄν), or Εἰ δὲ τίς, or some such variation of expression, would most probably have been employed; such as would decisively have indicated that the final clause was directly antithetical to the clauses that preceded.[a]

It is quite true that, whether we translate the particle referred to, "*but*," or "*and*," the greater punishment—the punishment of hell—so long as we give to the various expressions of the verse a strictly literal interpretation, would still appear to be denounced against him only who shall call his brother, "Fool;" he that shall call him, "Raca," being represented as

[a] In sentences consisting, like the present, of three or more successive clauses, the repeated δέ is, I believe, seldom if ever used adversatively. "All things are yours, *and* ye are Christ's (ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ), *and* Christ is God's (Χριστὸς δὲ Θεοῦ)." 1 Cor. iii. 23. "All flesh is not the same flesh; but (ἀλλά) there is one kind of flesh of men, *and* another (ἄλλη δέ) flesh of beasts, *and* another (ἄλλη δέ) of fishes, *and* another (ἄλλη δέ) of birds." 1 Cor. xv. 39. "Knowing that tribulation worketh patience, *and* (δέ) patience, experience, *and* (δέ) experience, hope; and (δέ) hope maketh not ashamed." Rom. v. 3, 4. "How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? *and* (δέ) how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? *and* (δέ) how shall they hear without a preacher? *and* (δέ) how shall they preach except they be sent?" Rom. x. 14. "Now this I say that every one of you saith, I am of Paul; *and* (δέ) I of Apollos; *and* (δέ) I of Cephas; *and* (δέ) I of Christ." 1 Cor. i. 12. "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? *and* (δέ) what communion hath light with darkness? *and* (δέ) what concord hath Christ with Belial?" 2 Cor. vi. 14.

In all these instances, the repeated δέ is clearly a particle of mere continuation, and requires to be translated "*and*." Consistency demands that we give to the repeated δέ the like translation in the verses now before us. Its equivalent, as already said, is "*but*," only when used adversatively; as in the second clause of bi-membral sentences—as in the expression, for instance, "*But I* say unto you," occurring in the second of these verses, where the "*I*" is antithetical to the "*them of old time*," named in the former verse; or, if τοῖς ἀρχαίοις be translated as a dative, to the understood subject of the verb ἐῤῥήθη.

in danger, not of hell, but of the "Council;" and he that shall be angry without cause as in danger, not of hell, but of the "Judgment." But our Lord's language often meant more than the mere letter would imply. The people to whom he addressed himself were a carnal people—a people, who with reference to spiritual good and evil were dull of apprehension and slow to feel; but who, though callous with reference to the things of an unseen future were quick to appreciate earthly good and earthly evil. Upon men of this character, figurative language, provided they had sufficient intelligence or enlightenment to know that the language made use of was symbolical (and this they might have known), and that it spoke of higher and greater things than was expressed by the mere letter of the words, was better fitted than any other to make a strong impression. If then the δέ be (as supposed) continuative, the three several phrases, "the Judgment," "the Council," and "hell fire," may fairly be regarded as virtually synonymous; the two former, "the Judgment," and "the Council," expressing parabolically the account that shall be rendered, whilst the latter of them expresses the penalty incurred. Each one of the offences specified being alike specified as violations of the law of God, the punishment denounced against him that shall call his brother, Fool, is then, in effect, denounced as much against him who shall call him, Raca, or who shall be angry against him without cause, as against him who shall call him, Fool. Adopting, therefore, the translation above suggested (*i. e.*, translating the δέ of each successive ὃς δ' ἄν "*and*" instead of "*but*,") and understanding the three phrases, "the Judgment," "the Council," and "hell fire," if not in letter yet in spirit, as synonymous, the sentiment of this declaration of our Lord's will no longer be that to call a brother, Fool, is more criminal than to call him, Raca, or more criminal than causeless anger; but that to be angry without a cause, or to call a brother, Raca, or to call him, Fool, being alike a breach of the command in question, are alike deserving of God's wrath and condemnation.

It is common for commentators to endeavour to account for the greater penalty which (as these verses are commonly understood) is supposed to be denounced against him, and him only, who called his brother, Fool, by understanding the word "Fool" as meaning more than is expressed by that word in its common acceptation.

"The word '*fool*,'" says Whitby, "both in Scripture and in Jewish phrase, signifies *a profane and wicked fellow*, or as we say, a *hell-hound;* as in these words (Ps. xiv. 1), 'The *fool* hath said in his heart, There is no God.' This then," he continues, "may be the import of these words;

He that is guilty of unjust and causeless anger, shall be obnoxious to the anger and judgment of God; he that publicly reviles his brother, shall be obnoxious to the public censure of the council; he that represents and censures him as *a child of hell*, shall be obnoxious to hell fire."

"Raca (Thou empty fellow)," says Henry, "is a scornful word and comes from pride; *Thou fool* (*i.e.*, Thou wicked man, Thou reprobate), is a spiteful word and comes from hatred. The former speaks of a man as without sense; this (in Scripture language) speaks of a man as without grace,—and the more the reproach touches his spiritual condition, the worse it is. The former is a haughty taunting of our brother; this, a malicious censuring and condemnation of him as *abandoned of God*."

"'Thou fool,' *i.e.*, Thou graceless, wicked villain. Wicked men are so often called fools in the Old Testament, especially in the writings of David and Solomon, that the appellation in the Jewish language signifies, not so much a weak, thoughtless creature, as a man deliberately guilty of some heinous crime; or in one word a villain. Mr. Blair thinks that μωρέ (Thou *fool*) answers to *Rakehell;* but that being only applied to a debauchee, seems too contracted."—Doddridge.

"Μωρέ answers to our '*wretch*,' or '*villain;*' so the Hebrew נבל which in Ps. xiv. 1 denotes '*a despiser of God.*'"—Bloomfield.

"This term (μωρέ, *Thou fool*) expresses more than want of wisdom. It is expressive of the highest guilt. It had been commonly used to denote those who were idolaters (vide Deut. xxii. 21, 'She hath wrought *folly* in Israel'); and also one who is guilty of great crimes; vide Josh. vii. 15, 'He hath wrought *folly* in Israel;' and Ps. xiv. 1, 'The *fool* hath said in his heart, There is no God.'"—Barnes.

"Thou fool—*i. e.*, Thou wicked and abandoned profligate."—Scott.

"Thou fool—*i. e.*, Thou miscreant."—Campbell.

"Thou fool—*i. e.*, Thou rebel, *i. q.*, מרד."—Bishop Pearce.

But the circumstance that in Scripture the wicked are spoken of as '*fools*,' is not sufficient to justify the opinion that anything more is meant by the word than that which in public estimation it is understood as meaning. The alone meaning of any word is the meaning attached to it by convention and by custom. Every wicked man is indeed a fool; but it does not follow that fool and wicked are synonymous.[b] *Non omnis equus equa.*

---

[b] The word Μωρός is so common, that it is almost needless to quote instances to prove that the common translation "fool" is thoroughly correct. As commentators have expressed themselves so strongly in disparagement thereof, it may be as well however to subjoin a few.

"Nothing (says Lucian) prevents a rhetorician, or a geometrician, or a smith, from practising his art even though he be *a fool;* but no man that is *a fool* can be a parasite."—*De Parasit.*, c. 25.

"He (Demonax) recommended a certain orator who declaimed ill, diligently to exercise his art. 'That I do,' was the reply; 'I am always rehearsing to myself.' 'No wonder, then,' said Demonax, 'that you speak as you do, having *a fool* for your hearer.'"—Demon., c. 36.

"'Do you think,' said he to some who asked him if he ate cakes, 'that bees make honeycombs for *fools?*'"—*Ibid.*, c. 52

If then the above remarks be just, *i.e.*, if the δέ of the final clause will bear to be translated as proposed, and if the terms, "*in danger of the Judgment*," and "*in danger of the Council*," may be regarded as parabolical expressions denoting, though in varied phrase,[c] the equal exposedness of those spoken of to the anger and judgment of him against whom they had offended, it will follow that the doctrine taught is not that whilst one degree of offence against God's laws exposes to hell fire, a less degree renders a man amenable only to human censure, or to human punishment; nor yet (as supposed by Doddridge, Hammond, Grotius, Barnes, and by commentators generally) that a lighter punishment, corresponding in some respect to that inflicted by the common courts of judicature, will hereafter be awarded by

---

"'O *fool!*' said Socrates, 'do you not think that the beautiful, when they kiss you, instil a something which you do not see?'"—Xen. *Mem.*, i. 3, 13.

"I am somewhat timid, I confess; but in other respects you will not find me a *fool*."—Arr. *Epict.*, ii. 21, 1.

"To the physician who should learnedly discourse to his patient respecting his disease, '*Fool!*' you would say, 'thou art not curing thy patient, but instructing him, as though he wished, not to be well, but himself to become a physician."—Plat. *Leg.*, ix. 857 d.

"Do not insult me, *Fool.*"—Luc. *Ocyp.*, v. 667.

Additional instances might be given; but they really seem to be altogether needless. The above sufficiently disprove the supposition that the word is equivalent to 'Wicked,' or to such indecorous expressions as 'hell-hound,' 'hell-rake,' and the like.

The following are from the New Testament:—

"Ye *fools* and blind! for whether is greater? the gold, or the temple that sanctifieth the gold? Ye *fools* and blind! for whether is greater? the gift, or the altar that sanctifieth the gift?"—Matt. xxiii. 17, 19.

"He shall be likened unto *a foolish man*."—Matt. vii. 26.

"And five of them were wise, and five were *foolish*."—Matt. xxv. 2.

"If any man among you seemeth to be wise, let him become a *fool* that he may be wise."—1 Cor. iii. 18.

"We are *fools* for Christ's sake; but ye are wise in Christ."—1 Cor. iv. 10.

The following instances of *Raca*, a word differing in signification, but little if at all from the Greek expression Μωρέ, are given from Lightfoot;—

"One having returned to repentance, his wife said to him, '*Raca*, if it be appointed you to repent, the very girdle wherewith you gird yourself shall not be your own.'"—*Tanchum*, fol. 5, 2.

"A heathen said to an Israelite, 'Very suitable food is made ready for you at my house.' 'What is it? saith the other.' To which he replied, 'Swine's flesh.' '*Raca*,' saith the Jew, 'I must not eat of clean beasts with you.'"—*Ibid.*, fol. 18. 4.

"A king's daughter was married to a certain dirty fellow. He commands her to stand by him as a mean servant, and to be his butler. '*Raca*,' she said, 'I am a king's daughter.'"—*Midras, Till. upon Psalm* cxxxvii.

"One of the scholars of Rabbi Jochanan made sport with the teaching of his master; but returning at last to a sober mind, 'Teach thou,' saith he, 'O master, for thou art worthy to teach; for I have found and seen that which thou hast taught.' To whom he replied, '*Raca*, thou hadst not believed unless thou hadst seen.'"—*Ibid.*, fol. 38, 4.

"A certain captain saluted a religious man praying in the way, who saluted him not again. He waited till he had done his prayer, and saith to him, '*Raca*, it is written in your law,' &c."—*Bab. Ber.*, fol. 32, 2.

[c] Agreeably to the style of parallelistic phraseology.

God to him that shall be angry with his brother without cause; a severer, corresponding to those inflicted by the Sanhedrim or "council," to him that shall call his brother, Raca; and a yet severer, corresponding to that of being burnt alive by fire, to him that shall say, Thou fool, or to him who shall say, Thou rebel, or the like.[d] Nor can we even suppose, nor need we (unless the final δέ be translated *but),* that our Lord meant to teach that to call a brother, Fool, was a greater offence than to call him, Raca, or greater than to be angry without cause. To interpret our Lord's words thus literally, would be to apply to his exposition of the law the narrow and very principle of interpretation which it is the very object of that exposition to condemn. Some doubtless shall be beaten with many stripes, and some with few; 'he that knew his Lord's will and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, with many stripes;' 'he that knew not, with few.' But in our Lord's exposition of the precepts of the law, a more important end appears to have been the end in view, than to teach that for grades of criminality there should be corresponding grades of punishment. The end in view (and clearly a more important end) appears to have been this; viz., to teach us, by parabolical expressions drawn from common life, that any offence whatever against the law of God exposed to the wrath

---

[d] "Our Saviour, in this verse, pursues an analogy between the punishments inflicted by the Jewish courts, and the punishments of a future life. Whosoever shews causeless anger shall be in danger of '*the Judgment*,' or of a *punishment corresponding to the capital punishment imposed by the Lesser Council.* Whoever calls his brother, *Raca* (vain or worthless), shall incur *a punishment answering to that of stoning, inflicted by the Sanhedrim, or Great Council of Seventy-Two. But* whosoever violently rails at his neighbour, shall be subject to a *most grievous punishment corresponding to that of burning alive in the valley of Hinnom*" (Hammond and Grotius).—Mant and D'Oyly.

"But I say unto you, that whosoever shall without just cause be angry with his brother so as secretly to wish him evil, shall be obnoxious *to the Judgment*, i. e., *shall be liable to a worse punishment from God than any that your common courts of judicature can inflict;* and whosoever to his secret anger shall add opprobrious and contemptuous words,—whosoever, for instance, shall say to his brother, *Raca, i. e.,* Thou worthless, empty fellow,—shall be exposed to yet more terrible effects of the divine resentment, *that will as far exceed the former, as that inflicted by the Sanhedrim or Council exceeds that inflicted by inferior courts; but* whosoever shall presume to say to his brother, Thou *fool, i. e.,* Thou graceless, wicked villain,—thereby impeaching his moral character, as well as reflecting on his intellectual, shall be obnoxious *to the fire of hell,* i. e., *to a future punishment, more dreadful even than that of being burnt alive in the valley of Hinnom.*"—Doddridge.

"He that hates his brother without a cause, is guilty of a violation of the sixth commandment; and shall be punished *with a severity similar to that inflicted by the court called the Court of Judgment.* He that, &c., shall be exposed to still severer punishment, *corresponding to that which the Sanhedrim or Council inflicts. But* he who shall load his brother with odious appellations and abusive language, shall incur the *severest degree of punishment.*"—Barnes.

of God; that that which was considered venial by men was held to be criminal by God; that all, even the most amiable, stood in need of the mercy of God; and that by works no flesh living could be justified. He then who, in any respect, however small, offended against the law referred to in the verses before us (that law being a part of the law of God), must have been equally exposed to the tribunal referred to, and equally to the penalty denounced.

I would therefore translate and paraphrase the verses before us thus,—

"Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and Whosoever shall kill, shall be in danger of the Judgment.

"But I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the Judgment [viz., of God]; and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the Council [viz., of God]; AND whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of [God's] hell-fire."

Of course the words herein mentioned need not be superstitiously supposed to be necessarily sinful, under all circumstances, and in and of themselves. Our Lord himself scrupled not to upbraid the Scribes and Pharisees as μωροί (fools);—"Ye fools and blind (μωροὶ καὶ τυφλοί), for whether is greater, the gold or the temple that sanctifieth the gold?" Matt. xxiii. 17; and St. Paul, without scruple, makes use of its equivalent ἄφρων when he says (1 Cor. xv. 36), "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die." (See also Alford, *in loc.*) It is sufficient if we suppose them to have been selected in order thereby the more impressively to teach us that the lightness or supposed lightness even of our lightest words, uttered in sin, will be utterly unavailing to exempt us from the liabilities incurred by our every offence against God's law, however small; and to warn us that even in such light words as "Fool" and "Raca" there may be sin, even though sin may be not at all suspected. God is merciful indeed; but his mercy is not shewn by overlooking any offence whatever, upon the ground that it is small. Upon the ground of the perfection of the satisfaction and righteousness of Him upon whom faith relies, as the alone "name under heaven given amongst men whereby we must be saved," *all* sin may be forgiven; but upon the ground that the strict enforcement of the penalties of our violations of God's law, would in any instance be unjust, *not one.*

J. C. K.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DR. TREGELLES IN ANSWER TO W. S.

To the Editor of the 'Journal of Sacred Literature.'

My dear Sir,—I shall not trespass to a greater extent on your space than is absolutely needful, in the remarks which the letter of W. S. in your last number calls forth.

I wish to assure W. S. that, while fully giving him credit for his personal convictions on the subject, I do sincerely differ from him as to the precise place to be assigned to what he understands to be *internal goodness* of a reading. The best supported reading *may* be that for which the evidence is *numerically* the weaker; but if we make mere goodness (or what is supposed to be such) the criterion, we reject all sound criticism; for be it remembered that copyists and correctors had a peculiar fancy to introduce "good" readings wherever they could, and it is to the mischievous industry of these comparative moderns that we are indebted for a vast number of the various readings that trouble us.

The *real* "internal goodness" of a reading is something very different from what W. S. defines. I mean "internal goodness" as spoken of by Griesbach and others. It is not a mere supposed fitness for the passage; it is not the excellent doctrinal sense or the logical neatness that evinces it; but it is far more its general character when contrasted with readings which shew the results of what has been done by careless or *improving* copyists. A difficult reading has *per se* far more real internal goodness than an easy one; this of course admits of some examination, for it would be an abuse of words to call a mere blunder a "difficult reading."

I hope that this will shew W. S. where it is that we differ. And now as to Rom. v. 1. I must say most distinctly that the remarks of your correspondent are quite enough to shew, not that ἔχομεν is the true reading, but that it is just one of those plausible readings which a copyist would be likely to introduce; he might think the Ω a blunder, and thus by his officiousness bring in one of those *easy* readings, which (even if the evidence had been equal) would have been at least suspected.

But it would be a mere waste of words to re-state the evidence which shews that ἔχομεν is a reading for which no very ancient evidence can be found. Pamellius seems to have led W. S. very far astray as to Tertullian; that Father says that the apostle "teaches that the justified have peace with God from the faith of Christ, not from the law." How Pamellius could excogitate from Tertullian's *habere* an argument for *habemus* and against *habeamus*, it is difficult to conceive. The question is only about *law* and *faith*. I add as to Tertullian, that no one who is acquainted with many of his citations would press him as a decisive witness to a reading.

And now one word on W. S.'s remarks on the rendering of ἔχωμεν. He says, "That *obligation* should be denoted by the subjunctive mood in

a principal sentence was a sufficiently startling announcement." To what does this refer? To Mr. Green's use of "ought" in rendering certain passages, in which W. S. says that "*should* or *am to*" would be much better; let this be granted: but what then? "Ought," as used by Mr. Green, was employed in no stronger sense; and thus all that was "startling" in the few and brief remarks that I made falls to the ground. The idea of "obligation" being denoted by the subjunctive is part of W. S.'s *commentary;* the word employed was "ought" in the same sense as W. S.'s "should" or "am to." If this use of the subjunctive does not apply to the case; if it means "let us have peace with God," and no more; still there is no difficulty, unless we choose to make one, by doubting that "peace with God" can apply to conscious feeling. On this I will not enter farther, for I think that it is not needed; and such an application is not only in no way opposed to the orthodox belief of Christians, but it is habitual in their phraseology. I suppose that I need not remind W. S. how much the point was debated in Scotland about twenty-six years ago, *Whether a person who had not conscious peace with God in his own soul was justified by faith at all.* This text was *fought over*, and as many theologians in Scotland rightly thought that the conscious possession of felt peace could not be predicated of every justified person, the idea was excluded from this verse.

I cannot follow W. S. in his long remarks on 1 Cor. xv. 49, partly because I do not yet understand them. I will point out one statement that I cannot comprehend. W. S. (p. 215), after speaking of Adam's body,[a] draws a contrast as to that of Christ; of the latter he says, "That of the Saviour, on the contrary, although in other respects like our own, yet as it had *a heavenly origin*," &c. *What* had "a heavenly origin?" Our Lord's *person* was from heaven, but his *body* (holy and sinless) was *human*, consubstantial to ours. I suppose that W. S. used these words without considering their meaning; but as they stand they *seem* as if they were put in opposition to the common belief in the incarnation of the Son of God, who took part of the same flesh and blood as his brethren: "the Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, *of her substance*." (Art. ii. Church of England.) If the words which I quoted as to the "heavenly origin" of Christ's body were not intended to contradict this doctrine of the true humanity of our Lord, they were (as I suppose them to have been) simply a mistake.

W. S. says (p. 216), "The New Testament Scriptures *were* collected into one codex in the time of Tertullian, with whom Irenæus was contemporary."

In your January number, however, (p. 231) he said, "It was not until

---

[a] I can make nothing out of what W. S. says of Adam's body, "having in itself no principle of permanence, without an act of Almighty power, which would probably have followed his continuance in allegiance, but which he forfeited by disobedience, and so it became θνητόν." If it *became* mortal through disobedience, then it was *not* mortal before; and yet W. S. says directly before, that it *previously* needed some act of Almighty power to bestow on it a principle of permanence. Perhaps we shall next hear of the mortality of the angels. In answer to W. S.'s contradictory statement, it is enough to refer to the Scripture, "By one man's disobedience sin entered into the world, and death by sin."

they (the New Testament books) were collected into one that a belief in their verbal inspiration equally with the Old Testament Scriptures began to be entertained; and this cannot be said to have taken place sooner than *towards the middle of the third century.*"

Thus, on W. S.'s own shewing, they were *not* collected in the time of Tertullian and Irenæus, both of whom are therefore good witnesses that a belief in the plenary inspiration of the New Testament "BEGAN to be entertained" at a time when W. S. does not acknowledge its existence: the assertion that such a thing had not *begun* to be believed at a given time, is sufficiently disproved (as I did disprove it) by shewing that some had already *begun* to believe it. "Towards the middle of the third century," was the time specified by W. S.; and when that was answered, an earlier time is chosen. In fact it is clear that W. S. did not rightly consider, when he made his latter statements, what he had previously said; and thus he has inadvertently shifted the ground of discussion. He will see this himself when he looks at his two letters together. He forgot the force of the words "*began* to be entertained," and that he had specified "the middle of the third century;" this date is *quite* early enough: the New Testament books were *not* collected in the days of Tertullian.

I cannot now go into the subject of the Patristic citations at all fully, nor indeed am I called on so to do. Some of the Fathers quote accurately enough, some very loosely, and some cite as Scripture what is not in the Bible at all. *All* these modes of *citation* may be met with in modern sermons, though not perhaps with as little regard to verbal accuracy as prevailed before the days of printed Bibles and Concordances. How many *popular* texts *now* are not too much like any part of Scripture?—for instance, "As thy day is, so shall thy strength be;" and "the truth as it is in Jesus." But though the Patristic citation is often as wide of the mark as these and similar texts, the enormous quantity that is *accurately* quoted must not be overlooked. Origen alone cites with considerable accuracy more than half the New Testament, *besides* much that is loose.

I trust that W. S. will take my remarks in good part, as intended by me. I have addressed him through you with the same freedom as I would if he were personally known to me and conversing with me in my study.

I remain, yours faithfully,

Plymouth, Dec. 4th, 1851. S. P. TREGELLES.

P.S. Since writing the above, I have seen *The Elements of the Gospel Harmony: with a Catena on Inspiration from the Writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers*," by my friend, the Rev. B. F. Westcott, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. This valuable and seasonable little book contains much that is fitted to establish the mind of a believer as to the *full authority* of the Gospel narratives: to any one who questions whether the plenary inspiration of the Old and New Testaments was *always* held by the Church, I would particularly recommend Mr. Westcott's *Catena*.

ON THE TAXING MENTIONED IN LUKE ii. 1—3.

SIR,—The following remarks on Luke ii. 1—3 were written long before the last long and elaborate article on the passage appeared in your Journal;

and in reference to some former notices of it which you had published. It may perhaps afford some support to the conclusions arrived at, that they have been reached from two different and independent quarters; the views advocated with much ability in the one being very similar to those stated in the other. Should you deem it of any moment, the communication now sent may be given in your next number, as confirmatory of that in your last.

Yours, &c.

LUKE ii. 1—3.

The first three verses of Luke's Gospel, involving an apparent contradiction to a statement in Josephus, the Jewish historian, have afforded scope for no little discussion, and many ingenious attempts have been made to solve the difficulty. Into the examination of these it would be tedious, and perhaps unnecessary, to enter. But a few simple remarks, suggested by the independent consideration of the passage, may tend to throw some degree of light on it. In our translation it reads as follows: "And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. (And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.) And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city."

First, then, this version seems to be incorrect. There is no mention made by the evangelist of "taxing." All that his words imply is that a decree was issued by Augustus for the enrolment or for a census of Judea. The object for which this enrolment was to be made is not stated; and perhaps no one would ever have thought of a taxation had it not been for the narrative of Josephus, which leads us to conclude that Judea was taxed while Cyrenius was president of Syria. The census ordered by Augustus and referred to by Luke, may have been merely for the purpose of ascertaining the number of the population.

Next; it is scarcely necessary to remark that the second verse is a parenthesis. This seems to be acknowledged on all hands, and indeed cannot be denied. Were it wanting, no deficiency would be felt in the sacred text. It must have been thrown in therefore with the design of explaining what went before; and the object of it probably was to obviate the very objection which it is now brought to support. As a decree was issued, but no enrolment took place, then the truth of Luke's statement might have been denied, and to guard against this he tells us that the decree was not fully executed till several years afterwards.

Again; what seems to have misled expositors, is their supposing that there were two censuses made under Augustus, one just before the birth of Christ, and another under the presidency of Cyrenius; and that the evangelist confounds the two together. But there is no mistake of the kind in his narrative. His purpose plainly is to distinguish betwixt the decree and the execution of it. The one was issued at the time specified by the sacred historian, but the other did not take place till many years afterwards. Something, although what it was is not said, had interfered to interrupt or suspend the design; and no opportunity of carrying it into complete effect had occurred till the time that Cyrenius was appointed governor of Syria. The contrast betwixt the decree and the fulfilment of it appears to be the key which unlocks the whole mystery; and if the passage is read under this remark, it will be seen that everything is quite

plain. "And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world—the whole of Judea—should be enrolled; (the enrolment itself—not taxing—was first completed when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.) And all went to be enrolled, every one into his own city."

Further; we have not referred to any of the hypotheses that have been formed for removing the seeming difficulty. Some of them—such as that of Dr. Davidson, which you very justly reject (*J. S. L.*, Vol. IV., p. 361)—are contrary to the idiom of the Greek language; and others do not serve the end for which they were proposed. Your own seems very much to resemble that now brought forward; only the latter appears a little more simple. It gets rid of the obstacle caused by the mention of taxation. There is nothing of the kind spoken of by the sacred historian; and it is scarcely possible to give any good reason why the verb should in the first and third verses be translated "enrol," and the noun in the second be rendered "the taxing." Besides, it places the distinction, as the sacred writer intended it, betwixt the decree and the execution of it, which took place at very different times; and it removes, in an easy and natural manner, what many have been pleased to represent as a contradiction betwixt the statement of Scripture and the truth of history.

REV. E. W. GRINFIELD AND HIS REVIEWER.

To the Editor of the 'Journal of Sacred Literature.'

Sir,—As I feel assured that it was not the wish or intention of my learned reviewer, in your number of last January (p. 89), to bring against me any false or malicious misrepresentation, I beg leave to correct an erroneous misstatement of a passage in my *Apology*. "It is a mistake of Mr. Grinfield to say (p. 57) that we have the Hebrew of the Old Testament buried under endless appeals of comparatively modern Oriental dialects, and that the small portion of Hebrew which we really possess is stifled under the load of Arabic and Coptic, which few can read and still fewer understand." He then observes, after paying me a very undeserved compliment, "that my adversaries could make use of this statement to accuse me of deficiency in the knowledge of the Hebrew language, and of little esteem for the original text of the Bible."

Now, if any one turns to my *Apology*, he will find that I was not speaking of the "*Hebrew* of the Old Testament," but of the writings of Paulus, Ewald, Eichhorn, and Gesenius. My learned reviewer cannot be justified in confounding a strong aversion to German or American commentators with a profound veneration of biblical Hebrew. Whoever looks into the context will at once perceive, that the entire force of the paragraph was directed, not against the knowledge and study of the Hebrew text, but against the daring and presumptuous criticisms which have been framed on "the obscure and mazy erudition" of modern neologists.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Brighton, Oct. 4, 1851. E. W. Grinfield.

*** We insert this letter in justice to Mr. Grinfield; but we have no immediate access to the reviewer, who is now on the continent.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians and the General Epistle of James, practically and historically considered. By Dr. Augustus Neander. To which is added a Discourse on the Coming of the Lord and its Signs. By the same Author. Translated from the German by the Rev. Alexander Napier, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1851.

The late Dr. Neander is little known in this country otherwise than as a Church historian; but this department by no means limited his range of investigation, and there are in existence, published and unpublished, a large number of treatises, dissertations, and lectures of his on matters of general biblical and theological interest. Most English readers will desire to contemplate this great author under an aspect new to them, and will feel under obligation to Mr. Napier for enabling them to form acquaintance with him as an interpreter of Scripture. The two first treatises the volume contains do not take the ordinary forms of expositions, but are rather essays or lectures upon these particular books, explaining the circumstances in which they originated, developing the meaning of the writer, and enforcing it with much pregnant thought. In this age, when few writers do more than repeat, especially in Scripture interpretation, what others have said long before, it is pleasant to meet with one who, out of the rich fulness of his mind, can present us with something fresh, ingenious, and that, even when not new, has all the aspects of newness from the mode in which it is presented, and from the circumstances by which it is surrounded.

An important passage at the commencement of the first of these expository essays developes the principle on which the author proceeds.

"When the Spirit of God revealed to holy men of old the word of truth, to be by them proclaimed for the salvation of men,—when he revealed himself, through their life, their discourses, their writings, as the vessels of his spirit,—this is not to be regarded as a fact of sole occurrence, and as belonging only to the past. To us, as living members of the body of Christ, partakers of the communion of the spirit—a communion which connects the present, as a part, with the progressive development of the whole, since the first outpouring of the spirit by the glorified Son of Man,—this cannot be as a dispensation in which we have no interest or concern; the past must become to us the present. We need, it is true, no further new revelations, but we must feel, as if the Lord had spoken to us at this moment, inasmuch as he has given us instruction, sufficient for all the higher requirements of the present, inasmuch as he has declared everything which it is needful for us to know, that we may find consolation under all present sufferings,—the means of certain victory in all our conflicts,—the clue to extricate us from a labyrinth of embarrassments of an age however disorganised. As the pre-requisite to this attainment, we must attentively investigate the ascertained historical conditions and relations under which these vessels of the spirit of God spoke and acted; we must place ourselves livingly in the past, and in those circumstances in which, and in reference to which, these holy men spoke and acted. Herein we recognize the designs of Divine wisdom in the government of the church, that Divine truth has been revealed to us, not in a law of the letter, not in any summary of determined articles of belief, but that it has been

communicated to us in *this* historical embodiment, in its particular application of particular cases, to ascertained historical relations and circumstances of life, through the instrumentality of appointed human organs, who lived among men as representatives of Divine truth, who, amid the world and its concerns, witnessed to and revealed the things of God, and who, in their peculiar human manner, though in a manner sanctified by the spirit of God, humanly spoke and acted. Thus was it ordained, that Divine truth should, humanly, be brought near to us. To our own intellectual and spiritual energies, animated, indeed, and guided by the spirit of God, without whom nothing Divine can be apprehended or understood, it has been committed, to investigate the Divine in its connection with the human; from the particular, to deduce the universal; and again, by its application to the special circumstances of our own time and life, to shew the action of the universal in our particular relations; and in what these organs of the spirit of Christ spoke and did, under the peculiar conditions of the past, to discover its applicability to the conditions and relations of our present times. As, in order rightly to understand the word of God in its human embodiment, and, according to this understanding, to apply it, humble submission to the Divine Spirit, who alone guides into all truths, and reveals the depths of his word, is always requisite; so also is it always requisite that we carefully attend to all these human relations. The word of God desires no indolent hearers, but claims all the powers of feeling and of mind. So only can its treasures be discovered. If we fail to discover them, if amid the darkness of the present, we murmur for want of light, we must attribute this to our own shortcomings of these requirements. That pregnant saying of our Lord, 'He that hath, to him shall be given,' may here be applied, as well to excite and encourage, as to warn and rebuke us in our inquiries.

"The principles above stated find especial application in the epistles of the apostles, in which we should find far more to instruct, to edify, and to guide us in all the relations of life, if, with due attention and earnestness, we endeavoured to investigate their contents in this manner, if, in accordance with these rules, we sought to weigh each word. May the spirit of God enlighten and guide us, thus to learn to understand and apply one of the noblest epistles of the apostle Paul, who wrote as no other could write, and in which, the living image of the apostle of the Gentiles is placed before our eyes,—the Epistle to the Philippians."

This is a mode of considering the epistles which we earnestly recommend to the attention not only of those engaged in the study of these important portions of Scripture, but to those employed in public teaching, for sure we are that its results embodied in pulpit discourses by men of acute mind and thoughtful spirit would not fail to excite the interest and command the attention of the hearers. We have quoted this passage with the further object of shewing the truly religious spirit, in dependence upon the Divine aid and guidance, which animated this great scholar in his researches, and which may well excite the surprize, and perhaps the self-rebukes of those who fear or contemn everything German, *because it is German.* How efficiently Neander himself applies this principle to the illustration of the epistle to the Philippians, the reader must learn for himself. He will see how beautifully the peculiar "circumstances and aspects under which the apostle wrote the epistle" are brought to bear on its contents; and it must be admitted that the author's deep study of those circumstances, and his familiarity with that age and all its interests, gives to him advantages in this mode of treatment which no man living (for alas! Neander lives not) may expect to realize. After a masterly sketch of these circumstances, the author proceeds to the condition of Paul as a prisoner at Rome, and shews that although there were not then any statutes in force against Christianity, and his preaching a faith odious to the Jews could hardly be an offence, yet according to the Roman laws,

the act of seducing the citizens and subjects of the Roman empire to revolt against the religion of the state, and to seek to make proselytes to a faith, which, though not yet by an edict, must from its very nature perpetually conflict with the state religion, would be regarded as punishable. Paul's case was therefore not so simple as might at first view appear; there might still be room for manifold perplexities.

"At one time, expectations, founded on the impression, which his public defence had made, would arise in him, that he would safely be delivered from his bonds, and that it would again be possible to him, to visit the churches he had formerly founded, and among them, therefore, the church at Philippi; at another time, the thought of death would present itself to his mind. But what then? Do we find his soul a prey alternately to fear and hope, to dejection and joy, as dependent on impressions received from outward changes and chances, as is the case generally with other men in a similar position? No; a prevailing tone of cheerful repose, and of submission to the will of the Lord, breathes through the entire epistle. We recognize a man, whose confidence rests on a foundation firm as a rock, independent of the alternation of events, and unshaken by any waves or storms. He is assured that the Lord, in one way or other, will carry him victoriously through those conflicts, to a glorious end. With joyous confidence he is ready to meet the termination of a life consecrated to one holy cause. He is conscious to have laboured not in vain, as a faithful preacher of the truth, which he sees producing fruit in the churches. These, like the church at Philippi, are the living monuments of a ministry devoted to the Lord,—the testimony, that he has purely preached the word of God the Lord,—his rejoicing before the Lord, on that day, when he will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, when much, that bears an imposing appearance here, will be exposed in its nothingness, and when much, that was mistaken and condemned by the world, will be acknowledged as his own by the Lord. The feelings of Paul, in this respect, are nobly expressed in the words of this epistle, where he says,—'Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and (priestly) service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all. For the same cause also do ye joy and rejoice with me,' (chap. ii. 17, 18.)"

The full import of these weighty words the author then by a most elaborate investigation endeavours to make clear, by tracing the progress, or rather the changes or alternations of the apostle's feelings and views in regard to the prospect of death. In the course of this we come to this most suggestive passage which some will read with careless indifference, but which will touch many to the heart:—

"There are two errors, then, against which the example of the apostle warns us, the subsiding of that longing after the other world, which, as we have seen, is inseparable from the very heart and essence of the Christian life; and the one-sided, fanatical predominance of such longing, where patient submission to the will of God is checked. With regard to the first, it may happen that the Christian, not only through the enjoyment of earthly pleasures, the transitory nature of which he should ever remember, and never suffer himself to forget, that they are but the shadow and the pledge of the higher eternal joys of heaven, may be drawn away from that longing; but that his very energies, devoted to the vocation committed to him for the interests of the kingdom of God, may so entirely absorb him, that the consciousness of having here no 'enduring city,' but that his true eternal home is in heaven, may thereby become obscured within him. He so labours, as if his work on earth, which is but the commencement of higher energies destined for eternity, were here to attain perfection, as if it were already the work of eternity. The thought, therefore, that everything here below is at best imperfect, that nothing attains perfection, nothing attains its aim and end, imperceptibly departs from him, and death surprizes him in the midst of his labours, even those consecrated to the service of God, as an unexpected and unwelcome guest. He is summoned away before he has finished his

reckoning, and instead of joyously obeying the summons of redemption from the sufferings of earth, his heart cleaves to the duties of his earthly sphere, from which he is so unwilling to depart, and to their successful results, which have too much value in his eyes. Here we find the application of the warning of the Lord, 'Rejoice not that the spirits are subject to you, but rather that your names are written in heaven.'' This longing ever remains the salt of the Christian life, amid all its sufferings and its joys, alike in repose as in activity. The other error consists in this,—when this longing, which has its perfect right, only with the necessary limitation, that it be found with submission to the will of God, who has appointed our vocation in our earthly existence, and has assigned his term to it, and with fidelity to our vocation, oversteps these limitations, and issues in a one-sided bent of feeling, which renders us impatient to meet a summons, which should be awaited in the persevering exercise of faith and patience. Thus it comes to pass, that the predominance of a one-sided longing for the eternal makes us forgetful of the importance of this earthly life, and of its duties in reference to eternity. The joys and employments of earth lose the value which is their due, and which is founded in the appointment of God. That which God has given for the present moment, as the pledge of and preparation for the higher blessing of the future, is impatiently and unthankfully despised. There is a want of the consciousness, which should ever be found in the Christian, that, to the redeemed, standing in communion with Christ, everything earthly, in all they receive and all they do, in their enjoyments and in their labours, has, even in this lower world, been transformed into the character of the heavenly. The state of feeling, exhibited in the words of Paul, observes the true medium between both these opposite false tendencies. The longing for the eternal, for the state of perfection which is found in being with the Lord, remains the key-note of his soul, unquenchable by aught else. The longing for heavenly rest is never suppressed, never extinguished by all the pressure of his divinely consecrated employments; but, at the same time, he is far from a precipitate impatience, which cannot await the end of the earthly conflict; far, also, from that more refined self-seeking which can no longer endure to fight and labour for the salvation of men, and be without the calm enjoyment of heavenly blessedness. Although his desire is to depart from the earthly body, and to be with the Lord in perfect personal communion, he is ready to deny even this desire, which proceeds from whatever is noblest in man, that he may labour longer on earth, and strive for the salvation of his brethren. He is willing to renounce the object of his ardent longing, and to continue longer on earth, if it should serve to further the work committed to him by the Lord. Love for his brethren, who need his aid for their salvation, disposes him willingly to make even this sacrifice; and though tossed to and fro by the conflict of his desires, he remains, in each case, resigned to the will of the Lord. His one enduring desire, to which every other gives place, is, that Christ may be glorified by him, whether by his life or by his death.''

Without following Neander through this epistle, we proceed to that of James, which he examines on the same principles. What he says regarding the author will be interesting to our readers,—the question being one to which much attention has lately been given.

''A very important point, in regard to the character of James, is found in the fact, that he was not of the number of the apostles. These were taken from those disciples, who, with immatured and childlike souls, joined themselves to the Redeemer and devoted themselves entirely to Him, with minds open to, and susceptible of impression. From the first, they unfolded themselves in communion with him; they came not to him, after a training received in another and previous school, and were, therefore, peculiarly adapted to receive truly his image, and, as plastic organs in his hands, to serve for the propagation of his word and spirit in all ages. It is certain that, in the choice of the apostles, Christ aimed at gaining such disciples as had not yet been formed in other schools, and out of whom he could make everything. Paul, on the other hand, though he had this in common with the rest of the apostles, that he could testify of Christ the Risen, because he had actually beheld him, and

that he had received a personal impression from him, was distinguished from them, in having come to him with a decided system, formed in a very different school; and hence, what he became through Christ, necessarily developed itself in the most marked antithesis with what he was before. Altogether different from either the apostles or Paul, was it with James. He was a brother of the Lord, according to the flesh. All the passages of the Gospels in which the brethren of the Lord are mentioned, and Matt. i. 25, receive their most natural interpretation, when we assume that Mary, after the birth of Jesus, bore other sons, who are to be understood as the brothers of the Lord, of whom this James was one. Since marriage, and the procreation of children, like everything natural, were to be sanctified through Christ, in such an assumption, nothing contradictory to the dignity of the mother of Christ or his own, is to be found. The notions of a false ascetical tendency, of the unsanctity of the marriage state, or the pre-eminence of the celibate life,—which are at variance with the essence of Christianity,—and the misunderstood reverence of Mary, could alone be the occasion that anything objectionable should be found in this assumption. On the contrary, the birth of Jesus, as a fact supernaturally effected, thus appears in its right light and in its true meaning, in contrast with that which resulted according to the natural laws of procreation. Christ, as the son of Mary, begotten by means of a miracle, is thereby differenced from, and opposed to those who sprung from Mary in the natural way, according to the laws of human derivation. The antithesis between the natural and the supernatural, as it is described by Paul (Gal. iv. 23, 29),—between that which is born according to the spirit, and that which is according to the flesh, is one which runs through the history of the kingdom of God, in all stages of its progress. The difference, therefore, between James and the other preachers of the gospel, in their religious development, consisted in this: that his neither originated from Christ, as in the apostles, nor did its later form ever appear in marked contrast with its earlier; but his path, starting from a different point, took at first an independent direction, not, indeed, opposed to, nor yet blending with that of the body which formed itself from Christ alone, until at length, at a later period, it completely merged in it."

Every one will be curious, if not anxious, to learn what view Neander takes of the alleged discrepancy, in regard to the doctrine of faith, between James and Paul, which has excited something like a distaste for this epistle in the minds of many, and led even Luther to "speak unadvisedly with his lips" in calling it "an epistle of straw." After giving a luminous statement of James' teaching, he goes on to enquire,—

"But how does this harmonize with Paul's statement, when he declares, 'do this, and thou shalt live,' 'he that doeth these things shall live in them,' to be the characteristic of the Law; and, on the other hand, 'the just shall live by his faith,' to be the characteristic of the Gospel? Here it is true, there would be a contradiction, if James were speaking of the Law in the same sense as Paul, as if he meant, that, through the works of the Law, a man could merit salvation. But James is far from doing this. He is speaking of the Law as it is made to live within a man through faith in Christ, of the Law, as it is unfolded by Christ in the sermon on the mount, and which presupposes and involves faith. In this respect, then, he says, and says rightly, that, in the practice of this law, we must feel ourselves blessed, and can only thus partake of the blessedness which Christ imparts to the faithful. His meaning is the same as that of Christ, when, at the conclusion of the sermon on the mount, he says, 'Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him to a wise man who built his house on a rock.' Paul, also, would assuredly have agreed in this. It is in harmony with the Pauline mode of teaching, that he only can experience in himself the divine power of faith and can be saved through faith, who displays it in his life; for, in his mind, faith is the principle which transforms the whole life from within, even 'that faith which worketh by love;' as when he says, 'If I had all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing,' (1 Cor. xiii. 2.)"

So again, in reference to that critical text, James ii. 14: "What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? can faith save him?" Neander acutely remarks that James does not say, if a man hath faith, but if he "say he hath faith." He is speaking of a pretence of faith, not of sincere faith; and of such a faith as manifests its insincerity by a want of good works, he declares that through such salvation cannot be attained. Paul also regards good works as the necessary fruits of true faith. A pretended faith, destitute of these, he would not have considered a justifying faith, would not even have applied the name of faith to it. They are speaking of very different things. The meaning of James becomes more clear by the examples he adduces when he compares the faith which is destitute of works to a feigned love, expressing itself merely in words, and not in deeds, as he says: "If a brother or a sister be naked, and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things that are needful to the body; what doth it profit? Even so faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being alone," (ii. 15—17.) If then, James calls the faith that is without works a dead faith, it could not surely be his view that works, which are but the outward manifestation, made faith to be living—that in these the life of faith subsists; but he must have presupposed that true faith has the principle of life within itself, from which works must proceed, and which manifests itself in works. The want of works was to him, therefore, a proof of the absence of life in the faith, which, accordingly, he calls a dead faith.

The Discourse on the coming of the Lord and its Signs, seems to have been delivered at the anniversary of the Prussian Bible Society. The germ of this Essay is contained in the sentence,—

"Before the Lord shall come for the last time, to execute the last sifting of his Church on earth, and to commemorate his kingdom, He often comes in the Spirit, to breathe new life into her when dead, and to eject from her whatever manifests itself as unsusceptive of this new life."

Religious Liberty in Tuscany in 1851: or, Documents relative to the Trial and Incarceration of Count Pietro Guicciardini, and others, exiled from Tuscany, by decree of 17th May, 1851. Translated from the Italian. London: Nisbet and Co.

The lovers of art, of literature, and of historic associations, turn with many a feeling of delight to Florence. The student who loves to trace how the spirit of God wrought in the days preceding the Reformation, looks back to the days of Savanorola, when he continued to preach to the multitudes of Florence, until the vast cathedral of that city could not receive the listeners,—when that remarkable decree was enacted that our Lord Jesus Christ is the only King and Lord of the Florentine people,—a decree actually inscribed in 1527 over the entrance of what was afterwards called the grand ducal palace, and which, after having been concealed for three hundred years by the sculptured arms of the Medici, was again brought to light in 1846.

But *now*, however, it is not associations connected with the past which

cause the Christian eye to turn to that fair city; it is the work of God and the opposition of man which are there exhibited.

The reading of Scripture has been abundantly blessed in Tuscany; many a heart has learned that Christ's blood and righteousness alone can afford peace with God.

But this led at first to opposition and afterwards to actual persecution. In the former part of 1851, Count Pietro Guicciardini, who was the most prominent of the Florentine Protestants, after maturely weighing the condition of things in that place, resolved to leave Italy for a time, and to visit his Christian friends in England. He marked the increase of opposition in Tuscany, as shown by the prevention of the Italian service at the Swiss church, and other similar proceedings; and he judged that by his withdrawing for a time the other protestants of Florence would be less exposed to the threatened persecution.

Before leaving he intended to prepare a statement of his religious belief for publication amongst his countrymen. This he accordingly drew up; it bears date May 3, 1851. In taking leave of some of his friends, Count Guicciardini and some others were arrested for reading the fifteenth chapter of St. John's gospel, and after some days' imprisonment and a police examination, they were sentenced to banishment for six months to the pestiferous Maremina. This sentence was afterwards commuted into exile from Tuscany.

After Count Guicciardini's departure, his letter was published in Italian, with some account by the editors of what occasioned him to write it, together with extracts from his diary, showing *how* religious liberty is denied in Tuscany.

Count Guicciardini commences his letter with a brief allusion to the meetings which he had commenced more than two years before, from which fruit had sprung. Then, after referring to the impending persecution, and his reasons for leaving Florence, he gives the profession of his religious belief. In this he enters into particulars which are needful to be stated, because it is a practice of Romanists to represent those who leave the pale of that antichristian system, as rejecters of the Trinity, the Godhead of Christ, and other fundamental and essential verities, without which the name of Christian is in any sense a misnomer.

After this he speaks of those verities of Protestantism which the heart of a believer in Christ finds to be so precious. The authority and sufficiency of Scripture, the alone mediation of Christ, justification by faith, the right place of good works as the results of faith, are the principal points.

To all the doctrines which he lays down are appended references to the texts on which he grounds them, so that the Word of God may be the basis of all that he wishes to enforce.

He gives his own views of baptism and the Lord's supper. The latter of these we shall quote, not as wholly agreeing with it, but because of the manner in which the translator has thought fit to represent his statements. Count Guicciardini says:—

"I believe that true Christians should break bread and drink wine together, in remembrance of the death of the Lord Jesus, until he comes, in testimony of their

common faith in the expiatory sacrifice accomplished by him (1 Cor. xi. 23—26; Acts ii. 42—46; xx. 7)." . . . . . "Where two or three are met together in the name of the Lord, there He is present, and listens to them (Matt. vi. 6; xviii. 19, 20). Break bread and drink wine together, in commemoration of the death of the Lord (1 Cor. xi. 26). Thus you manifest your faith in the one sacrifice for sin—a sacrifice which need not be renewed, because already complete and perfect (Heb. ix. 24—28; x. 10, 12)."

"Go from house to house to break bread, as all believers and disciples in the times of the apostles. To do this there is no necessity for apparatus, forms, or special persons. It is well to know this in times of persecution and difficulty like the present, in which the true church is not permitted to have an external organization."[a]

If receiving the Lord's supper privately be not permissible in times of persecution, how can it be observed at all? If private worship is put instead of a *public* assembly, *where it may be had*, then is it a departure from all Scripture propriety; and so too as to the Lord's supper, which the New Testament church celebrated week by week on the Lord's day.

The anonymous translator of the Italian pamphlet, who appears to be a Scotch minister (now we believe in Turin), has chosen in his preface to go out of his way to attack not only Count Guicciardini and his opinions, but also other Christians likewise.

After condemning him for touching on "Church government, with which" (he asserts) "he could have no experimental acquaintance," he adds:—

"Count Guicciardini is understood to incline towards the views of the Plymouth brethren; indeed, the latter clauses of his confession leave no doubt upon the subject; and though, of course, every man has a right to hold and to publish his own opinions, it is scarcely in keeping with the Count's known moderation in other things, to assert dogmatically as he does, that it was customary in apostolic times 'to go from house to house breaking bread,' meaning thereby celebrating the Lord's supper; and that in following this example 'there is no need of furniture, forms, or special persons.' In England there is a sufficient amount of Bible knowledge in the minds of the people to keep them from swallowing tenets at once so unscriptural and absurd; but the spiritual socialism of the Plymouthian system, coinciding as it does with the strong republican character and tendencies of the large masses of the Italian people, and with the ancient Ghibeline spirit of the Florentines in particular, is calculated to do much more mischief in the way of shaking off impressions of all obligation than the Count and his friends are aware of."

This translator then goes on to condemn the Protestants at Florence, for having once, at least, observed the Lord's supper since Count Guicciardini's departure.

Now does not this passage of the translator's introduction contain wonderful *ignorance*, and something more? And if Count Guicciardini's confession be so mischievous a production, is not the translator culpable for giving it publicity in an English dress?

It requires a very small "amount of Bible knowledge" to shew that the early church of the apostles at Jerusalem did break bread from house to house; that is, in other words, receive the Lord's supper together in private houses. There was a good reason for their doing so; it is evident

[a] Having had the Italian original before us prior to our having seen the now-published translation, these sentences will be found in some places to differ verbally from the English pamphlet. We have followed a MS. translation previously in circulation.

that the vast numbers converted at Pentecost and shortly after, had no place of assembly in which they *could* meet to observe this command. The common order for the church is that laid down in 1 Cor. xi.; "When ye come together *into one place*:" but who will say that in times of difficulty and persecution, this rite may not be observed as the circumstances permit? If *not*, then for the first three centuries there could often be no Lord's supper at all; whereas we know as a fact that they did meet every Lord's day thus, to commemorate the death of Christ.

"Apparatus, (which the translator rendered *furniture*,) forms, and special persons," are the very things on which the Romanist relies, as rendering the mass valid. The altar and priest must be properly adorned, and ceremonies must be performed, in order to carry out the (so-called) "sacrifice of the mass," which Rome has substituted for the Lord's supper, of which the Scripture speaks. Against *these* paraphernalia of *idolatry* Count Guicciardini has raised his voice, and does the anonymous translator wish to turn souls that have been freed back to them again?

If a Presbyterian objects to absence of "forms," he might be reminded of the assembly of the Christians of Geneva, in the early days of the Reformation, when they met in a garden; and in shewing the dying of their Lord in the breaking of bread, a simple carpenter handed the bread and wine round to his brethren. Thus did *they* act, in a time of difficulty, as to the Lord's supper.

"Spiritual Socialism" we would condemn, wherever it is found. God is a God of order, not of confusion; but we ask on what authority does this translator bring this charge against Count Guicciardini and his suffering companions in Italy? Is it Christian charity to bring such charges, and at such a time? Ought not the parties (whoever they be) who have published this pamphlet in England to make enquiries of Count Guicciardini, now an honoured exile for Christ's sake on our shores, as to what his sentiments are, before putting forth such a charge as that of "Spiritual Socialism?"

Now we *know* that this charge is incorrect. At Florence there were a few, and but a few, who took the place of instructing others; these were owned and recognized by their brethren in their work of ministry, and were submitted to as such. Is *this* "Spiritual Socialism?" And must we not say that they were owned in their labour by the Lord? And have we not ample proof that *He* has caused fruit to abound through their service?

We do not wish to express ourselves too strongly, but are not the circumstances likely to call forth feelings bordering on indignation?

The translator has shewn some ignorance in his unsuccessful comparison of "the ancient *Ghibelline* spirit of the Florentines in particular," with the "Spiritual Socialism" of which he speaks. So far from Florence having been characterized by *Ghibellinism* in former times, it was the reverse, a *Guelfish* city. The Ghibellines were Imperialists, the Guelfs were the Papal party. It would have been more to the purpose to connect the ancient *Guelfish* feelings of Florence with the present zeal of the Popish persecutors in that city.

Since the exile of Count Guicciardini, there has been much persecution

in Florence. There are those there now who are suffering bonds and imprisonment, for no crime except the possession of the Word of God in their own tongue. These are indeed cast on the sympathies and *prayers* of Christians in this country. We trust that many may thus remember them before the Lord; and that efforts may be made perseveringly to carry on the testimony of the Gospel of Christ in Italy and other Romish countries.

Poor Florence! she has borne for ages the reproach of having proscribed and exiled the noblest of her literary sons; and now she repels and casts from her bosom her children, who would fain cause to shine upon her that lamp of God's truth and Christ's gospel, by which their own souls have been enlightened. L M

Early Oriental History: comprising the Histories of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Lydia, Phrygia, and Phœnicia. Edited by JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D. London: Griffin and Co. 1851.

THIS very complete and excellent compendium, forming the virtual essence of a large library, is a collection of the various articles bearing on the subject in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*. The whole has been put together and thoroughly revised by the able hands of Dr. Eadie, who has made most material and very valuable additions of his own, not only in common history, but also in accounts of the social antiquities, religion, and languages of those ancient countries. In all this he has, as he declares and as we can from our inspection avouch, consulted the best authorities, and availed himself of the most recent sources of information—throughout giving especial heed to whatever might tend to the illustration of the Sacred Records. This is a valuable feature of the work, which would alone entitle it to especial commendation at our hands. Though in all respects a thoroughly good book, it probably owes *this* valuable characteristic to the accident (so to speak) of the task having fallen into the hands of Dr. Eadie. But much as we value his services in this line, it was not without a pang that we saw his name upon the title-page of the book. Is there to be no end of this continual editing of commentaries, concordances, dictionaries, histories—this relative waste of the best time of a scholar's life in the revising, editing, abridging, expanding, improving other men's works, on the part of one so amply qualified to frame and execute some great design, which shall bear throughout, and transmit to "the next ages," the impress of his own individuality—the mark of his own mind and hand. Dr. Eadie has done excellently well whatever he has undertaken—none could do it better; but our quarrel with him is, that he does not undertake those higher and more original labours, which the theological public has a right to exact from one to whom so much has been entrusted. To our minds, a man is more to be excused for attempting tasks beyond his powers, than for being content with doing less than his best in the service of the church. No doubt it may be said of Dr. Eadie, that the pulpit and the chair exact and obtain his best thoughts and labours; and this would be a good satisfactory reason for what excites our regret, were it not that he does nevertheless find time for much literary work, and this alone is

the portion of his time which we demand for the highest services which his great industry and large gifts might enable him to accomplish.

Returning from the editor to the book, we should say that while it is throughout most creditably executed, the parts which, from the indications he affords, we can recognize as being from his own pen, are admirably done, and will be sure to engage the attention of the reader more than any other portions of the volume. The chapters on Social History, etc., are well worth the cost of the whole book, being very able summaries of all that is known on these subjects. It is not always quite clear what does belong to Dr. Eadie, and we have not the opportunity of ascertaining by reference to the original edition of the Encyclopædia. The early portion of the Dynastic History of Egypt is from his pen (the later portion is by Bishop Russell), and we turned with interest to the part which treats of the Chronology. We are glad to find that an enquirer so competent to form an independent judgment, reaches the same conclusion that we have always entertained and advocated—that the common Hebrew chronology is much too short, and that even the Septuagint chronology, which is the longest, is scarcely long enough for the historical wants, especially in Egypt, of the period between the deluge and the birth of Abraham.

> "The inspired record does not settle early dates, and it withholds full dates prior to the age of Solomon and the building of the temple. . . . . If the Bible had positively settled these primitive dates, our reception of them would have been a matter of faith; but we are plainly left to our own earnest and candid inquiries on all such points of remote chronology."

Altogether the book from its contents, execution, and fulness of matter; from the industry with which all available resources, down to the present year, have been explored, and the skill with which they have been made available; as well as from its economical and yet handsome form and price, must supersede other works of the kind, and claim a place in every collection of useful books. We should add that many illustrative woodcuts are interspersed. They are serviceable and interesting, and would have been more so had the editor extended his supervision to them. As it is, there are some egregious mistakes. The inscription to an engraving of the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, places that junction at Chebar. Several cuts after Sassanian sculptures, of a comparatively late age, are introduced as from Persepolis, and as illustrative of ancient Persian costumes, which were very different. A cut of modern costume, copied from Lane's *Arabian Nights*, is described as being from Persepolitan sculptures. In some cases the really ancient and the later costumes, and in others the modern costumes of different nations, are mixed in the same engraving; and some pieces, correct in the originals, have been spoiled and rendered inapplicable and incongruous by the colourable variations introduced as accessories by the artists. These are matters in which authors and publishers are very much at the mercy of draughtsmen and engravers, on whom we impose the burden of the faults we have indicated.

Exposition of the Gospel of St. Luke, in a Series of Lectures, Chap. xx.—xxiv. *Also of a portion of the Gospel of St. Matthew.* By James Thomson, D.D. Vol. III. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1851.

The expository Lectures on St. Luke's gospel have already occupied two volumes, which were noticed in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* with commendation as they appeared. The continuation extends to the middle of this third volume, completing the series in 101 lectures. The twenty-four lectures on St. Matthew's gospel which are added, and form the latter half of the volume, might at the first view seem to be thrown in as a makeweight to complete the volume, but this is not the case. The lectures are founded on those matters in Matthew which are not included or not given so fully in Luke, and by taking care not to omit what is peculiar to Mark, the author has aimed to produce what may be considered as an exposition of the three first gospels.

We cannot but repeat the hope that these lectures, so well written, so pleasant to read, and so replete with vigorous and independent thought, will, with other works of the same essential species which have lately appeared, exert some influence in recommending the use of this style of discourses in the pulpit, by which means a congregation would in a few years be built up in a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, as well as experience a freshened interest in, and realize a healthful habit of, pondering over the "lively oracles." If a minister delivered such lectures on a given portion of Scripture once a week, he would in the course of ten or fifteen years, have led the minds of his hearers to rest with pleased and instructed interest on no small portion of the Sacred Volume.

One characteristic of this work is its author's resolute abstinence from speculation in regard to that which is not set down in the Scripture. Thus, for instance, few expositors or lecturers would refuse to tell us their own opinions, or those of others, respecting the cause and nature of our Lord's agony in the garden. But Dr. Thomson resolutely refuses to enquire into this mysterious subject:—

"Respecting the cause of this terrible agony, it is perhaps impossible to give a satisfactory explanation. From its taking place immediately before his sufferings, and from the prayer which he presented, that this cup might pass from him, we are entitled to conclude, that it was connected with his sufferings and death. But the precise view which he took of these we do not know. For it is remarkable, that neither our Saviour himself, nor any of his apostles, has thought it proper to give us any information respecting this extraordinary scene, nor to explain to us how it took place, or what were the causes that occasioned it, or what the benefit it produced. A few words would have been sufficient; yet those few words are not given. We dare not suppose that there was any oversight; for an oversight in inspired men is impossible. At any rate, it would be high presumption in any uninspired person to attempt to lift up the mysterious veil which has been drawn over this transaction, and to attempt to supply what Jesus and his apostles must have intentionally omitted. One thing, however, we may affirm with confidence, that our Saviour's agony did not arise from any displeasure on the part of his heavenly Father. For this is clearly disproved by the fact already alluded to, that at that very time an angel came from heaven to strengthen him. Yet there is a difficulty in reconciling this fact with his exclamation on the cross, that God had forsaken him, though there was an interval between his agony and his death."

Yet Dr. Thomson does not shrink from the vigorous exercise of a strong judgment in the matters that come before him; and the reader reaps large benefit in finding subjects with which he supposed himself fully acquainted put before him in new and striking points of view, produced so quietly that the reader is scarcely sensible of the influence which is exerted, and is not aware, but by the ultimate consciousness of removed obscurity from the subject, of the enlightenment he has received.

We are not to be understood as assenting to all Dr. Thomson's conclusions. For instance, we do not find with him that only the eleven apostles were witnesses to our Lord's ascension. We should rather gather from Acts i. 22, that other disciples witnessed that glorious ending of his earthly career. We have always supposed it was John who procured admission for Peter to the house of the high priest. But Dr. Thomson is not of that opinion;—

"Who the disciple was who procured the admission of Peter is not mentioned. Some suppose it to have been John; but it is not probable that John, or any of our Lord's usual attendants, were known to the high priest. Besides, it is said, that immediately after Jesus was apprehended (Matt. xxvi. 56) all the disciples forsook him and fled, consequently John fled with the rest, and none remained but Peter. Others suppose that it was Nicodemus, or Joseph of Arimathea, who, being members of the Sanhedrim, could not be unknown to the high priest. But, as the name is not mentioned by any of the sacred historians, the point must remain undetermined; for supposition is useless, and should never be substituted for certainty."

We do not *always* admire Dr. Thomson's phraseology, whether in titles or text. "Jesus puzzles and confounds the Pharisees" is the title of one lecture; "The Wonderful Robber" is another—meaning the man usually known as "the penitent thief." Peter "retired in haste to the porch, and burst into *a fit of tears.*" But things of this sort are but small specks upon the face of a work of this high intrinsic value, and which must take a permanent place in our expository literature. We should like to quote from it largely, but having marked some notable passages for insertion in our *Analecta Biblica*, we must leave it for the present, with a final and hearty recommendation of it to the notice of our readers.

The Night Lamp: a Narrative of the means by which Spiritual Darkness was dispelled from the Death-bed of Agnes Maxwell Macfarlane. By the Rev. John Macfarlane, LL.D., Glasgow. Author of "The Mountains of the Bible," etc. *Third Thousand.* London: James Nisbet and Co. pp. 328.

Some books are dragged into notice, and some force themselves into it. Of the latter kind is the work now before us. A few months only have elapsed since it made its appearance, and already the *third thousand* is in course of being issued. We do not wonder at its popularity. It is a story of thrilling interest, told by an intelligent, affectionate, and ardent mind; in a style energetic, flowing, ornate and yet chaste. In the course of the narrative, some of the sublimest doctrines of our religion fall to be discussed, and some of the richest experiences of the Christian life to be told, and both come out in a manner, the most natural, easy, satisfactory, and instructive. The subject of the narrative is a young lady—daughter,

grand-daughter, sister, and friend of men in the sacred ministry—who, in addition to these advantages powerfully tending to intelligence and piety, was herself talented, highly educated, refined in taste, and professedly religious, so far as external deportment constitutes profession. Yet, up to this time, when the affliction fell upon her which terminated her life, she was wasting her existence in unconcernedness about her highest and best interests, and pursuing gaiety and frivolity as the chief end of her being. At that time, when night fell upon her, with its darkness, dreariness, and perplexities; and which, in her case, threatened to be a night starless, cloudless, appalling, and ever enduring. A light shone out in her chamber, which not only dissipated the gloom, but revealed glories which before had never entered her mind to conceive, and by the discoveries of which a bed of thorns was changed into a bed of roses, night into day, and earth into heaven. The light which wrought this marvellous change was a light from heaven, which continues to shine in this dark place, and is known as "The Word of Life;" which, according to its own testimony, verified in the experience of many, "is able to make wise unto salvation;" but which, though ever lustrous, had not before entered her mind, for want of a medium in which to shine—the medium of faith. How this medium came to be created, forms one of the most deeply interesting chapters in the book; and the narrative connected with it probably forms the finest illustrations anywhere to be met with, of those beautiful Scripture texts: "Born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, *by the word of God*, which liveth and abideth for ever:" "The wind bloweth where it listeth; thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whither it cometh, or whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit." But the interest felt in this exciting part of the narrative, is not created merely by the fact that a youthful, powerful, and elegant mind is relieved from distress—which of course must be a source of high satisfaction to every right thinking mind—but also from the other facts connected with it; that minister after minister, and friend after friend, tried to shed a ray of light and gleam of hope into that dark, desponding mind, and tried in vain; and that the Bible, read and commented on by a tender and affectionate brother, effected instantaneously what other instrumentality, diversified in its character and varied in its application, had entirely failed to produce. And this suggests a hint, which we offer with all deference to the author, that in the succeeding editions of the work, which will no doubt be demanded, he add a literal to the figurative title of his book; and to "*The Night Lamp*," which leaves the mind uninformed of what is intended, he adds, "or the Bible the sure guide to heaven;" or some other phrase unveiling the truth wrapped up in the elegant but not very obvious figure, by which he seeks to adumbrate one of the most consoling truths of our religion. We know no way of giving that religion body, form, life, and beauty, like that adopted by our author, in which it is seen in its active operation—giving zest to life, comfort in trouble, and hope in death. If parents and guardians would take our counsel, they would introduce "*The Night Lamp*" into the chamber of every child and pupil entrusted to their care, and especially to the private rooms of those of them so happily designated by Mrs. Ellis, "the daughters of England;" and publishers who

seek to promote godliness as well as secure gain, when they issue their prospectuses of "Ladies' Libraries," would place at the top of them "*The Night Lamp*," as introductory to the Memoirs of Mrs. Grahame, Mrs. Judson, Mrs. Newall, Lady Colquhoun, and the noble band of female worthies, of which the names adduced are well known types; and in so doing would confer a boon, for which the Christian world would be most grateful, as would many, we have no doubt, who are not yet warrantably numbered of it.

Book of the Precepts, or the Affirmative and Prohibitive Precepts, compiled by Rabbi Moses Maimonides out of the Books of Moses. Edinburgh: Robert Young.

This work, consisting of Maimonides' digest of the positive injunctions and prohibitions of the Law into six hundred and thirteen precepts, is a well-known book in Hebrew literature, forming a sort of manual, for practical use and instruction, of the Mosaical code. Its great popularity is attested by the fact that upwards of sixty editions exist, several of which are accompanied by Latin or German translations. The present is, however, the first edition in Britain of the original Hebrew with an English translation. There are, however, two English translations unaccompanied by the original text,—one by David Levi, who put them at the foot of each page of his translation of the Pentateuch; and the other by the Rev. Moses Margoliouth in his *Modern Judaism Investigated*. Of this, the present translator informs us that he was not aware, until the greater part of his own edition was printed off.

The precepts, which profess to comprize the entire substance of the Mosaic legislation, are divided into two classes, viz., 248 affirmative and 365 prohibitive, in all 613.

"The Jews," we are told, "are very ingenious in finding out the reasons why there are so many precepts and no more, in the Pentateuch. They tell us that the reason is, because there are 248 and 365 veins in the human body. Hence they pray that the law, 'may be made by my fulfilling this precept, a spiritual garment for my soul, spirit, and breath, for my 248 spiritual members and my 365 spiritual veins.' Another reason given is, because in the Decalogue—if we except the two last words, אשר לרעך—there are 613 letters, though they can give no reason why these seven letters should be considered superfluous. One of the reasons given why there are 365 prohibitive precepts is, according to Maimonides, because there are 365 days in the year, and therefore they imagine that God delivered to Moses that number of precepts, so that if the Israelites observed one precept each day, and took heed of one prohibition, they would thus learn all the prohibitive precepts."

This work, which must be of great practical usefulness to the Jews, will in its present shape be serviceable to others as a digest of the Mosaical code, and will furnish some aid to those who desire to cultivate an acquaintance with the Hebrew literature.

In this work, the precept is in the first instance stated, and then the authority for it cited. Some of them, it must be confessed, cannot be very clearly deduced from the text on which it is made to rest. Here are a few instances,—

"17. That every man write [a copy of] the book of the law for himself; as it is said, Write ye this song for you.—Deut. xxxi. 19."

"322. Not to punish on the Sabbath; as it is said, Ye shall not kindle a fire through all your habitations."

"317. Not to curse one of the rest of the Israelites; as it is said, Thou shalt not curse the deaf.—Lev. xix. 14."

268. "A hired person shall not take more than he can eat; as it is said, thou mayest eat grapes thy fill at thine own pleasure.—Deut. xxiii. 24."

Scenes from Scripture; with other Poems. By the Rev. GEORGE CROLY, LL.D. London: Colburn and Co. 1851.

COMMENCING his preface with the declaration that "the history of English versions from the Hebrew poets is yet to be written;" but admitting that Warton, in his volumes on English poetry, has referred to the subject at "sufficient length to satisfy general curiosity, and with sufficient elegance to gratify public taste," Dr. Croly, after the customary fling at poor Sternhold and Hopkins, with remarks on translations of the Psalms, proceeds to say that in our application of verse to Scripture, there has been less tried than that of versions of the Psalms—"the description of striking events in its history, and the transfer of those powerful declamations which abound more in the prophetic pages than in any other works of man." Certainly "less tried," but in respect of the former, tried to a very considerable extent. Nearly all the principal narratives of Scripture have been turned into verse, and the more striking incidents many times over. But in regard to the "powerful declamations" of the prophetic writings, the position is correct—the most adventurous writers having naturally shrunk from the attempt to imitate or versify these magnificent utterances. Dr. Croly himself touches but lightly on this ground, the far larger part of the "Scripture Scenes" being founded on historical incidents, and the others are seldom versions but poetical amplifications of the sacred text. Among *these*, the poet seems to us to have found his most congenial themes in the Apocalypse. But the poems of a narrative character will probably be read with most satisfaction, unless by a few who may think with us that, in *this collection*, he has achieved his greatest success in the short hymns or sacred songs, of which there are several, principally founded on the Psalms.

We are disposed to deplore Dr. Croly's fancy for short lines and rapid measures, which seem to us least of all suited to the solemnity of sacred subjects. But here, whether in narrative or prophecy, we have still the same seven-syllable lines, or seven alternating with six, or six with five. There are a few pieces in graver measures, and if our taste does not influence our judgment, they are the best—at least, we have read them with greater pleasure.

Dr. Croly's poetical claims are not now under our judgment—they have long since been judged; and, bearing his name, it will readily be understood that the volume comprises poetry of no mean quality—strong in conception, and rich in poetical expression. Some of the pieces now appear for the first time; but the rest of them are collected "from the various periodical publications in which they appeared long since, and

which have generally passed away." These, we presume, were the annuals, which will account for our failing to recognize any of them as old acquaintances, except the well known and beautiful dirge, beginning—

"Earth to earth, and dust to dust."

Dr. Robinson's Greek Lexicon to the New Testament; condensed for Schools and Students. London: George Bell. 1851.

This is a well executed and useful condensation of the last edition of Dr. Robinson's excellent Lexicon. The abridgment has been mainly effected by the reduction of the number of examples given in the larger work. Dr. Robinson aimed to make his book not merely a Lexicon but a Concordance, and therefore prints far more examples (where they exist) than is necessary to elucidate the meaning or construction: *e. g.*, if the same phrase occurs six or eight times, he cites every passage containing it. Whatever advantage this plan might possess in the original work, it could not be suited to one intended mainly for learners: the present editor has therefore found the chief opportunity for the exercise of his judgment in the selection from them of the examples really necessary, apart from the idea of making the work a concordance, and this task seems to have been executed by a skilful hand; and notwithstanding the great reduction of bulk, and consequently of cost, the work remains quite adequate for the purposes of learners and school purposes; and is, indeed, the best adapted to this use of any that has fallen under our notice. A serviceable Parsing Index is appended, extending to fifty-five pages. This is a feature only to be found in Dawson's Lexicon, which is useless as a help to the critical study of the New Testament.

Eastern Manners illustrative of New Testament History. By the Rev. Robert Jamieson, D.D. Third Edition. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Sons. 1851.

A work which is in its third edition needs no recommendation from us. Dr. Jamieson is known to have successfully applied much time and attention to the study of Eastern manners and customs, in their application to the illustration of Scripture; and the present work is the best result of his labours in this department. We certainly think the study of Eastern customs forms a most important study to the right understanding of the Scriptures; and that it is also a most attractive help, is shewn by the undiminished favour with which works devoted to the subject continue to be received, notwithstanding the frequent declarations that the field is exhausted. It is really exhaustless, and needs many more labourers; though the prolonged study and extensive research which it involves, with the keenly apprehensive faculty it exacts, will always operate in keeping the work in the hands of a few efficient cultivators like Dr. Jamieson. There are many who even make a large figure in small magazines upon the old stock accumulated by the Harmers, the Burders, and the Paxtons; but few who can bring out of their treasures things *new* as well as old, the results of live-long labour and constant watchfulness. Our author's

volumes—this and another on the Old Testament, are of this better class; and we cordially recommend them to the notice of our readers, especially to such of them as have families.

A Historical Chart, displaying the Course of Events throughout the World, from the Creation to the year 1848. By Samuel King Bland. London: B. L. Green. 1851.

This is the first section of a work, which we hope to see completed. The charts are highly useful for reference, and appear to be, as alleged, "compiled from the most esteemed sources, and minutely collated from the best authorities." Though in the list we miss some names we should like to have seen, the author informs us that "the idea pursued is, that the successive occurrence of events—and the duration of life, flowing onward—is marked in each period of its course by the termination of centuries, and subdivided by epochs of ten years. A glance up the space formed by the perpendicular lines will at once shew the relative condition of the earth, its apportionment among men, the subjection of countries one to another, and the collateral reign of their various sovereigns." An outline of the system here adopted was first employed by Dr. Priestley in his "*New Chart of History*," published in 1769, and by the Messrs. Bagster in the Chronological Map accompanying their Polyglot Bible.

It is the business of such a work as this not to originate, but to record the conclusions which seem best established. The difficulties begin where the authorities are not agreed; and Mr. Bland is entitled to praise for the care he has taken to harmonize, as nearly as possible, their various statements. These in the chronology of the book of Judges, are so conflicting, that he gives up this attempt to reconcile them, and inserts the history "according to the five principal commentators." The British and Foreign Bible Society will be somewhat astonished to find itself among these "commentators."

The charts contained in the portion before us are four in number, and extend to the birth of Christ.

The Church of the Invisible; or, World of Spirits. A Manual for Christian Mourners. By the Rev. R. Montgomery. London: Darling. 1851.

We regard with much favour all books of this class, addressed to Christian mourners, knowing that in times of affliction there is a sort of craving for a peculiar kind of reading, which, after the Bible, there is but little means of satisfying. To this small class of books, Mr. Montgomery has here made an interesting addition in the present little volume, which is, as we perceive, marked as the fourth edition, in which, as the author states, "he has endeavoured to make the work more complete by adding some quotations from his other works bearing upon the general subject." These additions consist mostly of appropriate passages from his poems. The specific affliction of the death of friends is that to which Mr. Montgomery's attention is chiefly turned, and to which he presents the proper topics of consideration, with the same earnestness and animated expression which imparts so much attraction to his preaching. The "star-dust"

with which these pages, like those of the author's other prose works, are sprinkled, is calculated greatly to excite the imagination, and to stimulate acts of religious musing, congenial to the afflicted frame of mind. We have not read any of this author's works which so satisfies us that he knows the way to man's heart, though it does not always please him to take the most direct one.

Three Treatises of John Wyklyffe, D.D. I. On the Church and her Members. II. On the Apostasy of the Church. III. On Antichrist and his Meynee. Now first published from a manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with notes and a glossary, by James Hawthorn Todd, D.D. Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1851.

The notice of Wyklyffe and his labours in the last number of this Journal, will probably interest many of our readers on this publication, embodying his three Treatises on the Church not hitherto published. The work is printed in black letter, and done up in antique style—matters of fancy, in which we see little use, but which is of small consequence in a work for which only a very limited circulation can be expected. The notes, although professedly limited to the verification of the author's quotations, and to the explanation of his obscure words or allusions as are necessary for rendering the text intelligible to an ordinary reader, are in some instances curious and interesting. Thus in one place Wyklyffe speaks of monasteries as, "Caymes castelis," on which Dr. Todd thus notes,—

"That is, *Cain's* castles; for in Wyklyffe's time the proper name Cain appears to have been generally corrupted into Caim. So in the Wyklyffe version of the New Testament, Heb. xi. 4, 'Abel offrid a myche more sacrifice thanne Caim to God.' The word Caim is formed from the initial letters of the names of the four mendicant orders, Carmelites, Augustinians, Jacobites, [or Dominicans, called Jacobites from the Rue S. Jacques, where their famous convent stood,] and Minorites or Franciscans. Hence 'Caim's castles' was a favourite term with our author to designate the magnificent monasteries of those religious orders, with which the world then abounded. This is the explanation Wyklyffe has himself given in his *Trialogus*."

In reading these tracts one cannot but be astonished at the incredible boldness with which the author lashes the church corruptions of his age. The descriptions and intimations which he gives are such as incidentally prove, as Dr. Todd observes, the great necessity which existed in the fourteenth century for a reformation of the church. The editor is, however, not much of a sympathizer in the author's special views (which were certainly, as might be expected, somewhat crude in many points), for he adds that a perusal of the book cannot fail to render us thankful "that the reformation, which, by the providence of God was afterwards effected, was not conducted on the principles advocated in these writings."

The Many Mansions in the House of the Father, Spiritually Discussed and Practically Considered. By the Rev. G. S. Faber, B.D. London: Royston and Brown. 1851.

The author of this remarkable work, in a characteristic dedication to the

Primate, offers it as "the last, perhaps I may say the dying performance of a very old man." And further on: "In my seventy-eighth year I must expect soon to be initiated into what, if I recollect aright, the ancients, contradistinctively to the Lesser Mysteries of Sleep, were wont to denominate the Greater Mysteries. I shall then with certainty learn from the unerring Hierophant, either the truth or the falsehood of my deductions from Scripture."

During a large portion of this long career, Mr. Faber has kept himself before the theological public, and has made it acquainted with his name and labours, and his bent of mind, as the author of many works, all marked by the characteristics of deep learning, a complete mastery of antiquity, strong powers of combination, a very active and somewhat fantastic imagination, with an eager curiosity to unveil ancient mysteries and to penetrate into hidden things; and it is deeply interesting to behold such a career as this closing so appropriately in the contemplation of the many mansions in the Father's house. Regarding the nature of this author's successive publications, and tracing the history of his mind, and the track of his thoughts as indicated in them, and even by their mere subjects, there is something exquisitely *appropriate* in such a close. Most men die too soon, in men's judgment and in their own. They die with half their work undone, and with but a few of their plans executed. But here is a man who seems practically, if not designedly, to have planned out his life's labours, and to have lived to accomplish his plans, and now brings in this work at the end of all, as a period to the sentence which records his history in the books of men.[a]

This view of the case is sanctioned by Mr. Faber's own declaration, that the deductions from Scripture which are embodied in this volume, "have been mentally fermenting and gradually arranging themselves in the course of at least thirty years." This he proves by pointing to a passage in one of his works written in 1818, 1819, and published in 1823 (*Treatise on the Three Dispensations*), where are noted down, as materials for thought and investigation, the leading ideas which are systematically wrought out in the present work.

The substance of the position to the statement and support of which this goodly volume has been devoted, is—that "Our earth from first to last is the exclusive theatre of all that concerns the human race." Consequently after the conflagration by which it will in its present form be burnt up, it will be restored as a new and purer world, and become the appointed celestial mansion of the glorified human race. In this blissful abode the incarnate Jehovah will dwell with men, and they will be his people. As one of the many mansions is the destined future heaven of the redeemed human race, so the other mansions must be other heavens variously allotted to the several armies of the holy angels; and as the destined mansion which our Lord promised to prepare for his faithful people will

[a] At the end of the volume appears what seems a complete list of the author's writings. It consists of twenty-five works, in thirty-seven volumes (three of them quarto), and two pamphlets. They extend over exactly half a century, the first being *Horæ Mosaicæ*, which formed the Bampton Lecture for 1801.

be the renovated earth, we may conclude that the other spheres do not stand empty, but that they are heavens analagous to the renovated earth.

Of this view, which is supported by great wealth of illustration and argument, different opinions will be entertained, but none will begrudge the venerable author the comfort he declares himself to have derived from it. He says; "As I approach the confines of another state; as the blossoms of the grave have now long whitened my head, I sensibly feel my footsteps strengthened, my hopes elevated, and my consolations increased by that *definiteness* which God has so graciously imparted in his Holy Word. On the verge of eternity, I have the sensation of a sure footing: and I trust that it makes me a better man to have ascertained *definitely*, the LOCALITIES of what, through Christ's merits, may be my further progress, instead of plunging into unknown space with no antecedent clearness of conception."

Footsteps of our Lord and his Apostles in Syria, Greece, and Italy: A Succession of Visits to the Scenes of New Testament Narrative. By W. H. BARTLETT. London: A. Hall, Virtue & Co. 1851.

A WORK from the pen of Mr. Bartlett will be hailed with delight. He is already well known to the world, not only as an author, but as an artist; and if his pen is that of a ready writer in his glowing descriptions and stirring incidents, his pencil is no less serviceable in bringing before the eye most exquisite renderings of the scenes described. We always look with a more penetrating scrutiny at the narratives of travellers to the Holy Land than many other literary productions. The locality consecrated by so many recollections is a convenient groundwork for displaying the peculiar views of each successive tourist. Volney has travelled there—Maundrell, Lamartine, Chateaubriand, Elliot Warburton, Fisk, the Scottish missionaries, and last, not least, the Rev. Mr. Bowen, who is now exploring the Syrian churches. What a series of conflicting opinions and feelings do these names suggest. Infidelity, popery, sentimentalism, love of adventure, prophetical investigation, and missionary enterprise, are widely different in their nature, and yet all have found their key-note in Palestine. In taking up a new work which professes to make the Holy Land its basis, we are disposed to ask, What new theory is to be built upon this well-trodden territory? We are glad to find that Mr. Bartlett gave his energies to a most useful branch of local enquiry. He has not speculated on the "ruins of empires;" he has not been eager to drink in monkish tradition; he has not sentimentalized with Lamartine—his previous studies had not adapted him for prophetical investigation; but with his sketch-book and pocket Bible he has visited each spot historically mentioned in the New Testament, and has there realized the narrative, and enabled Bible-readers on the other hand to picture to their minds the *locale*. He has a vivid perception of the prominent facts of the New Testament narrative. His sketch of St. Paul's career, for example, is an admirable example of clear statement and graphic delineation. With his mind so directed, he visited the scenes of these thrilling histories, where every ruin carries back the fancy to the apostolic age, where every moun-

tain and lake has its own tale to tell of the Redeemer and his followers, Mr. Bartlett found his chief delight in those localities where superstition has been able to do least in disguising their features. The sepulchre, as our readers are aware, is built over with an unseemly church; the tomb of Lazarus, though pointed to, is at best apocryphal; over the well of Sychar there hangs doubt, but the waters of blue Galilee, and "Bethsaida's cold and darksome height," are guileless memorials of Him who said to those waters, "Peace, be still," and in the wilderness fed the five thousand with a few loaves.

The steel engravings are beautiful specimens of landscape art. We may specify the view of Rhodes (p. 93) as indicating refined feeling. The well-grouped towers in deep shade, the clear eastern sky, the setting sun, blazing from behind the city, and catching with its last rays the ripple of the Mediterranean, the white-sailed pilot-boats scattered on its bosom, form a tableau that Mr. Bartlett has well succeeded in placing on permanent record.

The Elements of the Gospel Harmony: With a Catena on Inspiration, from the Writings of the Anti-Nicene Fathers. By Brooke Foss Westcott, M.A., Fellow of Trin. Coll. Cantab. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1851.

This is a well-digested attempt to reconcile the differences of style and of detail observable in the several evangelists with their plenary inspiration. Mr. Westcott boldly proposes that a quadriform Gospel was essential, to give all those aspects of the Saviour's life and character that would commend themselves to the respective varieties of the human mind, and to the modes of teaching that would obtain in different ages and countries. This we think the most original feature of this elaborate essay. Although we cannot consider the author fully to have substantiated all his positions, we have thoroughly enjoyed accompanying him in his line of thought, and hope on a future occasion to give an outline of his argument, at a length more commensurate with the importance of the subject.

Religion and Science: their independence of each other, and their Mutual Relations. By a Physician. Manchester: Simms and Dinham. 1851.

The author of this pamphlet, we feel assured, would be fully competent to produce a valuable digest of natural theology. If he is able so to devote his valuable energies, the paper he has given to the world will form a good introductory chapter. Its principles are in the right direction. We are quite prepared to believe with him that "natural religion, however pure and elevated, may be held to be only natural science sublimated to a metaphysical abstraction, and therefore may only be considered as a voice crying in the wilderness, 'Prepare ye the way.'"

On the State of Man subsequent to the Promulgation of Christianity. London: W. Pickering. 1851.

An epitome of early ecclesiastical history, by a writer of some power, but anonymous. He is apparently one of the Fichte if not the Strauss school,

and consequently will receive but little sympathy from us. The respected name of the publisher was associated in our minds with a theology of a more healthy tone; perhaps we were mistaken.

Some Passages in the Life of a Convert from Anglo-Catholicism to the truth as it is in Jesus. By R. C. J. Bath: Binns and Goodwin.

A SINCERE and devout protest against the errors of a party whom recent events have shewn to have been no true members of the church to whose communion they ostensibly belonged. Their doctrine has been proved inconsistent with her formularies, and the church herself has emerged from the controversy more distinctly protestant than before in the eyes of the nation, and with her canons and character more clearly understood. This convert, however, found so great a *centrifugal* force in Anglo-Catholicism as to have driven him from her pale. The perusal of his "confessions" gives additional evidence to us that the true Christian teaches more powerfully by his life than by the declaration of his feelings. St. Paul, it is true, has given us an inspired example of autobiography, but we have seen "how great things he suffered" in the cause of the Saviour. The Romanizing party in the Established Church scarcely need to be cried down; they have cried themselves down, and comparatively few have any confidence in their teaching. This was evident to us because we saw R. C. J.'s little volume. We may add that this writer exhibits a very unwise sympathy with the *Tablet*, and other organs of the recent "aggression," in calling one of the episcopal bench a "titular" bishop. It might as well address the highest legal functionary of the state as the "titular" Lord Chancellor.

Safety in Peril. By the Authoress of "My Flowers." pp. 126. 12mo. London: Sampson Low. 1851.

WE can conceive this little volume being of great value, where it can be placed in the hands of young persons exposed to Tractarian influences. It is a simple and powerful statement of saving truth, evidently the production of an earnest mind, and indicating a spirit of prayer in its composition. We sincerely trust it may be the means of guiding many wavereers into the path of "safety."

Christ the Bread of Life: An Attempt to give a Profitable Direction to the present occupation of thought with Romanism. By J. M'LEOD CAMPBELL, formerly Minister of Row. Glasgow: Ogle and Son. 1851.

A LENGTHENED argument on the erroneous interpretation adopted by the church of Rome of John vi. 27—58. We fully acquiesce in the view of the author with reference to the eucharist not being directly intended by our Lord when he made use of the terms "living bread," and the like. The language employed by Mr. Campbell will strike an English reader as obscure, owing to the assumption that may hold on the other side of the Tweed though not on this, that our people, in reading a practical or devotional treatise, "proceed with careful self-conscious discernment of the conditions of their own spirit," (see page 26); or in other words, are well acquainted with Brown and Dugald Stewart's metaphysical treatises.

ANALECTA BIBLICA.

The Ten Virgins.—There is one point that requires to be settled, if possible, because it regards the decorum of the parable: Whether are the ten virgins represented as proceeding to meet the bridegroom, when going to the residence of the bride, or when returning in the company of the bride to his own house? It has been taken for granted that the ten virgins were attendants on the bride, and were waiting at her residence till the cry was heard that the bridegroom was approaching, when it was their duty to go out to meet him. But there is an objection against this opinion, which appears insurmountable. Such an act would have been inconsistent with the sentiments and manners of the Jews, as well as of other oriental nations, and we may add, not consistent with our own. It may be said, that it is asserted in the passage that the virgins went out to meet the bridegroom, and therefore we must conclude that the bride was not with him. To this we answer, that in the Persic and Syriac versions of the New Testament this difficulty is removed. Thus, after the words *went forth to meet the bridegroom*, it is added, *and the bride*. Now, though we cannot receive this addition as authentic, we are not prevented from concluding that it was inserted by those who lived in Syria, and who would not have introduced it if it had not been intended to explain an established or well-known custom. But, independent of this argument, it is clear from the parable itself that the place at which the virgins sought admission was the bridegroom's house; for he is represented as the only person who answers their cry and exercises the authority of excluding them. We may also add, it was at the bridegroom's house that the marriage feast was held. We infer, then, that the ten virgins who probably corresponded with our bridemaids, are represented in the parable as watching for the return of the bridegroom with his bride.—Dr. Thomson's *Exposition on a Portion of the Gospel of St. Matthew*, p. 482.

Christ's Entombment.—It was of the greatest consequence to the cause of Christianity that Joseph and Nicodemus undertook the charge of performing the funeral rites. Had the apostles of Jesus performed this office, the allegation of the Pharisees, that they stole his body, would have been rendered less improbable. Had none of his friends discharged this duty, Jesus would have been buried among the malefactors; no care would have been taken to watch the sepulchre, and there would have been no witness of the wonderful events which accompanied his resurrection. Nor would the prophecy of Isaiah have been fulfilled which declared that the Messiah should have his grave with the wicked and with the rich; that is, near Calvary, where the malefactors were buried, and in the tomb of the rich Joseph of Arimathea. Thus everything was arranged to prove the reality and inestimable importance of the death of Jesus.—Dr. Thomson's *Exposition of the Gospel of St. Luke*, p. 193.

The Forty Days after the Resurrection.—As we are told in the Acts of the Apostles, that Jesus remained forty days on earth after his resurrection, we may inquire what reasons are mentioned in the Scriptures for so long a residence.

It was to afford ample time for the Apostles to examine all the evidences of the resurrection of Jesus before he left the world. Thus we are told in the passage of the Acts of the Apostles, already alluded to, that he shewed himself alive, by furnishing many infallible proofs during forty days. We might naturally think that the proofs given on the day of the resurrection would have been fully sufficient to convince any class of men that ever lived. But our Saviour, who knew human nature, with all its prejudices and infirmities, infinitely better than we do, thought differently. It is true, all the apostles seem to have been convinced and satisfied. But some individuals among them were not without their doubts. For we are expressly told by Matthew, that when the eleven disciples went to the mountain in Galilee, at which Jesus had appointed to meet them, when they saw him, they threw themselves prostrate before him; "yet

some doubted." From this passage we see, that though they had been convinced, yet at times doubts rose in their minds. To prevent those doubts from returning, it was necessary that they should examine the evidence of his resurrection again and again; that they might believe it without wavering, and as firmly as they believe their own existence. For, as they were appointed to the high office of testifying to the world the resurrection of Christ, this was requisite. Accordingly, every time they saw him, the evidence was renewed and strengthened. He no longer indeed appeared in a public character, and therefore did not think it proper to cure diseases as he had done during his ministry. But he performed one miracle evidently for the sake of his apostles. As in the beginning of his ministry, he had first excited their astonishment by a miraculous draught of fishes, so to shew them that the same power remained with him, after his resurrection, he performed a similar miracle at the sea of Tiberias, when 150 fishes were taken at one draught. Twice also he exhibited the evidence of prophecy,—first, to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus; and, a second time, at Jerusalem, in the assembly of the apostles and disciples.—*Ibid.*, p. 224.

The Syrophenician Woman's reply.—The reply of the woman to Jesus is the best that was ever given to him by any individual during his ministry. She discovers sagacity and presence of mind; enters at once into the distinction made by our Saviour; follows out the figurative language, and draws a fair and candid conclusion in favour of her own request. Allowing the comparison of Jews to children, and Gentiles to dogs, as just, she dexterously points out a privilege which humanity and custom had established. For though it was not seemly to rob the children of their food in order to bestow it on dogs, yet it was customary to give to the dogs the crumbs which had been left by the children; and this was all that her humility ventured to solicit. For when Jesus said, "It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to dogs;" her instantaneous reply was, "Truth, Lord, yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table."

This was an admirable answer, and it exhibits such presence of mind and acuteness as, on another occasion, we should term witty. It displays a bright and elevated idea of the benevolence as well as power of Jesus. For as no harm could arise to the Jews from an act of mercy to a Gentile, she had confidence in the benevolence of Jesus. Upon the whole, it is evident that our Saviour appeared on this occasion to hesitate, merely to give the woman a favourable opportunity of shewing to his disciples her superior knowledge, her high but rational and well-founded faith, and the important and beneficial effects of importunity and perseverance. He accordingly said, "O woman, great is thy faith! Be it unto thee even as thou wilt. And her daughter was made whole from that hour."

1. From this passage we may learn that it formed a part of the plan of God, in the establishment of the Christian religion, that it should be presented to the Jews before it should be offered to the Gentiles.

In this arrangement there was no predilection shewn to the Jews, nor any indifference to the Gentiles. It respected a question merely of time, and was adopted on account of its wisdom and superior advantages even to the Gentiles.

It was wise that Christianity should be first given to the Jews, because they already believed in the only living and true God; because they acknowledged his attributes of almighty power, and perfect wisdom and goodness; and because they were in possession of the prophecies which predicted the coming of the Messiah, his character, and actions.

It was proper to appoint the Jews, after they themselves were converted, to convert the Gentiles; because they were better qualified for that office than the Gentiles.

It was wise to select the Jews as the first teachers of Christianity, for another reason; that it might be evident that the revelation given to the Jews, and the revelation given to Christians, formed, though separate, yet connected and essential parts of the same Divine plan.

It was agreeable to the goodness of God to adopt means which would propagate Christianity most rapidly and effectually.—Dr. Thomson's *Exposition of a Portion of the Gospel of St. Matthew.* p. 422.

The Miracle of the Stater.—The money required for himself and Peter was a shekel, or half-a-crown of our money, the half of that sum being payable by each. Observe, then, the extraordinary manner in which this money was obtained. Jesus did not by a word create the sum wanted, because such an act might have been ascribed to deception. He did not desire Peter to search for it in a certain place where it might have been previously deposited by design; but it was to be found where nothing but a miracle could place it, and none but a being superior in intelligence to man could know of its existence. It was not to be found at the bottom of the sea, where it might have been intentionally thrown, but it was to be contained in a fish alive in the sea, not, however, in the stomach, into which it might have been taken by swallowing, but in the mouth. It was to be the first fish which Peter should hook. The coin found, too, was to amount to the precise sum wanted. What renders the matter still more remarkable, Jesus did not accompany Peter, so that it could not be said that any art was employed. The curiosity and attention of Peter we may be sure were roused to the highest pitch. He accordingly went, did what he was desired, and found everything to correspond with the instructions he received. He took the stater, as it is here called, equal to a shekel or half-a-crown, and, after paying the money to the collector, returned to his Master.—*Ibid.*, p. 442.

One Talent.—From this parable, we may infer that every individual receives at least one talent, to be improved in the present probationary state. No person whom God has made, is so insignificant as to escape his observation, or to be deprived of the privileges and advantages which he has bestowed on all. The weakest, poorest, and most obscure creature in the world, has opportunities assigned him by God, for which he will be accountable, Observe here, then, the admirable arrangements of Divine Providence; what is of most value is most certain of acquisition, when the proper means are employed; and what is not valuable, or not necessary, is not only difficult but in most cases is unattainable. From the nature of wealth, it is impossible that one-third of mankind can ever be rich. But every man, whatever be his rank or station, may be great in what is of the highest importance; for he may be as good as he pleases. His want of wealth may render it impossible to give much in charity; but he may aid, though he cannot support, and may also afford consolation, when he cannot remove distress. If he cannot display grandeur, he may be distinguished for contentment, and meekness, and patience. If he cannot rival others in eminence he may be still more illustrious, by being free from envy, and revenge, and censoriousness, and calumny. In short, if he cannot be great in worldly estimation, he can be great in a religious sense, by learning to be humble; for our Saviour has assured us, that the humble shall be exalted. If he cannot be wise in this world, he may be wise unto salvation; and if he cannot be great in the estimation of men, he may be great in the kingdom of heaven.—*Ibid.*, p. 497.

The Problem.—A young man, who had graduated at one of the first colleges in America, and was celebrated for his literary attainments, particularly his knowledge of mathematics, settled in a village where a faithful minister of the gospel was stationed. It was not long before the clergyman met with him in one of his evening walks, and after some conversation, as they were about to part, addressed him as follows:—"I have heard you are celebrated for your mathematical skill; I have a problem which I wish you to solve." "What is it?" eagerly inquired the young man. The clergyman answered, with a solemn tone of voice, "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" The youth returned home, and endeavoured to shake off the impression fastened on him by the problem proposed to him, but in vain. In the giddy round of pleasure, in his business, and in his studies, that question still forcibly returned to him, "What will a man profit, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" It finally resulted in his conversion, and he became an able advocate and preacher of that gospel which he once rejected.—*American Clergy*, p. 27.

Praying a Sermon.—A young licentiate, after throwing off a highly wrought, and, as he thought, eloquent gospel sermon in the pulpit, in the presence of a venerable pastor, solicited of his experienced friend the benefit of his criticisms upon the per-

formance. "I have but just one remark to make," was his reply, "and that is to request you to pray that sermon." "What do you mean, sir?"—"I mean literally just what I say; pray it, if you can, and you will find the attempt a better criticism than any I can make upon it."

The request still puzzled the young man beyond measure; the idea of praying a sermon was a thing he never heard or conceived of; and the singularity of the suggestion wrought powerfully on his imagination and feelings. He resolved to attempt the task. He laid his manuscript before him, and on his knees before God, undertook to make it into a prayer. But it would not pray; the spirit of prayer was not in it, and that, for the very good reason—as he then clearly saw for the first time—that the spirit of prayer and piety did not compose it. For the first time he saw that his heart was not right with God; and this conviction left him no peace until he had "Christ formed in him the hope of glory." With a renewed heart, he applied himself anew to the work of composing sermons for the pulpit; preached again in the presence of the pious pastor who had given such timely advice; and again solicited the benefit of his critical remarks.

"I have no remarks to make," was his complacent remark, "you can pray that sermon."—*Ibid.*, p. 34.

Rev. Dr. Jonas King.—In the month of December, 1807, Mr. Maynard was teaching school in Plainfield, Mass. One cold, blustering morning, on entering his school-room, he observed a lad whom he had not seen before, sitting on one of the benches. He was fifteen years old; his parents lived seven miles distant; he wanted an education; and had come from home on foot that morning, to see if Mr. M. could help him to contrive how to obtain it.

Mr. M. asked him if he was acquainted with any one in that place. "No." "Can your parents help you towards obtaining an education?"—"No." "Have you any friends that can give you assistance?"—"No." "Well, how do you expect to obtain an education?"—"I dont know, but I thought I would come and see you."

Mr. M. told him to stay that day, and he would see what could be done. He discovered that the boy was possessed of good sense, but no uncommon brilliancy, and he was particularly struck with the cool and resolute manner in which he undertook to conquer difficulties which would have intimidated weaker minds. In the course of the day, Mr. M. made provision for having him boarded through the winter in the family with himself, the lad paying for his board by his services out of school. He gave himself diligently to study, in which he made good, but not rapid proficiency, improving every opportunity of reading and conversation for acquiring knowledge, and thus spent the winter.

When Mr. M. left the place in the spring, he engaged a minister, who resided about four miles from the boy's father, to hear his recitations; and the boy accordingly boarded at home and pursued his studies. It is unnecessary to pursue the narrative further. Mr. M. has never seen the lad since; but this was the early history of the Rev. Dr. Jonas King, whose exertions in the cause of oriental learning, and in alleviating the miseries of Greece, have endeared him alike to the scholar and the philanthropist, and shed a bright ray of glory on his native country.—*Ibid.*, p. 64.

Starving Sermons.—Some years ago, a clergyman, who was a widower, married the widow of a deceased minister of another denomination. She was a woman highly esteemed for her correct views of divine truth, and for sincere and consistent piety. She had not long accompanied her new companion in his public and social worship, before she became pensive and dejected. This awakened the solicitude of her companion, who insisted on knowing the cause. At length, with trembling hesitancy, she observed, "Sir, your preaching would starve all the Christians in the world." "Starve all the Christians in the world!" said the astonished preacher; "why, do I not speak the truth?" "Yes," replied his wife, "and so you would were you to stand in the desk all day, and say my name is Mary. But, sir, there is something besides the letter in the truth of the gospel." The result was, a very important change in the ministerial efforts of this clergyman; after which his partner sat and heard him with great delight.—*Ibid.*, p. 68.

INTELLIGENCE.

BIBLICAL.

The Rev. H. Baker, senior, writing from Cottayam, mentions the successful labours of the Rev. B. Bailey to establish a printing-press. The workmen, all natives, are thoroughly acquainted each with his own work, which they perform with great neatness and accuracy. Punches and matrices are formed, and type cast; paper of an inferior quality is made, and plain book-binding work is very neatly executed. Several editions of the New Testament have been published, and one of the Old, besides large editions of separate portions, as the Psalms, Proverbs, Genesis, part of Exodus, and separate Gospels; as well as great numbers of other useful works, including elementary Sanscrit works, Watts's Scripture History, the Pilgrim's Progress, and catechisms and tracts in large numbers.

The Bishop of Victoria, in a letter, dated Hong Kong, August 22, 1851, says,—"Our two Chinese travellers returned last month to Shanghae from their second trip to Kae-fung-foo, having succeeded in their mission as far as we could have expected." They have brought with them six of the twelve rolls of the Law. They had the whole synagogue assembled, amounting to about 300 persons, and it was decided that the rolls should be given up. The price demanded was about 533 dollars. They obtained besides about 40 smaller books. Each roll was found to be a complete copy of the Pentateuch, and written on thick strong sheepskin, without points, or division into sections, or even books, and are beautifully written. One of the rolls is defective, and also very much injured, having been, as the Jews state, immersed in the flood which occurred during the Ming dynasty. It is apparently the oldest. The MSS. are on their way to England.—*Jewish Intelligencer*, December.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have just completed the New Testament in Arabic. Great pains have been bestowed on this work, and in accuracy of translation and in propriety of language, and in correctness of the press, it is probably the most satisfactory production of the kind that has ever been published. The translation of the Old Testament is going through the press. The second volume of the Coptic and Arabic New Testament is now in type as far as the fourth chapter of the Book of Revelation.

The printing of Ogybwa translation of the Gospels and Acts at Toronto, is proceeding satisfactorily under the superintendence of the translator, the Rev. Dr. O'Meara, assisted by a native scholar of his own training.

The Rev. W. H. Brett has returned to Guiana, taking with him the greatest part of the impression of his translation of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John in the language of the Arrawak Indians, now for the first time in their own language.—*Missionary Register*, October.

Mr. Wenger, of the Baptist Mission, Calcutta, has not yet been able to bring out his version of the Bible in Sanscrit, which is still in the press; but he has just commenced (with the intention of rendering his version more perfect) new editions of the Old and New Testaments in Bengalee.

The Agra Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Bible Society have printed 5,000 copies of the New Testament in the Urdú dialect and Arabic character, and 3,000 copies of the whole Bible in the Urdú dialect and Roman character. The version of the Bible in Tamil, called the Union Version, is now completed and published.

The revised translation of the New Testament into the Chinese language, on which so much time and labour have been bestowed by the representatives of different missionary bodies, was substantially brought to a close on the 24th July last.

Five hundred copies each of St. Luke's Gospel, the Acts, and the Epistles of St. James, and the First and Second of St. Peter, in the Yoruba language, are printing for the Church Missionary Society.

The second edition of the New Testament in the language of Greenland, as revised by the missionaries of the United Brethren in that country, has been completed, at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

A large number of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in Hebrew, has been circulated among the Jews in Southern Russia, and a further issue has been for some time waiting admission.

We glean the following items of intelligence from the forty-second annual Report of the American Board of Foreign Missions, politely forwarded to us by Dr. Rufus Anderson, one of the Secretaries :—

In the Syrian Mission, Dr. Eli Smith is employed on the new Arabic version of the Scriptures, aided by able native assistants.

At Oroomiah, Mr. Breath has cast a new fount of type for printing the Old Testament, the translation of which is now passing through the press. The old Peschito version is printed in parallel columns with the new translation.

Mr. Winslow, of the Madras Mission, announces that the printing of the new version of the Tamil Bible is completed. It is in royal 8vo., with headings and references, and is a remarkably neat edition. It has been in hand three years, and for two years the united labours of Messrs. Percival and Spaulding of Jaffna, Brotherton of the Church of England, and Mr. Winslow, have been devoted to it most of the time daily, except on the sabbath. In point of accuracy, conciseness, elegance, and idiomatic correctness, it is thought to be a great advance on anything hitherto produced.

Dr. Bridgman has been engaged, as last year, at Shang-hai, on the translation of the Bible. During the year, the revision of the New Testament has been completed, and the Old Testament translated as far as Leviticus. No agreement has yet been effected in respect to the terms which shall represent "God" and "Spirit."

Our readers will share in our regret that the *Chinese Repository* has been suspended. This periodical, which has reached its nineteenth year, has been an important agent in awakening among western nations an interest in behalf of China, and forms a valuable depository of authentic information respecting China.

Mr. Alfred Wright, within the last year, has translated the Second Book of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, into the Choctaw language. Mr. Byington is carrying through the press of the American Bible Society, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and the two books of Samuel; all of which have been translated by Mr. Wright.

Mr. Osunkhirhine, a native preacher, is endeavouring to translate the New Testament into the Abenaquis language, spoken by five different tribes of Indians, partly in New Brunswick and partly in the State of Maine. This language has never been reduced to writing. Mr. Osunkhirhine has translated the first twelve chapters of St. Matthew, and hopes to complete the whole of the New Testament in the course of two or three years.

Mr. Schauffler continues his labours at Constantinople; his Hebrew Grammar has been printed, and the printing of his Hebrew Lexicon commenced; and preparations are making for a revised edition of the New Testament and of the Psalms in Hebrew Spanish.

LITERARY.

Benedictine Publications.—In the *Guardian Newspaper*, No. 212, there was some account of a prospectus of a new publication, entitled *Spicilegium Solesmense*, by the Benedictines of Solesme, near Angers, and in No. 303 (September 26th) there is a long letter giving a further account of the nature and progress of this undertaking, of which the following is the substance. Those who are acquainted with the literary labours of this learned order—which have been often such as could not be produced by individual exertions, will feel interest in the announcement. It may not be generally known that Calmet was enabled to produce his great Commentary, and his Dictionary, by availing himself of the services of learned monks of this order, to which he belonged.

This work, the *Spicilegium of Solesme*, is stated to be the result of extensive literary researches and pilgrimages conducted by Dom Pitra, a Benedictine monk of Solesme.

The first volume of this collection, which is now in the press, will open with learned prolegomena, and is divided into two parts. It contains entire works, or at least considerable fragments, all hitherto unpublished, and belonging to the first four centuries of the church.

1. *S. Papias, a disciple of the apostle St. John.* On the interpretation of the Oracles of the Lord.—Fragment of an ancient Armenian version, with a Latin translation, by the Rev. Fathers the Méchitaristes.—pp. 1—3.

2. *S. Irenæus.* Fragments of Two Homilies, preserved one in the Syriac text, and the other in a double version, Syriac and Armenian. The translation of the Syriac texts, by M. Renou, has been reviewed by M. Quatremére, of the Institute of France, and by Mr. Cureton. With these pieces is given an ancient prologue to the books of St. Irenæus against Heresies.—pp. 3—9.

3. *Anonymous.* On the Solemnities, Sabbaths, and New Moons.—pp. 9—13.

4. *Murinus, of Alexandria.* Fragment of a Homily on Easter.—pp. 14—15.

5. *S. Dionysius, of Alexandria.* Fragment of an Epistle to Conon, Greek texts Latin version. *Id.* Another fragment on the same subject, Latin version. Extract, from an anonymous Exposition on Ecclesiastes about the Doctrine of St. Dionysius, Greek text and Latin version.—pp. 15—19.

6. *Commodianus.* An Apologetic Poem against the Heathen—pp. 20—49. This composition, of more than one thousand lines, is now added to the much shorter poem we already possessed by the same author. It throws some unexpected light on the traditions and belief of the first Christians, in regard to Antichrist, the fall of the Roman empire, and the end of the world.

7. *S. Hilary, of Poitiers.* A Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians—pp. 49—95. Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians—pp. 96—127. Fragments on the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus—pp. 127—148. Commentary on the Epistle to Philemon—pp. 149—159. Fragment of a Commentary on Genesis—pp. 159—165. Seventy pages of this father, one of the most learned and able of the fourth century, are doubtless an inestimable acquisition to sacred literature. Added to these are a Fragment of Commentary on the Psalms, and a Poem, attributed to St. Hilary, but, according to the editor, without sufficient proofs.—pp. 165—170.

8. *S. Rheticius.* Fragment of a Commentary on the Canticles.—p. 170.

9. *Juvencus.* A Poem on Genesis—pp. 171, 172. On Exodus—pp. 172—207. On the Book of Joshua—pp. 208—223. On Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, select Fragments—pp. 224—258. Ancient Glosses, chiefly Teutonic, on the Gospel History of Juvencus.—pp. 258—261.

The second part of the *Spicilegium Solesmense* contains *collectanea* in which are brought together a number of fragments of the most ancient fathers and writers of the Church, most of whom lived in the first four centuries.

First Collection. Scholia of Victor of Capua—pp. 275—277. Here are unknown fragments of S. Polycarp, of Origen, of S. Basil, of Diodorus of Tarsus, of Severiarus of Gabala.

Second Collection. Exposition of the Pentateuch, by John the Deacon—pp. 278—301. This catena of a learned deacon of Rome of the sixth century is composed of twenty-two different authors, of whom the most remarkable and rarest are S. Clement of Rome, Pacatus against Porphyry, Ulpian Didymus, Victor of Capua, S. Cyril of Alexander, S. Hilary of Poitiers.

The *Third*, *Fourth*, and *Fifth* Collections are made up chiefly of ancient testimonies against the opposers of image worship. This will probably for Protestants have the value of making us acquainted with the names and arguments of early witnesses against this corruption, through the statements of their opponents.

There will follow an appendix, containing several pieces less exclusively inedited, which Dom Pitra owes to the co-operation of some distinguished scholars. At the head of these will figure a valuable work of M. Lenormant, which brings to light some fragments of the greatest importance on the Council of Nice. Zoega had published them imperfectly in a book now scarcely to be found, the *Catalogue of the Borgia Library*. M. Lenormant gives the Coptic text revised, an entirely new translation, with notes, which add to all the historical and canonical interest of the piece.

A learned Mechitarist, of Paris, the Rev. Father Gabriel Aïzavouski, has been kind enough to extract for the *Spicilegium* a fragment of one of the *Armenian Homilies*, preserved by the Mechitarist fathers at Vienna, and containing a fresh passage of S. Irenæus, extracted from a *Homily on the Sons of Zebedee.*

The last piece of the *Spicilegium* will be the celebrated *Inscription of Autun*, which Dom Pitra first brought to light, and which he published anew with all the restorations which have been made almost simultaneously at Rome by Father Secchi; at Munich by Dr. Windischmann; at Berlin by M. Frantz; in Holland by M. Boret, of the Seminary of Vermont; in London by Dr. Wordsworth, one of the clergy of Westminster. M. Frantt, who has assisted M. Boëck in his great work on Greek inscriptions, has kindly communicated, for the *Spicilegium of Solesme*, a new revision, and some notes intended for the fourth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.*

The learned philologist, M. Dubner, so well known for his labours on the Greek and Latin classics, has voluntarily undertaken a philological essay, which cannot fail to be interesting, on the poem of *Commodianus.*

Three indices will give the names of all the authors published, restored or corrected, the terms which may serve to enrich glossaries, and the principal matters.

At the semi-annual meeting of the American Oriental Society on the 22nd of October, Professor Gibbs presented a catalogue of all the works known to exist in the Armenian language of a date earlier than the seventeenth century, with introductory remarks on the value of Armenian literature by the Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, missionary among the Armenians. This catalogue is made out with great care. The name of each work is given both in Armenian characters and in Roman letters, and is accompanied by an English explanation. The late William Von Humboldt pronounced the Armenian language "a more important object of philosophical and historical investigation than can be found in the whole province of philology."—*American Literary World*, November 22nd.

The Rev. H. R. Hoisington presented a paper on the connection of the modern languages of India with the Sanscrit and with other Oriental languages, by the Rev. Henry Ballantine, missionary among the Mahrattas. The writer divides the population of India into three classes: (1) The hill tribes, speaking different dialects of what was originally the same language, and entirely different from the Sanscrit. This he supposes to be the aboriginal language of the country. (2) The Tamul, Telugu, Canarese, and Malayalim people in the South of India. These speak languages kindred to each other, and differing from the Sanscrit, but with a great admixture of Sanscrit terms, especially relating to religion and philosophy. (3) The Hindee, Mahrattee, Guzerathee, Marwadee, Scindian, Punjaubee, Ooriya, Bengalee, and Hindostanee people in the north of India, speaking kindred languages prevailingly Sanscrit, yet with an original element or basis, which is decidedly not Sanscrit. Thus the writer makes it his principal object to shew that the Mahratta, of which he speaks more particularly, is not properly a derivative of the ancient Sanscrit, but has an original basis distinct from that language. This paper containing many inte-

resting comparisons, gave rise to discussion among the members present, several of whom seemed disposed to adhere to the usual views of the relationship of the Mahratta to the Sanscrit.—*Ibid.*

The corresponding Secretary read some notices of Phœnician and Egyptian antiquities in the Maltese group of islands, translated from the Italian of Dr. Cæsare Vassallo. The author argues that from the number of sacred edifices of the Phœnicians already brought to light in the Maltese group, and of deities known to have been worshipped there, it would seem to have been a part of the plan of the colony from Tyre or Sidon, which established itself there, to make this ancient *entrepôt* of commerce between the East and West, a grand national Pantheon.—*Ibid.*

The Rev. H. R. Hoisington made some remarks on the philosophy of the *Tatwa Kuttalei.* This work is a synopsis of the mystic philosophy of the Hindoos of the predominating Saîva school of Southern India. It professedly treats of the universe, but in fact presents the system of Hindoo anthropology. According to this system, there are in man three classes of *tatwas* or powers, which may be denominated the *corporeal,* numbering 24, the *spiritual* of which there are 7, and the *divine* 5 in number, or in all 36. There is a development from the first class of 60 additional *tatwas,* making a total of 96. By means of these, all pathological and physiological phenomena in man are explained; and also the soul's spiritual or religious condition, course and destiny.—*Ibid.*

At the Royal Society of Literature Mr. Birch addressed some remarks respecting the names of the African prisoners ranged round the statue of Thothmes III. in the Louvre. Many of these names are found in Pliny, some in Ptolemy, and a few in Herodotus. The subject, Mr. Birch observed, had engaged the attention of M. de Rouge in a memoir on the tomb of Aahmes at El Hegs, lately read before the Institute of France, which he stated to be a most valuable introduction to Egyptian philology. The extent of the empire of the Pharaohs is shewn in the variety and remoteness of the countries to which the prisoners belonged.

At the Syro-Egyptian Society, Dec. 9th, Dr. Camps read a communication on Professor Ehrenberg's microscopic examination of the alluvial deposit of the Nile, from which it appeared that the great fertility of the deposit was not so much owing to any peculiar mineral constituent, or to the presence of any great abundance of vegetable matters, as it was to the vast accumulation of extremely minute forms of microscopic animals, which by their decomposition enriched and fertilized the soil.—*Athenæum,* Dec. 20.

The Committee appointed to arrange measures in concert with Her Majesty's Government for the erection and endowment of additional Bishoprics in the Colonies and Dependencies of Great Britain, recommended, in the year 1841, the erection of a Bishopric of Sierra Leone. It is now proposed immediately to carry this out. The Mission at Sierra Leone has out-stations among the native tribes beyond the colony, especially at Badagry and Abbeokuta, in the Bight of Benin, 1300 miles east of Sierra Leone, where there are five ordained clergymen, one a native. There is a capacious college at Sierra Leone able to accommodate fifty students, where, besides the study of the Scriptures in the original Greek and Hebrew, the native languages are studied under an able professor set apart for this office; also the work of reducing to writing the native languages, and of preparing translations of the Scriptures, has been commenced.

New College, a college arising out of a union of Homerton, Coward and Highbury colleges, has been formally opened. The course of education consists of two departments, a theological and a literary; the former is confined to students for the Christian ministry among the Dissenters; but the latter is open to all students, upon payment of fees, without any religious test or qualification. The Rev. John Harris, D.D., has been appointed Principal; and the Professors in the literary department are,—for *Classics,* William Smith, Esq., LL.D.; *Natural History,* Edwin Lankester, M.D., F.R.S; for *Pure* and *Mixed Mathematics,* Rev. P. Smith, B.A.; *Logic* and *Mental Philosophy,* the Rev. J. H. Godwin; for *Modern Languages,* the Rev. M. Nenner. The building is situated in the Finchley Road, and built of Bath stone.

It is in the Tudor style of architecture, and comprises eight or ten lecture-rooms, a library, museum, a laboratory, and a residence for the Principal. The library is a lofty room, 60 feet by 25; and the shelf accommodation, which is expected will be completely filled, is sufficient for 20,000 volumes.—*Literary Gazette*, October.

A university, in connection with the Church of England, has been founded in Toronto, Canada. The building approaches to completion; and, with a view to the commencement of academical business, a Provost and two Professors have been already appointed. Provost—the Rev. George Whitaker, M.A.; Classical Professor—the Rev. Edward St. John Parry, M.A.; Mathematical Professor—George C. Irving, Esq.—*Colonial Church Chronicle*, October.

The *Builder* (No. 304) prints the following translation of the inscription upon Cleopatra's Needle: "The glorious hero—the mighty warrior—whose actions are great on the banner: the king of an obedient people—a man just and virtuous—beloved by the Almighty Director of the universe: he who conquered all his enemies, who created happiness throughout his dominions, who subdued his enemies under his sandals. During his life he established meetings of wise and virtuous men, in order to introduce happiness and prosperity throughout his empire. His descendants, equal to him in glory and power, followed his example. He was therefore exalted by the Almighty-seeing Director of the world. He was the Lord of the Upper and Lower Egypt: a man most righteous and virtuous, beloved by the All-seeing Director of the world.—Rhamsis, the third king, who, for his glorious actions here below, was raised to immortality.

There are in the British Museum certain bowls, fifteen in number, dug from the ruins of Babylon, and generally 6 inches broad and 3 or 4 deep, containing inscriptions inside, the characters and language of which have till now baffled all our antiquarians. Mr. Thomas Ellis, who is engaged in the Oriental department, has at last deciphered them. The language is Chaldee, and the characters somewhat resemble the Phœnician or square Chaldee. At the same time are found some words peculiar to the Jews, and thence Mr. Ellis infers that the inscriptions must either have been written by the Jews during their captivity in Babylon, or by a remnant of the Jews who never returned from Assyria.—*Athenæum*, Dec. 20.

The French government has lately made a literary acquisition of no ordinary interest and value. Under the authority of the Papal government, a French gentleman, of the name of M. Perret, had explored the whole of the sixty catacombs under the city of Rome, and returned to France with a collection of drawings extending to 360 sheets in large folio. These drawings consist of representations of frescoes, paintings on glass, lamps, vases, rings, instruments of martyrdom, and more than 500 sepulchral inscriptions. This collection has been purchased by the French nation, and the drawings will be published in a style commensurate with their high importance, both as works of art and as invaluable monuments of Christian antiquity.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, October.

The National Assembly of France have given grants of money for the resumption of excavations at Nineveh, the renewed excavations to be directed by M. Place, the successor of M. Botta; and also for fitting out a scientific expedition to be dispatched into Assyria, to complete the discoveries recently made in that part of the world.

M. De Sauley, a French *savan*, recently returned from Palestine, declares that fish do not and cannot exist in the Dead Sea, though he saw ducks swimming on its surface. The Arabs, who escorted him, mentioned that the river Jordan frequently carries down fish, but that they soon die. The dead body of a little fish was picked up by him amidst the bitumen and sulphur on its banks. The sea, he ascertained from observations confirmed by subsequent calculations, is not fewer than 400 yards below the level of the Mediterranean.—*Literary Gazette*, October.

There is in Paris, under the sole direction of an ecclesiastic, the Abbé Migne, an establishment embracing a printing office, stereotype foundry, and all other departments of book manufacture, which has in course of publication a complete series of the chief works of Catholic literature, amounting to 2000 volumes, and the

prices are such that the mass of the clergy of that faith may possess the whole. Among the departments of this vast collection are biblical literature, dictionaries, atlases, analytical tables, concordances, and works of the Fathers, 200 volumes; histories and acts of councils, 80 volumes; canon law, 150 volumes; lives of the saints, 100 volumes; ascetical works, 100 volumes; ecclesiastical and universal biography, 100 volumes; controversial works, 100 volumes; ecclesiastical history and geography, 300 volumes; theological encyclopædias, 50 volumes.

M. Jules Bonnet, who had been commissioned in the reign of Louis Philippe to collect the letters of Calvin in the public libraries of France, Geneva, etc., has found 497, of which 190 are written in the French language, and 307 in Latin. This correspondence promises great interest. It commences in 1524, when Calvin was yet on the benches of the University, and continues up to 1564, when he died. The greater part are addressed to Farel, Melancthon, Beza, and others. The French letters are written to the King of Navarre, the Duchess of Ferrara, the Prince of Conde, etc. One, of 23 pages, is addressed to the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Protector.—*Evangelical Christendom*, December.

There are five religious newspapers published in the Welsh language in the United States, as follows:—*The Cyfaill* (Friend), a Calvinistic or Whitfield Methodist paper, published in New York; *The Cenhadror* (Missionary) *Congregationalist*, published in Kemsen Oneida County, New York; where also is published a general newspaper, called *The Detholydd* (Eclectic); *The Seven Orllewinol* (Western Star), Baptist, published at Pottsville, Pennsylvania; *The Dryeh* (Mirror), New York. These circulate among the Welsh emigrants in the United States, of which it is estimated there are 200,000 in number.

There has been published recently in the United States a Dissertation on the coincidence between the Priesthood of Jesus Christ and Melchisedek, in three parts; in which the passages of Scripture relating to that subject, in the 14th chapter of Genesis, the 90th Psalm, and the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews, are explained; together with a sketch of the Life of Jesus Christ. By James Gray, D.D.

A cargo of books on Oriental languages and literature has arrived in Cork, as a present from the East India Company to the Queen's College in that city; and a writership in the Honourable Company is at the same time offered to be bestowed on such of the students as distinguish themselves in Sanscrit and Arabic literature.

The sum of £1,500 has been placed by Government at the disposal of Colonel Rawlinson, to assist towards the prosecution of excavations and enquiries in Assyria. Colonel Rawlinson will, it is understood, proceed immediately to Baghdad, and thence direct his explorations to any quarter that may appear likely to yield important results.

The subject of the Norrisian Prize (a medal and some books) Essay for the present year is the "Analogy between the Miracles and the Doctrines of Scripture." The candidate for this prize must be under 30, must be, or have been, a Cambridge student, and have attended twenty divinity lectures in the course of any one year.

The Halle monthly *Review of Science and Literature* has a valuable paper on the Rigveda by Professor Robb, of Tubingen, in which the Professor does full justice to Professor Wilson's translation of the Rigveda or Sanhita.

It is stated from Holsingford, in the Grand Duchy of Finland, that Dr. Everard Groenblad, Professor of Philology, has just made the discovery in the library of the Senate of several Palimpsests and other manuscripts, containing a great number of fragments of Latin authors. All the manuscripts are of the fourteenth century, and Dr. Groenblad is engaged in restoring the writing of the Palimpsests by means of chemical agencies.—*Athenæum, Dec. 13th.*

A Prospectus of a series of *Manuals for Theological Students* has been issued by Macmillan and Co., Cambridge. It announces that the works will endeavour to give, in a clear and interesting summary, the main *Facts* and *Dates* of each subject of

theological science up to the present state of knowledge, as well as the results of personal research. Copious references to original authorities will be added, so as to guide the student to *sources of information*, and likewise to guarantee the accuracy of the statements made. Two works on the Old Testament, four on the New, four on Church History, with one each on the Book of Common Prayer, the Three Creeds, and the Thirty-nine Articles are mentioned as in preparation. The authors are Clergymen of the English Church, and the series is primarily for the use of candidates for office in her ministry.

A Prospectus has been issued for the publication of Neander's Theological Lectures, to be produced under the editorial care of Dr. Julius Müller. The work will be issued in separate volumes at a cheap rate, and will form three divisions. 1. Exegesis of the New Testament. 2. Historico-Theological Lectures, including Church History, the History of Christian Doctrines and Morals, and Protestantism and Romanism. 3. Theological Lectures on Christian Doctrines and Ethics.

A Turkish Grammar has been published, compiled by Fuad Effendi, Mustershen of the Grand Vizier, a man known for his high attainments, assisted by Ahmed Djesrid Effendi, another member of the council of instruction. The work has been printed at Constantinople by Mr. Churchhill, and is to be had through the usual channel of the booksellers. Translations will be made into several languages.—*Athenæum*, December 6th.

There has been published at Berlin a dissertation read by Leipsius before the Royal Academy of Berlin, on the first series of the Egyptian Gods, and its historico-mythological origin, in which the author endeavours to shew that they were originally seven only, not eight.

A literal English translation from the Syriac-Peshito version of the New Testament by Dr. James Murdock, of Newhaven, has just been issued from the American press. The translation is literal; Saxon phraseology has been preferred to Latin; the obsolete forms of speech are adopted, and proper names are written as they are written in the authorized version; technical theological terms are avoided, and idiomatic phrases are translated by equivalent English ones.

Dr. Max Müller is at present editing for the *Cambridge University Press*, on the recommendation of Mr. Wilson, the Sanscrit Professor, a splendid edition of the *Vedas*. Dr. Müller obtained in 1849 a prize medal of 1200 francs from the French Institute for the best work on the comparative philology of the Indo-European languages as connected with the primitive civilization of the human race.—*Literary Gazette, Dec. 13th.*

The lately published *Bibliotheca Biographica Lutherana*, by E. M. Vogel, (Halle, 1851), gives the titles of no less than 1,321 works which have been published illustrative of the life of Luther.

The library of the Vatican is to receive the valuable collection of Oriental MSS. made by the late Monsignor Molso, Laureani's successor.—*Athenæum*, Nov. 8.

ANNOUNCEMENTS AND MISCELLANEOUS.

An interesting addition has been made to the study of comparative philology in the Great Polyglot Collection of the Lord's Prayer, in more than 800 specimens of Languages and Dialects, with interlineary translations, and transcriptions of the pronunciation into Roman types, and a complete series of the Alphabets of the World. This remarkable work, produced at Vienna by the skill and energy of the Director of the Austrian Imperial Government Printing Office, M. Alois Auer, Councillor of State, etc., has not hitherto been procurable by purchase; but in consequence of the notice its display at "The Exhibition" attracted, a few copies have been sent over for distribution

in England. It consists of the following divisions:—1. The Lord's Prayer, in 608 specimens of Languages and Dialects, in Roman types; with an interlineary translation (except in a few cases) arranged geographically. 2. The Literature of the attempts hitherto made by other compilers to form these Polyglot collections. 3. 208 specimens of the Lord's Prayer, in the characters appropriated to the various Languages and Dialects, printed with movable types cut expressly for the work, with an interlineary translation, and a literal transcription into Roman letters, so far as possible. 4. A tabular display of the Native Alphabets of the entire World, so far as known, with the powers of the letters in Roman equivalents. 5. A Synopsis of Adelung's Mithridates. 6. Beautifully executed illuminated Titles, Portraits, Indexes, Bibliographical Lists, etc. This work is printed on very stout paper, in the highest style of typography, and is delivered in a neat portfolio.

There is in the press, by Messrs. Carter, of New York, and will be published simultaneously in London by Messrs. Nisbet and Co., a work by Jonathan Edwards, entitled *Discourses on Christian Love.* It will be edited from the original MS. by the Rev. Tryon Edwards, D.D., and consists of sixteen lectures on 13th chapter of 1 Corinthians. The work is said to be marked throughout by that strong and clear thought, and that thorough knowledge of human nature which characterize the treatises on the "Will" and the "Affections."

Preparing for publication, by the Oriental Translation Society, The Li-ki; translated by Professor Stanislaus Julien. This ancient Chinese work, which is attributed to Confucius, was the original Moral and Ceremonial Code of China, and is still the principal authority on those subjects in that empire.

A collation of the Syriac MSS. of the New Testament, both Nestorian and Jacobite, that are accessible in England, by the Rev. Samuel Lee, D.D. This collation will include the various readings of the Syriac MSS. of the New Testament in the British Museum, and the libraries at Oxford, Cambridge, etc.

The Hexaglott Pentateuch, or, the Five Books of Moses, in Hebrew, Hebrew Samaritan, Chaldee Samaritan, Chaldee Syriac, and Arabic; printed on the interlinear system. To be completed in 5 vols. 8vo., containing nearly 3,000 pages.

The Theological Systems of Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus; in three Books. With an Introductory Essay on Scholastic Theology, and its relation to Moral and Theological Science. By William J. Irons, B.D., Vicar of Brompton.

Comparative Tables of the Semitic Languages, containing the Alphabets, Pronouns, Verbs, Nouns, etc., of the Hebrew, Samaritan, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic Languages. In large folio.

Theophilus Hibernicus. By the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of Westminster. (Rivingtons).

Journal of a Visit to Thessaly, Albania, and Mount Athos. By the Rev. G. F. Bowen, Rector of the Greek University, Corfu. (Rivingtons).

Dr. Neander's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, etc.; or, *Memorabilia from the History of the Christian Life*, a third and enlarged edition of which, in two volumes, was published at Hamburgh in 1845-46, is in course of translation by Mr. J. E. Ryland, of Northampton, for Mr. Bohn's "Standard Library."

A new edition, in a modern form, of the scarce work of Samuel Clarke, D.D., on the Trinity; with his Remarks on the Sufficiency of the Apostles' Creed, on Baptism, etc. By the Rev. Deacon Morrell.

Willett's Synopsis Papismi; or, Compendium of the Protestant Controversy. Carefully revised and edited by the Rev. John Cumming, D.D. To be issued in monthly volumes.

A new edition of Dr. Gill's Commentary on the Bible, printed verbatim from the last quarto edition; and to appear in monthly parts, in royal 8vo., forming six volumes when complete.

Sacred Streams; or, the Ancient and Modern History of the Rivers of the Bible. Edited by the Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D. Shortly.

The Heroes and Martyrs of the Modern Missionary Enterprise. Edited by L. E. Smith, Esq. With an introduction by William D. Sprague, D.D. 1 vol. 8vo., plates.

A new edition of Dr. Isaac Barrow's works is preparing for publication, compared with the original MSS., and enlarged with materials hitherto unpublished. Edited for the Syndics of the University of Cambridge.

In the press, a Memoir and Remains of the late Rev. J. Harington Evans. Edited by his Son.

Sermons. By the Rev. Daniel Katterns. 1 vol. 8vo.

COTEMPORARY PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

OCTOBER.

The October Number of the American BIBLIOTHECA SACRA is somewhat heavy and unusually deficient in Biblical matter. The life of Zwingli, commenced in a previous number, is completed. There is a large paper on "Government and Popular Education," the object of which, not without significance to us, is to shew, "that it is among the most solemn and imperative obligations resting on a government, to provide by law for the thorough instruction of all the children in the community." Dr. Hagenbach's Academic addresses on Neander's services as a Church Historian appears here in a translation. Hagenbach's own eminence in the same department, and the prominence of his name as "a successor to the chair of Neander" gives a peculiar value to this discriminating and impartial survey of Neander's labours. The single Biblical essay is on the import of the Hebrew phrase rendered, "They pierced my hands and my feet." It is in vindication of this translation, in opposition to the Jewish interpretation which has lately had some countenance from "a popular and excellent expositor," the Rev. Joseph Addison Alexander—the author of Commentaries on Isaiah and on the Psalms. This version is "as a lion, my hands and feet,"—an interpretation which the present writer, the Rev. Robert W. Landis, has no great difficulty in demolishing.

The BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. XXVIII., Article II., in a pleasing style endeavours to meet objections to literature on religious grounds. Article IV. is an able review of a work on sin by a German, Dr. Julius Müller, the conclusion of which is that "the origin of sin is, and must ever continue to be, utterly inexplicable to the human mind. So soon as we begin to deduce it speculatively, we inevitably miss it. . . . Our author propounds no theory of the origin of sin; he is content to endeavour the humbler task of explaining its *possibility*." In Article IX., the tendency of ultra-unitarianism to "downright infidelity and relinquishment of all faith in the supernatural origin of the Gospel" is very clearly made out.

The NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, Article IV., in a review of Newman's *Hebrew Monarchy* and Greg's *Creed of Christendom*, illustrates "the sort of objections to the Old Testament which are now passing current in some quarters of our literature, together with some of the *principles* by which they may be judged. . . In a great degree these objections consist of bold and unsupported *assertions*, or of arguments which the thoughtful and intelligent writers themselves would deride on any other subject." Article VI. is a picturesquely written paper on Dr. John Owen. "The excellences of his treatises, and the main causes of their redundances," are ascribed to the systematic nature of his mind; "that he could only discuss a special topic with reference to the entire scheme of truth. . . but so devout was his disposition, that instead of

leaving his thesis a dry demonstration, he was anxious to suffuse its doctrine with those spiritual charms which it wore to his own contemplation. . . Such reprints rightly used will be a new era in our Christian literature. They can scarcely fail to intensify the devotion and invigorate the faculties of such as read them. . . Let taste, and scholarship, and eloquence by all means do their utmost; but it is little which these can do without materials." Article X. is a most interesting historical sketch of the new stage in the progress of evangelical religion which has been entered upon in Germany.

McPHAIL'S ECCLESIASTICAL JOURNAL for October contains an article on the work of an American citizen. *The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation;* which we notice for the sake of commending the subject to our readers. The December Number notices a treatise by Mr. Robert Young of Edinburgh, who has made great proficiency in Hebrew learning, and who endeavours to awaken a similar taste in others. This treatise consists of two parts, the first of which is entitled the "Ethics of the Fathers," and forms part of the Talmud. It purports to be collected by Nathan the Babylonian, and its object is to record the remarkable sayings of the great men of the Jewish church, who flourished between the return from the Babylonian captivity and the compilation of the Mishna, A.D. 190. The second part of the treatise is an "Introduction to the Talmud." Believing that we shall confer a benefit on many of our readers we add a list of Mr. Young's publications, and when we become better acquainted with them we will give an opinion as to their value; the first of them is noticed in our present number.—*Maimonides' Book of the Precepts, in Hebrew and English. Polyglot Reading Book, in Chaldee, Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek,* (each of the languages may be had separately.) *Pirke Aboth, the Ethics of the Fathers, translated from the Hebrew, with an introduction to the Talmud. The Assembly's Shorter Catechism, translated into Hebrew.*

The ENGLISH REVIEW for October contains two articles within the scope of our Journal. The first on the Rev. S. Vernon Harcourt's *Lectures on the Four Gospels Harmonized,* a work "characterized by many excellences of a high order, an unostentatious learning, a sobriety of judgment, a moderation of tone, and a practical and devotional spirit. Article V., "Transcendental Theism" is an able argument in favour of our declining to set forth with Mr. Newman and his school of thinkers "in their frailest of barks on the wide ocean of doubt," rejecting the Sacred Scriptures, and branding their authors—"patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, nay, and Him also who claimed to be the Son of God, with conscious fraud and deliberate falsehood."

The CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER for October contains a finely written article on the civil law of "that people who paved the way for the rapid spread of Christianity by renewing the original unity of the human race, whose long and romantic career of glory merged only in the milder and more durable empire of laws which survived the shock by which all other civilization fell," which influences "millions at the present hour," and interweaves with their "broad and equitable principles, the jurisprudence" of our own beloved isle.

Of the THEOLOGICAL CRITIC, a quarterly journal edited by the Rev. T. K. Arnold, M.A., Rector of Lyndon, four numbers have been published. We cannot specify particular articles as deserving notice, but recommend the entire work to the notice of our readers. Most of the papers are written with much ability and learning, and are varied, interesting, and valuable.

The AMERICAN METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW for October contains an article of 25 pages, in which holiness, as being "the central idea of Christianity," is affirmed with a power and beauty that has particularly delighted us. "Would that all Christians," in the words of the writer, "might be agreed upon this one thing,—to consider Christianity as set apart to the work of purifying the hearts and lives of men." Article II. continues a paper on the "Logos," and Article IV. continues one on the "Government and Discipline of the Apostolic Church:" Articles III. and IV. are biographical, "Algernon Sidney" and "John Raudolph,"—both interesting. Article VII. is a review of Dr. J. M. Matthews' Lectures, the "Bible and Civil Government." The close connection between the Bible and the science of civil government

has not hitherto been noticed, and we invite the attention of our readers to the article and to the volume. Article VIII. is a short but important contribution to a settlement of the question whether the *Philosophoumena Origenis*, edited by H. Wolff and others, and the newly discovered manuscript containing seven books, more lately edited by Mr. Miller, be the work of Origen or not. Mr. Miller and the *Quarterly Review* (June, 1851) ascribe the whole to Origen, the writer of this article maintains the contrary.

NOVEMBER.

The CHRISTIAN OBSERVER contains two valuable papers; the first on the "Character of Moses," the man "who occupied a place in human history of solitary and unapproachable majesty, derived from the part assigned him in the divine arrangements," of whom "the greatness of his personal character was quite as remarkable as the greatness of his place and his works." The second, on White Lies, in which it is affirmed, that "falsehood as falsehood, though unconnected with any other vice, is, as Scripture testifies, morally wrong; and therefore to venture on the slightest breach of truth, whatever advantages may seem likely to ensue, is to transgress the fundamental law that we should not do evil that good may come," the "rule being founded on the principle that we are accountable for our actions, but not for their consequences."

The UNITED PRESBYTERIAN MAGAZINE contains the Rev. Dr. A. Thomsons' "Impressions of the Evangelical Alliance," that "it is a living thing, a great fact in the history of the modern church, destined to issue in facts yet greater than itself, and which has in the recent meetings taken a firmer hold than ever of the mind of the country. . . . a thing which 'the true child of God will love,' because it is a living embodiment to him of a great and precious truth, because it supplies one of the necessities of his new nature, and gives play to his pent-up Christian affections, and, by giving them a freer and fuller exercise, adds greatly to the measure of his happiness, because it has given him opportunities of discovering genuine excellence in all the evangelical sections of the church of Christ, and of forming friendships which are destined to be perpetuated and matured amid the glories and the fellowships of the upper sanctuary." A second paper concludes "An Argument in proof of the Supreme Divinity of the Son of God, which is thus beautifully summed up. "Let us see what Jesus Christ has done and said. He has developed a meek and lowly spirit, unexampled in the history of humanity; he has avoided all pomp and display in his style of living when he could have lived in affluence and grandeur. He has preferred poverty, with its attendant privations to wealth with its accustomed gratifications and honours. He has submitted to indignities and sufferings without uttering a word of complaint, or a moan of distress; claiming at the same time authority to forgive sins, and to confer the gift of eternal life on whomsover he pleaseth; guaranteeing to his disciples personal safety amidst all the dangers of time and onward through the interminable ages of eternity; demanding from them their supreme affection, and the same honour as they give to the Father; asserting his equality with the Father, and his ability to do whatsoever the Father doeth; making himself God, and notifying that he will raise the dead, sit as the Supreme Judge at the final judgment, and fix the changeless destiny of every being, good and evil, for ever and ever. To reduce to harmonious consistency, on the hypothesis of his exclusive humanity, such meekness and self-abasement of spirit, with such towering and unprecedented claims, is not a mere difficulty which we may hope to overcome as the light of research and discovery increases, and we progress in the art of a just and profound criticism, but it amounts to an absolute impossibility. He is a being of a unique order, the first and the last of his order; whose history, whose character, and the constitution of whose person, are no less wonderful than the design of his mission is grand and astounding." An account of "The Perils of a Missionary Family in the Caffre War" is vividly detailed by the Rev. Robert Niven; and the interesting chapters on "The Great Ones of the Bible" are continued,—the subject is Eli, "an appalling case which speaks stern reproof and solemn warning to parents who connive at acts of filial disobedience and impiety. . .

Harsh severity," it is added, "has slain its thousands; fond indulgence, which is too lenient to reprove and check, has slain its tens of thousands."

The ECLECTIC REVIEW, after two articles on general subjects, contains one which has for a text Mr. Scott Porter's *Principles of Textual Criticism*, of which the reviewer has not a more favourable opinion than was formerly expressed in our own Journal; but the paper is an able argument that the Scriptures are from God, although it may be that they have not been preserved in their primitive purity. It is affirmed that "God does not lavish miracles even for the sake of preserving his own Word immaculate. Having given it to man, he leaves him to conserve it in its primitive state, according to the measure of the reverence he feels for it. Men are thus put upon a fair and reasonable exercise of their responsibility. High indeed it is, but in perfect analogy with its exercise in all other departments." Article IV. is a beautiful one on missions. "From the sanguinary scenes recorded by general history, piety turns with grateful joy to the triumphs of religion. These are of a different order, and issue in a more glorious result. Their object is to compel (by a moral influence) every man to be a conqueror of himself, to elevate degraded humanity to the summit of all possible excellence, and thus to promote the glory of God." The direct and indirect results of the labours of sixty or seventy years are well stated. One point is just referred to with a promise that perhaps it may hereafter be resumed,—"the generally centralizing character of the missionary enterprize." It is asked, "Is the course which our Saviour has so emphatically required really pursued,—to go forth into all nations and preach the gospel to every creature? We fix a missionary here and another there; we not only form churches, build chapels, and contribute large funds to aid the proceedings of missionaries in their chosen and often limited spheres, but keep them there; sometimes, perhaps, in defiance of circumstances, and amidst the loudest calls of Providence for a more wide extending itinerancy. Even at the hazard of some decay from abandonment,—though this we verily believe, by proper management, would be seldom,—it might be wise, useful, Scriptural, to break up the fallow ground in other places of spiritual destitution, and go forth like the sower from land to land, till the whole world shall be cultivated."

The WESLEYAN METHODIST MAGAZINE for November continues some papers on "English Sacred Poetry Earlier and Later," subject "Paradise Lost." Our great poet is very justly appreciated.

The EVANGELICAL CHRISTENDOM contains the papers read at the fifth conference of the Evangelical Alliance.

The CHURCH OF ENGLAND MAGAZINE, from its plan not embracing original contributions to theological science, does not offer anything for analysis. It is, however, among the most welcome of the Magazines; its "Sermons" are generally able, always good, and its extracts are most judiciously made. As a Sabbath book it is invaluable.

The CHRISTIAN GUARDIAN is another Sabbath Magazine, which we would fain invite our readers to patronize. If its controversial articles were fewer and the devotional papers more ably written, the *Christian Guardian* would be more useful.

The ECCLESIASTIC AND THEOLOGIAN contains first, "Elementary Theology." The writer asks "What possible good is to be gained" by many theological writers of the present day going over the old ground again, "even so far back as natural religion and the being of a God? Is the age so far behind its needs and means of knowledge as to require everything to be begun again, as if nothing could be taken for granted and believed as settled truth? The fact after all is, that the arguments drawn from natural religion are unsatisfactory in their end and of very little worth." Article IV. is a continuation of an able statement of objections to Dr. Wordsworth's *Lectures on the Apocalypse*. The writer calls attention to the apparent non-recognition, on the part of the lecturer, of the depth, power, and subtlety of the infidelity of the nineteenth century.

The MONTHLY CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR has only reached its eleventh number, but its articles are maturely written. It has that which we desiderate in the *Guardian*

—liveliness and vigour. "What has God spoken?" is a valuable paper, asserting that the doctrinal tendency and bearing of the prophetic Scriptures is in the highest degree satisfactory, and that enough of Scriptural prophecy has been fulfilled to afford satisfactory evidence of its divine source. Article IV., "Man-Worth," is a paper written with much point, asserting that none but the loving can get good. "If I have not love, I am nothing to Providence. It ministers no real good to me as a spiritual existent—as a man. I am amidst its ten thousand influences, not like the healthy germ rooted in a genial soil, rising into new forms of life and beauty every day, but like a tree plucked up by the roots and cast upon a barren hill."

DECEMBER.

The CHRISTIAN OBSERVER for December contains a paper entitled, "Union Division, Reunion." The subject of it is "the general condition of human society," and the inferences drawn are that "religion without love is not the religion of Christ," and that the "true bond of union is the Lord and Saviour of the world." Article II. is a letter headed "Parochial Trouble," the close of which is as follows: "Thus I send you no consolation. I only tell what you are to expect, and do not fancifully suppose that you will get rid of troubles by changing your place. You will do far more good, and you will enjoy far more satisfaction, by doing what you can—and more is not required of you—in the situation which God seems to have appointed you. Although you will never see things around you in such a condition as you could wish them to be, yet your labour will not be in vain. It is your duty to labour with diligence, and to endure with patience, until you sink into the grave, where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary be at rest." The review department contains a beautifully written memoir of William Penn, in which the life and character of the illustrious Quaker are delightfully drawn by an admiring and yet discriminating pen. "Born in London in 1644, he died in 1718. In a quiet hamlet of Buckinghamshire, by the side of his first and much loved wife and the son whom he had lost, the great philanthropist was laid to rest, and the grave closed over great service and an illustrious name. No stone was set to mark the spot, but the name and services of Penn are written in the durable monument of religious toleration, unswerving integrity, and in the institutions of one of those great States of the Western world which now exercise so wide an influence over the destinies of mankind." The next is a review of Birks's *Memoir of Bickersteth*. As we doubt not that most of our readers are already in possession of these volumes, we will only express our hearty concurrence with the reviewer, that "very few biographical works of greater value have been given to the public," from the lovely Christian character which they so truly describe.

The CHURCH OF ENGLAND MAGAZINE for December contains its usual pleasing variety. There are two interesting papers by the Rev. H. Christmas on "some of those spots consecrated by the labours of the Apostles." Also a sketch of Archbishop Whately from the pen of a London clergyman.

The MONTHLY CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR for December contains a sensible paper on what ought to be done "in order to evangelize the masses." Taking for granted, as sufficiently proved, the fact of the estrangement of these thousands from Christianity, they say, "Who will not plead guilty to a lack of vigorous manly intelligent earnestness in current pulpit ministrations, and of loving heart-sympathy and charity, public spirit and benevolence in current church life." The writer would have "more stress laid on the prime and central *fact* of the Gospel, and less upon the metaphysical discussions which have been raised upon it." He asks, "Cannot religious truth be preached in as interesting a mode as any other truth?" and would have "more stress laid upon the life of Christ not merely as a pattern of all piety, but as a Christian law and rule of life and would have it more frequently enforced, that all true reception of Christ will shew itself in likeness to him." He thinks, "Were our preaching of the Gospel always a message of love, intelligent and affectionate; and our inculcation of its morality, our delineation of Christian life always true to that

glorious model; and our mode of enforcing and commanding it more frequently the simple and beautiful one of expounding that life; then the working classes would have something to interest them, if we could only get them into our midst, and the difficulty of doing so must of necessity be immensely diminished." We trust that we shall meet against with the writer of Article VI., "Ask for the Old Paths."

The UNITED PRESBYTERIAN MAGAZINE for December contains as its first article an enforcement of the obligations of Christians to aim at the diffusion of Christianity because it is "the only true civilizer." Article III. is the conclusion of a well-reasoned "argument in proof of the supreme divinity of the Son of God." The writer says that the "hypothesis which conjoins humanity with divinity—the union of the divine and human nature in the person of Jesus Christ," required, 1. That "He should speak and act UNLIKE any other being in the human form;" 2. The hypothesis supplies "the clue for an harmonious adjustment of the apparently opposite qualities and tendencies so obviously conspicuous through the whole of his eventful life;" 3. "Offers a fair and substantial vindication of our Lord's character;" 4. Accounts very naturally for "the harmonious testimony which all the sacred writers bear to the person of Jesus Christ," as something more than "simply and exclusively a human being."

In the CHRISTIAN GUARDIAN, the Rev. Mr. Davis continues the "Revision of the Liturgy," and gives us a specimen of a "Revised Communion Service," which has much merit. We would rather see such papers as No. II., "The Leading characteristic of Scripture Truth," but *written* for *perusal*.

The WESLEYAN METHODIST MAGAZINE for December has another paper on English Sacred Poetry, subject "Pollok." Our readers will be pleased with such a guide as the writer of these articles. "The subject of Pollok's muse is of more real and personal interest than that of Milton, and its treatment is appropriately simple, instead of laboured or recondite. Its religious earnestness recommends it to many who would not so readily appreciate a more purely poetical merit. Abating only the too careless execution of many passages, we can scarcely conceive anything more suited to interest and impress the serious reader than the copious freedom of its language, level to the simplest apprehension; and the vigorous music of its verse melody to the most unpractised ear."

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

ENGLISH.

Remains of Thomas Byrth, D.D., Rector of Wallasey. With a Memoir of his Life. By the Rev. G. R. Moncrieff, M.A., Rector of Tattenhall. 8vo.

A Brief History of the Wesleyan Missions on the Western Coast of Africa; with some account of the European Settlements and of the Slave Trade. By William Fox, upwards of ten years Missionary on the Gambia.

Suggestions on the best means of Exterminating the Slave Trade, and some account of the success of the Gospel on that Coast; with Remarks on the Climate and Hints for the preservation of Health. By William Fox. 8vo. sewed.

Palmoni; the Mystery of Mysteries hidden for Fifteen Centuries unveiled. An Essay on the Numerical and Chronological Systems of the Ancient Jews. With an Appendix on the Assyrian, Egyptian, and other ancient Chronographies. One volume, 8vo.

The Rev. A. Clissold's Spiritual Exposition of the Apocalypse, as derived from the Writings of the Hon. E. Swedenborg. 4 vols. 8vo.

An Exposition of the Fulfilled Prophecies of the Apocalypse, from the First Seal to the end of Chap. xix. By the Rev. James Armstrong, A.M. Part I. 8vo. sewed.

Horæ Evangelicæ; the Internal Evidence of the Four Gospels, with reference to their Date, Structure, and Authenticity. By the Rev. T. R. Birks, M.A. Post 8vo.

Women of Christianity, exemplary for Piety and Charity. 1 vol. 8vo.

Philip Doddridge, his Life and Labours; a Centenary Memorial. By the Rev. John Stoughton.

The Connection of Morality with Religion; a Sermon preached in the Cathedral of St. Patrick at an ordination held by the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Sunday, Sept. 21, 1851. By William Fitzgerald, A.M.

Independence and Submission; the Use and Abuse of each. By Charles Vaughan, D.D., Head Master of Harrow School.

The Personality of the Tempter; and other Sermons, Doctrinal and Occasional. 1 vol. 8vo.

Life and Letters of Barthold George Niebuhr. From the German. 2 vols. 8vo.

English Synonyms. Edited by R. Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin.

Wesley and Methodism. By Isaac Taylor, Esq. Post 8vo.

Horæ Egyptiacæ; or, the Chronology of Ancient Egypt. By R. Stuart Poole. 8vo.

First Things; or, a Series of Lectures on the Great Facts and Moral Lessons first revealed to Mankind. By Gardiner Spring, D.D. 2 vols. post 8vo.

The Chevalier C. C. J. Bunsen on Hyppolytus and his Age; or, the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Severus. 2 vols. post 8vo.

Bible Coins; Metallic Facsimiles of the Coins mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. 8vo.

The First and Last Days of the Church of Christ. Translated from the French of Mons. C. M. Carre. Edited by M. N. Macdonald Hume. 12mo.

The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Acts of the Apostles. Translated, with Notes and Indices. Part I. Hom. i. 28. 8vo. pp. 416.

Fathers of Independency in Scotland; a Biographical Sketch of Early Scottish Ministers, A.D. 1798—1851. Foolscap 8vo.

Scripture Lessons on the Old Testament; designed especially for Sunday School Teachers, and for Teachers in Families: with Introduction, Notes, Questions, etc., Post 8vo.

The Bible of Every Land; wherein the multifarious Languages and Dialects into which the Holy Scriptures have in whole or in part been rendered, are represented in their own distinctive Characters, and their critical and philological history exemplified and detailed. Illustrated with coloured ethnographic Maps and an elaborate series of Alphabets. 1 vol. 4to.

The Preparation for the Gospel; as exhibited in the History of the Israelites. The Hulsean Lectures preached before the University of Cambridge in 1851. By George Currey, B.D. 8vo. pp. 258.

The Church of Christ, in its Idea, Attributes, and Ministry. By E. A. Litton. 8vo. pp. 712.

Bishop Pearson's Five Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles and Annals of St. Paul. With Notes, by J. K. Crowfoot. Post 8vo. pp. 118.

The Unity of the Human Races proved to be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason and Science; with a Review of the present Position and Theory of Professor Agassiz. By Thomas Smyth, D.D. From the American edition, revised and enlarged by the author. Post 8vo.

Letters to Young People. By the late Dr. Shirley, Bishop of Sodor and Man. Foolscap 8vo.

Dictionary of Scripture Parallels and References. 8vo.

Model Lessons for Infant Schools, Teachers and Nursery Governesses. Part III. 12mo.

The Introductory Lectures delivered at the Opening of New College, London. By the Rev. Dr. Harris, Rev. T. Binney, Dr. Lankester, etc. Crown 8vo.

The Lord's Day; its Divine and Moral Obligations. By the Rev. T. Brooke, M.A. 12mo.

Religion in Earnest; designed to aid in Forming and Perfecting the Christian Character. By Silas Henn. 12mo.

The Lay Member's Guide in Visiting the Sick and Poor. By a District Visitor. With a recommendatory Preface, by the Rev. P. Farlgon. 8vo.

Christian Duties in the Closet. By the Rev. Robert Meek.

Ecclesiastical History and Dialogues of the Early Church. By Henry Hayman, M.A. Small 8vo.

Three Treatises on the Church. By John Wyklyffe, D.D. Now first printed from a Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. With Notes and a Glossary, by J. H. Todd, D.D. Small 4to.

Sketches of the Sacred Rites of Ancient Israel. By the Rev. R. W. Fraser. 12mo.

Man and his Migrations. By Dr. R. G. Latham. 12mo.

Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh. By A. H. Layard. Abridged. Crown 8vo.

A Manual of Ecclesiastical History, from the First to the Twelfth Century inclusive. By the Rev. E. S. Foulkes, M.A. 8vo.

The Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects. By Mohammed al Shahrastani. Translated from the Arabic, by the Rev. W. Cureton, M.A., F.R.S.

Analecta Biographica Syriacé; or, Lives of Eminent Bishops and others, illustrative of the History of the Church in the East during the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries. Translated from the Syriac, by the Rev. W. Cureton, M.A., F.R.S.

The Ladies of the Covenant: Memoirs of distinguished Scottish Female Characters; embracing the period of the Covenant and the Persecution. By the Rev. James Anderson. Small 4to.

Life in the Sandwich Islands. By the Rev. H. S. Cheever. 8vo.

The Ansayrii, or Assassins; with Travels in the Further East in 1850-51. Including a Visit to Nineveh. By Lieutenant the Hon. F. Walpole, R.N. 3 vols. 8vo.

The Triple Crown; the Papacy analyzed, traced, and doomed: a complete Outline of the Roman Pontificate under Seven Views. By W. Urwick, D.D.

Thoughts on the Land of the Morning: a Record of Two Visits to Palestine. By H. B. Whittaker Churton, M.A. Crown 8vo.

Footsteps of our Lord and his Apostles; a succession of Visits to the Sites and Scenes of New Testament Narrative. By W. H. Bartlett. With 23 steel Engravings and numerous Woodcuts. Super-royal 8vo.

The Church in the Colonies. Part II. Diocese of Cape Town. A Journal of the Bishop's Visitation Tour through the Cape Colony in 1850. Foolscap 8vo., pp. 288, with Map.

Early Oriental History, comprising the Histories of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Phrygia and Phœnicia. By John Eadie, D.D., LL.D. 8vo.

Letters written during a Tour in Holland and North Germany in 1851. By J. Howard Hinton, M.A. 12mo.

The Old Testament: Nineteen Sermons. By F. D. Maurice, M.A.

The Economy of Prayer, in Principle, Practice, and Result: deduced from the Lord's Prayer. By Joseph Ede. Foolscap 8vo.

Exposition of the Gospel of St. Luke. (Volume III., completing the work.) By James Thomson, D.D., Minister of the Parish of Eccles, Berwickshire. 8vo.

Bibliotheca Parva Theologica. A Catalogue of Books recommended to Students in Divinity; to which is prefixed, Dr. Wotton's Thoughts on the Study of Divinity, and the lists of books recommended to their Pupils by Bishop Van Mildert, Bishop Lloyd, and the late Dr. Burton. 8vo. sewed.

Events and Times of the Visions of Daniel and St. John, investigated, identified, and determined. By Samuel Lee, D.D. 8vo.

Man: his Religion and his World. By the Rev. Horatius Bonar. 18mo.

The Expository Preacher; or, St. Mathew's Gospel practically expounded. By the Rev. Charles Overton. Vol. II., completing the work. Crown 8vo.

Devout Musings on the Psalms. Edited by Dr. Hook. 2 vols., 32mo.

Aeternitas; or Glimpses of the Future Destinies of Man. By the Rev. William Bathgate, Forres. Foolscap 8vo.

The Wisdom and Beneficence of the Almighty, as displayed in the sense of Vision; being the Actonian Prize Essay for 1851. With Illustrations on Steel and Wood. By Wharton Jones, F.R.S. Foolscap 8vo., cloth.

The Acts of the Apostles considered, in Two Sermons. By Jacob H. B. Mountain, D.D., Prebendary of Lincoln. 8vo. sewed.

On the Study of Words. Five Lectures addressed to the Pupils at the Diocesan Training School, Winchester. By R. C. Trench, B.D. Foolscap 8vo.

Lectures for the use of Sick Persons. By the Rev. H. B. Bacon. 12mo.

Foreshadows; or, Lectures on our Lord's Miracles. By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D. 12mo.

Means of Grace. Lectures delivered during Lent 1851. By the Rev. R. Bickersteth.

A Devotional Comment on the Morning and Evening Service in the Book of Common Prayer, in a series of plain Lectures. By John James, D.D., Canon of Peterborough.

The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers; with a Memoir and Annotations, by the Rev. Robert Ashton. 3 vol. 12mo.

The Communion of Saints; an attempt to illustrate the True Principles of Christian Union. Bampton Lectures for 1851. By Henry B. Wilson, B.D. 8vo.

Toleratio Intolerabilis; or, the Free Development of the Romish system proved, by copious reference to its Canon Law, Councils, &c., to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of the State. By the Rev. H. T. Bagge, B.A.

The Papacy; its History, Dogmas, Genius and Prospects. Being the Evangelical Alliance's First Prize Essay on Popery. By the Rev. J. A. Wylie. 8vo.

The Spanish Protestants and their Persecution by Philip II. By Senor Don Adolpho de Castro. Translated by Thomas Parker.

Sermons, mostly Academical, with a Preface, containing a Refutation of the theory founded upon the Syriac Fragments of the Epistles of Ignatius. By Robert Hussey, B.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History. 8vo.

Anna; or, Passages from a Home-life. Foolscap 8vo.

Footsteps of our Fathers: what they sought and what they suffered. By James G. Miall. Foolscap 8vo.

Reminiscences of Dr. Thomas Chalmers. By John Anderson, Esq. Royal 12mo.

Regeneration; or, Divine and Human Nature. A Poem, in Six Books. Foolscap 8vo.

Lufra; or, the Convent of Algarve. A Poem, in eight Cantos. By the Rev. James Bandinel. Small 8vo.

Anchurus, and other Poems. By William Ewart, M.A., Curate of Pimperne.

The Advent of Charity, and other Poems. By Thomas Bailey.

Selections from the Christian Poets, ancient and modern. 1 vol. crown 8vo. With Vignettes.

Matthew Henry on the Psalms. Reprinted without abridgement from the Pictorial Edition of Matthew Henry's Commentary. Post 8vo.

The Treasury Harmony of the Four Evangelists. In the words of the authorized version, according to Greswell. 2 vol. 8vo.

The Churchyard Manual, intended chiefly for rural districts; with a collection of 500 epitaphs. By W. Hastings Kelke, A.B., Rector of Drayton Beauchamp.

The Assembly's Shorter Catechism. Translated into Hebrew.

The Second Woe: exposition of Revelation, chap. xxi. By the Rev. Adam Cairns.

Archbishop Whately's Charge, August 1851.

The Temple of Education, illustrating the Philosophy, Poetry, and Religion of Teaching. By T. E. Poynting. Parts I. and II.

Spiritual Regeneration with reference to the Present Times; a Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Ohio. By Charles M'Ilvaine, D.D.

Selections from the Hebrew Bible, prepared for publication by William French. Foolscap. 8vo., pp. 166.

A Manual of Hebrew Verbs. 8vo., pp. 40.

Fifty-four Sermons for Sunday Readings in Families. By the Rev. J. Penrose. 1 vol. 8vo., pp. 498.

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, &c., &c. With Illustrations, chiefly from the Old Masters. Edited by the Rev. Henry J. Rose, M.A., and the Rev. John William Burgon, M.A., in large type, with the Rubrics in red.

The History of Palestine, from the Patriarchal Age to the Present Time; with Introductory chapters on the Geography and Natural History of the Country, and on the Customs and Institutions of the Hebrews. By John Kitto, D.D., post 8vo., pp. 426.

FOREIGN.

Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha ex XXX. antiquis codd. Græcis. Edidit Const. Tischendorf. 8vo.

Anger (R.)—Synopsis Evangeliorum Matthaei, Lucæ, cum locis qui supersunt parallelis literarum et traditionum evangelicarum Irenæo antiqu. 8vo.

Bade (I.)—Christologie des Alten Testaments. Vols. I.—III., Part 1. 8vo.

Bauer (Bruno).—Kritik der Evangelien und Geschichte ihres Ursprungs. 3 vol. 8vo.

———————Kritik der Paulinischen Briefe. 2 parts. 8vo.

Baur (F. Ch.)—das Markusevangelium nach s. Ursprung und Character. 8vo.

Bernard (F. J.)—Biblische Concordanz. Vols I., II, Part I., II. 8vo. Leipzig.

Bruch—Weisheitslehre der Hebraeer. 8vo.

Buss—Die Geschichte der Bedrückung der Kathol. Kircher Englands und die Wiederherstellung der bischöfl. Hierarchie in ihr. 8vo.

Corpus Reformatorum, post Breitschneiderum ed. H. E. Bindseil. Vol. XVI., XVII. (Melanchthonis Opera, Vol. XVI., XVII. 4to.)

Damberger's synchronistische Geschichte der Kirche und der Welt im Mittelalter, kritisch aus den Quellen bearbeitet. Vol. I.—III., XI., XII. 8vo., und Kritikhefte to Vol. I., II., XI., XII.

Daniel—Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ Universæ in epitomen redact. Vol. III. Eccl. Reformata atque Anglicana. 8vo.

Delitzsch (F.)—Das Hohelied untersucht und ausgelegt. 8vo.

Ebrard's Christliche Dogmatik. Vol. I.

Ewald (H.)—Abhandlung über die Phönikischen Ansichten von der Weltschöpfung. 4to.

Fritzsche (O. P.)—und *W. Grimm*, Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments. Part I. 8vo.

Fürst's hebräisches u. chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament. 8vo. Part I. To be completed in 6 parts.

Harless (G. C. A.)—Die Sonntagsweihe. Vol. V. 8vo.

Herbart's sämmtliche Werke. 12 vol. 8vo.

Hefele—der Cardinal Ximenes. 2nd edition. 8vo.

Van Hengel (W. A.)—Comment. perpetuus in prioris Pauli ad Corinthios Epist. Caput XV. 8vo.

Hengstenberg—die Offenbarung Johannis erläutert. 2 vol. 8vo.

Liber Henoch, Æthiopice, ad V. codd. fidem editus, cum variis lectionibus, cura A Dillmann. 4to.

Hirscher (J. B. von)—die Christliche Moral. 5th edition. 3 vol. 8vo.

Hofmann (R.)—Das Leben Jesu nach d. Quellen erzählt. 8vo.

Jaffé (Ph.)—Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita Ecclesia ad a. post Chr. 1198. 4to.

Kahnis (K. F. A.)—Die Lehre vom Abendmahl. 8vo.

Krug (F. W.)—Geschichte der protestant. religiösen Schwärmerei, Sectirerei, etc. im Grossherzogth. Berg. 8vo.

Lange (J. P.)—Christliche Dogmatik. Vol. II., Part II. 8vo.

Maurer's Kurzgefasstes hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament. 8vo.

Neander (A.)—Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen, herausg. von A. L. Jacobi. 8vo.

————Der erste Brief Johannis praktisch erläutert. 12mo.

Neyraguet—Compendium Theologiæ Moralis S. A. M. de Liguori. 2 vol. 8vo.

Nitzsch's Praktische Theologie. Bd. II. Buch II (der Evangelische Gottesdienst). Vol. I. II. 8vo.

Olshausen's Biblischer Commentar über das Neue Testament. Vol. V., 2 parts. 8vo. I. Wiesinger (I. T. A.)—Briefe an die Philipper, Titus, Timotheus, and Philemon. II. Ebrard (T. H. A.)—Hebräerbrief.

Stolberg's Geschichte der Religion Christi fortgesetzt, von J. N. Brischar. Vol. XLVI. 8vo.

Strauss (David)—Christian Märklin. Ein Lebens—und Charakterbild aus der Gewart. 8vo.

Synesii Cyrenæi quæ extant Opera omnia recogn., et Annotat. crit. adj. J. G. Krabinger. Vol. I. 8vo.

Tischendorf (C.)—Synopsis Evangelica. 8vo.

Wasserschleben (F. W. H.)—Die Bussordnungen der Abendländischen Kirche nebst e. rechtsgeschichtl. Einleitung. 8vo.

Passaglia—de prærogativis B. Petri apost. auctoritate divinarum literarum comprobatis. 8vo.

Piper (F.)—Mythologie und Symbolik der Christlichen Kunst von der ältesten Zeit bis in's 16. Jahrhundert. Vol. I., Part II.

Pistis Sophia. Opus gnosticum Valentino adjudicatum e cod. msc. Copt. Londin. descripsit, et lat. vertit M. G. Schwartze; ed. J. H. Petermann. 8vo. cloth.

Reinke (L.)—Beiträge zur Erklärung des Alten Testaments. 8vo.

Reinkens (H. T.)—De Clemente Presbytero, Alexandrino homine, scriptore, philosopho, theologo. 8vo.

Ritter (I. I.)—Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte. 4th edition. 2 vol. 8vo.

Sartorius (E.)—die Lehre von der heil. Liebe. Abth. III. (die heiligende Liebe). Part I. 8vo.

Schlosser (I. F. H.)—Die Kirche in ihren Liedern durch alle Jahrhunderte. Vol. I. 8vo.

Schrift (die heil.) des A. Test. übersetzt und erläutert von E. Meier. Part I., II (Die poetischen Bücher). 8vo.

OBITUARY.

We learn, with great regret, that the Rev. Stephen Olin, D.D., President of the American Wesleyan University, died on the 16th of August last. He is best known in this country as the author of two volumes of *Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land;* which afford a most excellent account of those countries, the best perhaps existing in our language—always excepting Dr. Robinson's great work, from which indeed it is altogether different. Dr. Olin was born in 1797, and travelled in 1837-8, for the benefit of his health. A notice in the American *Methodist Quarterly Review*, for October, describes him as "a man of remarkable organization. His physical and mental properties were alike gigantic. His intellect was of that imperial rank to which but few of the sons of men can lay claim. At once acute, penetrating, and profound, it lacked none of the elements of true mental greatness."

Archibald Alexander, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Theology at Princeton, New Jersey, died there on October 21, in his eightieth year. He was a constant contributor to the *Princeton Review*, now in the twenty-seventh year of its existence; and his prominent works, 1. *The Evidences of the Christian Religion.* 2. *A Treatise on the Canon of Scripture.* 3. *The Evidence of the Authenticity, Inspiration, and Canonical Authority of the Scriptures.* 4. *Thoughts on Religion.* 5. *A History of Civilization on the Western Coast of Africa.*

Dr. H. E. G. Paulus died at Heidelberg on the 10th September. For more than half a century he has been celebrated as one of the most able and active among the writers of the rationalistic school of German theology. Dr. Paulus was born at Leonberg, near Stuttgard, in 1761. He studied chiefly at Tubingen, but visited several other universities in Germany, Holland and England. While at Oxford in the year 1784 he was appointed professor of oriental languages at Jena. In 1793 he succeeded to the theological chair, and gave lectures on theology for about 40 years at Jena, Wurzburg, and Heidelberg, till advancing age and its infirmities compelled him to retire from his public duties.

The China mail brings tidings of the death of Dr. Charles Gutzlaff, the well-known Chinese scholar, traveller and missionary; a man of a generous self-denying spirit, in zeal for every good work untiring, and in labour indefatigable. He early inured himself to hardships, and in his devotedness to his work of spreading Christian truth he was regardless of privation and dangers. He was a native of Stettin, in Pomerania. We record with deep regret the passing away, at the comparatively early age of 48, of one who combined in a remarkable degree piety and learning, with public usefulness and private worth.—*Literary Gazette*, Oct. 25.

The Stockholm papers announce the decease of Dr. Wingard, Archbishop of Upsal and Primate of Sweden. He was Professor of Sacred Philosophy in the University of Lund. He has bequeathed his library of upwards of 34,000 volumes, and his rich collection of coins, medals, and Scandinavian antiquities, to the University of Upsal.—*Ibid.*

The Rev. Dr. Philip, who for thirty-three years was Director of the London Missionary Society's operations at the Cape of Good Hope, died at Hankey, South Africa, on the 27th of August last. Dr. Philip for more than a quarter of a century was pastor of the church assembling at Union Chapel, Cape Town, where his labours were distinguished by great intelligence and devotedness: before he came to South Africa he had the pastoral charge of a church in Aberdeen. The long career of Dr. Philip in South Africa was an illustration how far the duties of the citizen may be combined with those of the Christian minister; and his *South African Researches* is a monument of his enlightened advocacy of the cause of the aborigines.—*Evangelical Magazine*, December.

Professor Humbert, of the Academy of Geneva, a distinguished Orientalist, and author of many learned works, is reported to have died on the 19th September.

The Continental papers report the death at Jena of Professor Wolff.

Walton and Mitchell, Printers, Wardour-street, Oxford-street.

INDEX

TO THE

FIRST VOLUME, NEW SERIES,

OF

THE JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE.

A

Abraham, his faith in the Ministry of Angels, 290.

Achilli, Dr., his conversion and position previously, 68; his evidence respecting the Jesuits, *ibid.;* extract from his *Dealings with the Inquisition*, 69.

Acts, the Book of, septenary division of, 145.

Ages, theory of the first six days being so considered, 73.

αἵρεσις, meaning of the word, 100.

Alfred the Great, Biblical labours of, 118.

Analecta Biblica: the ten virgins, 482; Christ's entombment, *ibid.;* the forty days after the resurrection, *ibid.;* the Syro-Phenician woman's reply, 483; the miracle of the Stater, 484. One talent, *ibid.;* the problem, *ibid.;* praying a sermon, *ibid.;* Rev. Dr. Jonas King, 485; starving sermons, *ibid.*

Angel, an, ministers to Elijah, 293; Peter's, 305; the last on record, seen by John, 318.

——, the divine, his appearance to Hagar, 288; to Abraham, *ibid.*

——, an evil, the prince of the kingdom of Persia, 297.

Angels, ministry of, 283; their holiness not to be compared with God, 284; earliest notices of, contained in the book of Job, *ibid.;* their might and subjection to the divine command, 286; mode of worship, *ibid.;* appearances and ministry, 288; first infliction of punishments by, *ibid.;* economy of their words and actions, 289; Jacob's vision of, 291; employed in the punishment of various nations, 292; their care for the people of God, 294; Gabriel and Michael the only two whose names are known to us, 295; their interest in the New Testament dispensation, 303; their ministrations in the Gospel, 304; the soul-bearers of the faithful, 305; at the resurrection of Christ, 306; their office at the last day, *ibid.;* deliverance of the apostles by them, 307; orders of, 310; inferior to the Son, 311; visions of in the Apocalypse, 313; Rabbinical idea of special duties for, 317.

Angels of the Churches, 312, and note.

—— fallen, 285—309; no mercy to, 287.

Anthropomorphism, horror of by the Eastern nations not incompatible with deviation from the truth, 431.

Apocalypse, see Revelation, book of.

Ἀπογραφή, meaning of the term, 9.

Arabic, the primitive language, 343; identity of with the Hebrew and Chaldaic, 346.

Aramean, original of the Epistle to the Hebrews, theory of, 103.

Archelaus, deposed by the Emperor Augustus, 18.

Architecture of Persepolis and Khorsabad, 429.

————, Sacred, value of Mr. Fergusson's book, as a commentary on, 432.

Aristeas, his History of the Septuagint translation, 258; evidence of its authenticity, 260; objections to 262; extracts from, 269; notes.

Aristobulus the Jew, his testimony to the History of Aristeas, 260.

Assyrian Mythology, symbolism of, 432.

Atonement, Jewish Opinions upon, 183.

B

Bashan, stock of the junior Rapha tribes, 363.

———, Rephaim of, state at the time of the Hebrew Conquest, 364; present state of the country, *ibid.*; anciently very extensive, *ibid.*; its natural features, 365; political extinction by the children of Ammon, 366.

Beauty, ideal of, its protean character, 433.

Biber, Dr. on Romish Miracles, 416.

Bible, The, its paramount authority upon the Sabbath question, 76; earliest translations in the poetic form, 120; the first prose version by Wycliffe, 121.

Biblical Intelligence, 241, 486.

C

Caligula, orders his statue to be erected in the temple of Jerusalem, 24.

Canaanites and Rephaim, geographical distribution of, 162.

Canaanitish Tribes, primary disposition of, 166.

Cæsar, Augustus, held a census three times, 1; left behind him a written outline of the Empire, 5; deposes Archelaus, 18; his letters to Herod, 26; extent of the registration intended by him, 19.

Censorship in Rome, office borne by men of distinction, 1.

Census, derivation of the term, 1; first taken at Rome, 2; method of taking it, *ibid.*; held separately in affiliated cities and colonies, *ibid.*; originally taken in each man's dwelling-house, *ibid.*; had various and dissimilar significations, 3; an act of sovereignty, *ibid.*; origin of the institution, 3; impost the ultimate aim of, 3; difference of the provincial and metropolitan, 4; complete, of the Roman Empire, a work of time and difficulty, *ibid.*; one only made in Judea, 5; resisted by the Jews, *ibid.*; in taking, aid required from the native authorities, 6; analogous practice in Hebrew history, 7; the one recorded by Josephus mentioned in Scripture, 7; improbability of Luke erring in regard to it, 8; one only spoken of by him, 10—14; not a fictitious one he mentions, 13.

Characteristics of miracles, 395.

Cherubim, symbols of the glory of God. 301; on the mercy seat, *ibid.*

Christ: did not abolish the decalogue, 87; vindication of his disciples plucking corn on the Sabbath, 88; probability of the Sabbath-day being changed by him, 92; parallelistic arrangement of his discourse upon healing the impotent man at the pool of Bethesda, 185—197; waxing wanton against, 197; of greater dignity than angels, 311; state of the earth previous to his second coming, 316.

Christian Sabbath considered, remarks upon that work, 70.

Christianity, its preachers must not compromise with any other system, 206.

Colossians, Epistle to, connecting resemblance with the Epistle to the Ephesians, 147.

Confession, use of, by the Jesuits, 55.

Contemporary Periodical Literature, 495—499.

Controversies, periodical recurrence of various, 395.

Converts, heathen, not taught to regard the Seventh Day as sacred, 93; but the first, 94.

Converts, Jewish, the first day of the week their Sabbath, 93.

Correspondence:

Textual criticism of the New Testament, 208.

Chronology of the kings of Judah and Israel, 217.

Typical representations of the Godhead, 220.

On the hypothesis which identifies Silas with the author of the book of Acts, 222.

Does the Vatican MS. contain the books of the Maccabees? 245.

Dr. Tregelles, in answer to W.S., 454.

On the taxing mentioned in Luke ii. 1—3 verses, 456.

Rev. W. Grinfield and his Reviewers, 458.

Critical remarks on the common translation and interpretation of Matthew v. 21 and 22 verses.

Cumming, Dr., extracts from his *Lectures on Miracles*, 400, et seq.

Cyrenius, appointed President of Syria, 5.

D

Daniel, his first vision, 300.

Darius, tomb dedicated to the memory of, 425.

Davidson's *Introduction to the New Testament*, 98; character of the work, *ibid.*; plan, 99; eulogium upon, 115.
Day, first, authority for its observance as the Sabbath, 91; day on which the disciples assembled, 91—93; the heathen converts taught to regard it as sacred, 94; the apostolic age unanimous in celebrating it, 95.
Day, Lord's, the day so designated, 95.
Days, first six, natural days, 73.
Δέ, translation of the word, in Matthew v., 447; instances in the New Testament in which it is not used adversatively, 448, note.
Dead, raising of the, by Christ, 410.
Decalogue, does not contain the original appointment of the Sabbath, 80; but its re-enactment, 86; not abolished by Christ, 87.
Deluge, intimations of the existence of a Sabbatic institution in its history, 75.
Dio Cassius, quotation from, 23.
Dives and Lazarus, parable of, septenary arrangement of the, 136.
Divorce, common in the apostolic age, 200.

E

Eastern Nations, their horror of Anthropomorphism, 431.
Education, a powerful engine of the Jesuits, 55.
Edwards, Jonathan, his imaginative description of his religious experience, 336.
Egypt, Ancient, its long struggles with the natives of Palestine, 157; its religious institutions, 158; period of Cushite ascendancy, 159; Memphite dynasty supreme in, 160 and note.
——— and Israel, their synchronical connection, the chronological problem of Scripture history, 152.
Egyptian Divinities, resolvable into two primitive impersonations, 159, note.
——— and Assyrian chronology, mutual relation of, 423.
Emim nations, power of the, 155; Sodom the metropolis, *ibid.*
Ephesians, Epistle to, remarkable resemblance to the Colossians, 147.
Epistles, pastoral, their authenticity, 99.
———, Catholic, origin of the designation, 103.
Exercitia spiritualia, of Ignatius Loyola, 57.
Exodus, the, contemporary records of, 340; truth of the account, *ibid.*; probable error in the chronology of, 376.
Ezekiel, the prophet, neglect of by expositors, 434; not more retrospectively historical than Isaiah and other prophets, 441; characterised by minute detail, 443.
Ezekiel, the vision of, views entertained upon, 435; historico-literal interpretation of, 435; historico-ideal, 436; Jewish-carnal, *ibid.*; Christian-spiritual, 437; perceptive form of, 439; objections to its literal interpretation, *ibid.*; ideal character of, 440; its difference from that of the apostle John, 444.

F

Faber, Peter, his friendship for Loyola, 49.
Fairbairn, Rev. Patrick, principles of his exposition of the book of Ezekiel, 438; character of the work, 446.
Fall, the, conflicting opinions of commentators upon, 351; historical truth of, 355; freedom from mythical colouring, 361.
Fergusson, James, his book, on the palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis, 422.
First day, authority for its observance as the Sabbath, 91; day on which the disciples of Christ assembled, 91—93; the heathen and Jewish converts taught to regard it as sacred, 93; observed in the ages succeeding the apostles, 97.
"Fool," in Matthew v., remarks of commentators upon the word, 449; its use not necessarily sinful, 453; used by Christ and Paul, *ibid.*
Forster, Rev. Chas., his Work on the one Primeval Language, 340; deficiencies in it, 350.

G

Gabriel appears to Daniel, 296; to Zechariah, 303; and to Joseph, *ibid.*
——— and Michael, the only two Angels whose names are known to us, 295.
Genesis, the book of, its septenary arrangement, 144.
Gesenius, his essay on the Samaritan pentateuch, 281.
"Good Samaritan," the parable of, septenary arrangement of, 137.
Greek version of the Old Testament, value of the, 257; its extensive use by the apostles and early Christians, 281.

Greeks, the, acquainted with the septimal division of time, 83.
Grinfield, Mr., his hypothesis of the inspiration of the Septuagint, 280.
Gruter, quotation from, 23.

H

Hagar, the first to whom the divine angel appeared after the fall, 288.
Ham, his descendants still retain a knowledge of a seventh day's rest, 84.
Hävernick on Ezekiel, quotation from, 445.
Hebrew MSS. of the Scriptures, scarcity of old, and entire absence of very ancient, 56.
——— Scriptures, sources of errors in MSS. of, 251; quotations from the Old Testament in the New agreeing with, 273.
——— and Greek Scriptures of the Old Testament, relative authority of, 251.
Hebrews, Epistle to the, its authorship discussed, 101; Origen's opinion on, 102; canonical authority of, *ibid.*; theory of its Aramean original, 103; septenary scheme of, 144.
Hereford, Nicholas de, his translation of the Old Testament, 127.
Herod, king, no power to oppose the will of Augustus, 17; a vassal of Rome, 18; instance of his dependence on the Emperor, *ibid.*; purchased the privilege of bequeathing his sceptre, *ibid.*; quarrels with Obodas, king of Arabia, 25; sends ambassadors to Rome, 26; reconciled to Augustus, *ibid.*; his death, 308.
Herodotus, his account of Egypt confirmed by the Cuneiform inscriptions, 422.
History, civil, its evidence of a septenary division of time, 82.
——— Popish, importance of its study at the present epoch, 40.
Hody, Dr., his work on the Greek Scriptures, 265.
Hosea, Book of the prophet, septenary arrangement of, 142.
Hyksos, the, their invasion of Egypt, 368; founded a dynasty there, *ibid.*
——— and Hebrews, wars of the, 367.

I

Immortality, belief in by the early Israelites, 179.
India, evangelization of, 203; difficulties in the way, *ibid.*
Infallibility claimed by the Church of Rome, 39.
Inquiry into the Origin of Septenary Institutions, remarks upon, 70; quotation from, *ibid.*
Inquisition, horror inspired by its name, 69.
Intelligence, Biblical, 486.
———, Literary, 488.
———, Announcements and Miscellaneous, 493.

J

James, Epistle of, its author, 104; design, *ibid.*; date of composition, *ibid.*; not contradictory of the Pauline Epistles, 105.
Japheth, his descendants acquainted with the septenary division of time, 83.
Jesuit, no place for conscience in the soul of, 56 and 60; dead to all filial relationship, 57; casuistry, 60—66.
Jesuit, Female, or Spy in the Family, remarks upon the book, 67, note.
Jesuits, repeatedly banished from Catholic countries, 40; character of their public teaching, 54; their use of the confessional, 55; and of education, *ibid.*
Jesuits as they were and are, extracts from, 60 and 64.
Jesuitism, its evil effects upon countries under its influence, 54 and 66; at variance with the laws of God and man, 67; its character in our day, *ibid.*
Jesus, society of, vows required by its members, 45; military character of, *ibid.*; organization, 48; the making of its rules, 52; discipline prescribed to novices before admission, 56.
Jerusalem, not originally Canaanite ground, 167.
Jews, the, their pride and obstinacy, 24; effect of the expectation of Messiah upon them, *ibid.*; oppose Caligula's attempt to place his statue in the temple, *ibid.*; disregard of their Sabbath by the lower class, 175; final restoration of, 180—183; preparation for their great world-mission, 421.
——— of Syria and Egypt, polygamy among, 174.
Jewish boys, ignorance of, 175.
——— synagogues, badly attended, 176.
——— females, their want of religious training, 176.

Jewish services of the West London Reformed Synagogue, 177.
——— worship, symbolic character of, 444.
Job, book of, contains the earliest mention of angels, 283.
John the Baptist, wrought no miracle, 414.
Jonah, Book of the prophet, septenary arrangement of, 143.
Jordan, Rev. John, extract from his *Christian Sabbath*, 76.
Josephus, terms employed by that writer regarding the census, 6; probable reasons of his silence regarding the Judean registration, 27; his evidence in favour of the history of Aristeas, 261.
Judas, the Galilean, excites the Jews to resist the census, 5.
Judaism, modern, 172; rejects the authority of the Talmud, *ibid.;* views of, 173.
Jude, Epistle of, its author, 109.

K

Κορίνθιως, use of the word by Josephus, 432.

L

Labour, cessation from, essential to the Sabbath, 89.
Labourers of the vineyard, parable of the, septenary arrangement of, 138.
Lardner, Dr., his opinion on the Judean census, 20.
Last vision of Ezekiel, the 434.
List of Publications, 247.
———————, English, 500.
———————, Foreign, 504.
Lord's Prayer, septimal division of the, 148.
Lowest seat, parable of the, septenary arrangement of, 135.
Loyola, Ignatius, arises a champion for Rome, 40; success of the brotherhood he founded, *ibid.;* his early life, 41; wounded at the seige of Pampeluna, *ibid.;* duality of his character, 42; source of his change, *ibid.;* contrasted with Luther, 43; development of his mind, 45; unconditional obedience his great principle, *ibid.;* instance of it, 46; his conduct at Barcelona and Paris, *ibid.;* his poverty, *ibid.;* adherence to the dogmas of his church, 47; his power over the minds of others, 48; and over himself, 49; his stay at Paris, *ibid.;* dedication of himself and friends in the Church of Montmartre, 50; arrive in Venice, *ibid.;* their devotion to the sick and poor, *ibid;* endeavour to obtain the sanction and protection of Pope Paul III., 51; legend of his trance and exstacy, 53; his opinions on obedience, 56.
Luke, Gospel of, various renderings of chap. ii. 2, 37; speaks only of one census, 10 and 14; mentions only a registration in his Gospel, and a census in the Acts, 14; does not place a census in the days of Herod, 16.
Luther, his erroneous rendering of Luke ii. 2, 37; contrasted with Loyola, 43.

M

Manna, argument in favour of the Sabbath from the historical account of its fall, 78—80.
Mark Antony, his speech at Ephesus, 24.
Marks, Rev. D. W., character of his sermons, 178.
Mariolatry, the leading feature of Jesuitism, 43; opposed to Scripture, *ibid.;* its debasing effects on Christianity, 44.
Mary, cause of her accompanying Joseph to Bethlehem considered, 11.
Masorah, the system of, its utility questioned, 253, 255; an unfinished work, 254.
Melchizedek, his connection with the Emim tribes, 156.
Mendicancy, the popish system of, its effects upon Europe, 47.
Messiah, an expected, its effect upon the Jews, 24; their ideas of, 181.
Michael, the archangel, appeared to Daniel, 296; the angel of the Jewish, people, 298; the only archangel, 310.
Miracle, definition of the term, 396; not a *violation* of the laws of nature, 397; infrequent use of the corresponding word in the original, 398; transubstantiation a great one, 419.
——— of the Incarnation, 402, note.
——— of the Day of Pentecost, reversed by the Church of Rome, 421.
Miracles, characteristics of, 395; controversies on, *ibid.;* one of the chief evidences of the Christian religion, *ibid.;* Romish employment of, 396; object of their performance, 399; necessary for man only in a sinful state, 400;

Dr. Cumming's explanation of, *ibid.*; not acts of creation, *ibid.*; harmonize with man's free will, 401; double aspect of, 406, note; abuse, not contrary to nature, 407; not wrought by John the Baptist and other good men of old, 414; have been wrought by evil men, *ibid.*; reality of those performed by the Egyptian magicians, 415; wrought by Judas, *ibid.*; lose their importance if often repeated, 418; period of their cessation in the church, 420; may be resumed in the last days, 421.

——— of Christ, typical nature of, 412; uniformly beneficial, 413.

——— and his apostles, 401.

———, judicial, mutually consistent and in harmony with the divine government, 403; preponderate in the old dispensation, redemptive in the new, *ibid.*

———, Old Testament, external character, 408,

——— of Antichrist, 415.

———, Romish, serve no useful end, 413; defended by Dr. Newman, 414; Dr. Biber upon, 416; sophistry of Dr. Wiseman regarding, 417.

Miraculous power, superfluous, not put forth by Christ, 411.

Mizraim, the, geographical distribution of, 157; national characteristics, 367; their struggle with the Cushites, *ibid.*

Mizraimite nations, the, survivors of, 160; supremacy in Egypt, *ibid.*

Mosaic economy, a variety of labour on the Sabbath permitted by it, 88.

Moses, his burial, 287, note; song of, its septenary arrangement, 138.

Mosheim, extract from his *Ecclesiastical History of the Jesuits*, 66, note.

Μωρός, employment of the word by classic writers, 450, note; by New Testament writers, 451, note.

N

Neander, Dr., his opinions on the Sabbath considered, 93, 96.

New Testament dispensation, interest of angels in, 302.

Newman, Dr., as a controversialist, 417; completeness of his conversion, 418; claims miraculous powers for the Church of Rome, 414.

Nicolaus of Damascus, his mission to Rome, 26.

Nile, valley of the, its original settlers Asiatic, 157.

Nineveh, tokens of its former grandeur, 428; influence of its religion on its development, 430.

Nineveh and Persepolis, difference in the architecture of, 423.

Notices of Books:

The Life and Character of St. John the Evangelist, by the Rev. Francis Trench, 223.

Tartessus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Phönicisch Spanischen Handels, von Gustav Moritz Redslob, 226.

An Examination of the Authority for the Change of the Weekly Sabbath at the Resurrection of Christ, by James A. Begg, 227.

Standard Library of British Divines—Owen's Works, vols. 2, 5, 8, and 9, edited by Rev. William Goold, 228.

Manual of the Anatomy and Physiology of the Human Mind, by Rev. James Carlisle, D.D., 229.

The Revelation of St. John briefly explained by Mrs. S. J. C. Martin, 230.

Jewish School and Family Bible, 231.

An Analytical Arrangement of the Holy Scriptures according to the principles developed under the name of Parallelism, by Richard Baillie Roe, B.A., 234.

The Psalms in a new version, fitted to the Tunes used in Churches, by M. Montague, 234.

The Jansenists, by S. P. Tregelles, LL.D., 235.

The Life of Francis, Lord Bacon, by Joseph Sortain, A.B., 235.

My First Grief, by a Provincial Surgeon, 236.

What mean ye by this Service? by the Rev. Samuel Hobson, LL.B., 236.

On Penance and the Confessional, as unscriptural and immoral, by Rev. J. Ross, 236.

The Second Reformation, by A. Alison, Esq., 237.

Eight Lectures delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association, in the Rotunda, Dublin, 237.

The Voice of the Early Church in its First Three Centuries of Steadfast Struggle and Final Victory, by Rev. Charles Smyth, 237.

Annotated Paragraph Bible, 238.

Syriac Reading Lessons, Chaldee Reading Lessons, 238.
Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. The New Testament, 239.
The Greek Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, according to the Vatican Edition, 240.
Epistle of Paul to the Philippians, and the general Epistle of James considered, by Dr. Neander, 459.
Religious Liberty in Tuscany in 1851, 464.
Early Oriental History, edited by John Eadie, LL.D., 468.
Exposition of the Gospel of St. Luke, &c., by James Thomson, D.D., 470.
The Night Lamp, by Rev. John Macfarlane, LL.D., 471.
Book of the Precepts, 473.
Scenes from Scripture, with other Poems, by Rev. George Croly, LL.D., 474.
Dr. Robinson's Greek Lexicon to the New Testament, 475.
Eastern Manners illustrative of New Testament History, by the Rev. Robert Jamieson, D.D., 473.
Historical Charts, &c., by Samuel King Bland, 476.
The Church of the Invisible, by Rev. R. Montgomery, 476.
Three Treatises of John Wycliffe, D.D., 477.
The many Mansions in the House of the Father, by Rev. G. S. Faber, D.D., 477.
Footsteps of our Lord and his Apostles, by W. H. Bartlett, 479.
The Elements of the Gospel Harmony, by Brooke Foss Westcott, M.A., 480.
Religion and Science, by a Physician, *ibid.*
On the State of Man subsequent to the Promulgation of Christianity, *ibid.*
Some Passages in the Life of a Convert from Anglo-Catholicism to the Truth as it is in Jesus, 481.
Safety in Peril, *ibid.*
Christ the Bread of Life, by J. M'Leod Campbell, *ibid.*

O

Obedience, the great principle of Jesuitism, 45.
Obituary, 506.
οἰκουμένη, signification of the word, 20.
Onomasticon, 394.
Oriental allegory, 332, 338.
Origen, his opinion on the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 102.
Oxford University, press of, benefits conferred by it upon English literature, 116; specially instanced in the production of Wycliffe's Bible, 117.

P

Padan-Aram, not beyond the Euphrates, 388.
Palestine, the nations of, their long conflict with Egypt, 157.
Parallelism, Scripture, discourse of Jesus at the Pool of Bethesda, an instance of, 185—197; its interpretation by that theory, 186; importance of in the study of Scripture, 193.
Pascal, extract from his *Provincial Letters on Jesuit Casuistry*, 62.
Patriotic party, rise of the Jewish, 5.
Paul, the apostle, his claim to the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews considered, 101.
Paul III. Pope, his character, 51; position at the rise of Loyola, 52.
Pentateuch, the Samaritan, critical worthlessness of, 281.
Peter, First Epistle of, where written from, 106; not dependant on the Pauline Epistles, 106.
—— Second Epistle of, its relation to the Epistle of Jude, *ibid;* authenticity of, 107—109.
Pethor, city of, its position, 386.
Petronius, an agent of Caligula in Judea, 24.
Philistines, primitive, a junior branch of the Rephaim, 170.
Philo, his testimony to the Septuagint, 260.
Polygamy, forbidden by Christianity, 204.
Prodigal Son, parable of the, its septenary arrangement, 143.
πρώτη, use of the word by Luke, 30.
Psalter, the, earliest prose translations of, 120.
Purvey, John, author of a version of the Scriptures, 130.

Q

Quatremère, his *Essay on the Sinaitic Inscriptions*, 342; disingenuousness of, 347.

Queried texts, No. I., 197.
Quetelet on Probabilities, extract from, 63.

R

Raca, instances of the use of the word from Lightfoot, 451, note.
Rapha nations, the subject of sculpture on Egyptian palaces, 367; physiognomy of the race, 374.
Reformation, the, the restoration of primitive Christianity, 39.
Registers of the Roman Citizens; great care taken to make them complete, 1; carefully preserved, 2.
————, Hebrew, correctness and purity of, 7.
Registration, Jewish, and Roman census, similarity of, 11; order of Luke's narrative regarding, 15; extent of that intended by Augustus, 19—22.
Rephaim, the, and their connexion with Egyptian history, 151 and 363; errors regarding their history, 162; not Canaanites, 163—169, and 391; origin of, 169; primitive Philistines a branch of, 170; political relations of the Hamite Rephaim with the Shemite race of Aram, 389; their defeat by Moses, 392; protected and finally absorbed by the Ammonites, *ibid.*
Resurrection of Christ; the day should be kept as a memorial of Him, 86.
Revelation, Book of the, the year-day theory of interpretation, 111; apostolic authenticity, *ibid.*; time of its composition, 112; schemes of interpretation, *ibid.*; its prophecies not historical, 113; scope and design, 114; septenary arrangement of the opening, 134; of the whole book, 144; mention of angels in, 312—319.
Roman power, grasping selfishness of, 17.
Rome, prudence of her government, 23.
——, Church of, evils of its rule, 39; its condition upon the appearance of Luther, 39; dogmatism of its teachings, 47.

S

Sabbath instituted immediately after the work of creation was ended, 72; intimations of its existence at the deluge, 75; the arguments against its paradisiacal origin answered, 81; God's design in making it a sign between Him and Israel, 82; intended to be perpetually binding, 85; the day of its observance may vary, *ibid.*; obligatory upon Christians, 86, 89; rigour of its imposition on the Jews, 87; penalty for the violation of it a part of their civil polity, 90; change to the first day considered, *ibid.*; probability of the day having been changed by Christ, 92.
σαββάτων, employment of the word in the New Testament, 91.
Salliér Papyrus, an ancient Egyptian document, 377; extract from, 378; description in, of the route from Egypt to Palestine, 379—384.
Satan, has access to heaven, 314; his expulsion from thence, 315, and note; the "Serpent" of the temptation, 356; objections to this view, 357; force of the curse pronounced upon him at the fall, 358; conceptions of in the early ages of the world, 361; manner of his temptation of Eve, 362.
Satanic Agency, 297.
Science and Revelation, different extent of the blessings they confer, 405.
Scriptures, candour required in their study, 74; earliest versions of, 118; translation of parts during the Anglo-Saxon period, *ibid.*; Anglo-Norman translation, 119; dangers of early translators, 124; their defence of the undertaking, *ibid.*; opinions regarding the earliest translations, 128; John Purvey's version, 130; effects of their early circulation among the people of England, 131; specimens of Wycliffe and Purvey's translation, 132; septenary arrangement of various books, 142.
———— of the Old Testament, Jewish corruptions of, 255, note; value of the Greek version, 257; on quotations from, in the New Testament, 271—275.
Scripture parallelisms, 184; importance of the theory in the study of the Bible, *ibid.*
σημεῖα, inadequate rendering of the word in the English translation, 398, note.
Semiramis, probably a mythical character, 429.
Septenary arrangement of Scripture, 134.
———— division of time, acquaintance with the antediluvians, 72; evidence of a primeval Sabbath, 74; the descendants of Japheth acquainted with it, 83.
Septuagint translation, history of by Aristeas, 258; testimony of Josephus

and Philo, 261; Egyptian rendering of Greek words in, 266—268; the only Scriptures used for the first 1500 years of the Christian religion, 270; quoted from by our Lord and his apostles, 270, 272, 274; quotations from, in the New Testament, 272, 275; probable corruption of, 273; no claim to inspiration, 280.

Seraphim, the most exalted angelic order, 302.

Sermons of Christ and his apostles, septenary arrangement of, 139—142.

Serpent, the, 351; theory of its being the means of Eve's temptation considered, 352; (literally) not her tempter, 356; a name of Satan, *ibid.*; appropriate type of his degradation, 360; name of the evil one during the earliest ages, 361.

Serpents, fossil remains of, antecedent to man, 354.

Seven, common use and significancy of the number, 75; mystical use among the early post-diluvians, 78; conspicuous place held by it in the Scriptures, 134.

——— days, the earliest permanent division of time throughout the world, 83.

——— times, occurrence of words in Scripture, 149.

Seymour, Rev. Hobart, quotation from his *Mornings with the Jesuits*, 44; remarks upon that work, 69.

Shas'u, their identity with the royal shepherds, 369; defeat and subjection by Seti-menephtah, 371; revolt in the reign of Menephtah, 372; final expulsion from Egypt by Rameses III., 372; sculptures recording that event, 373.

——— and Zuzim, geographical identity of, 375.

Sheep and goats, parable of, not septenary, 150.

Shem, traces of the observance of a weekly Sabbath among his posterity, 77.

Shepherds, why an abomination to the Egyptians, 151.

——— kings of Egypt, 368; are driven out of the country, 369.

Sinai, inscriptions upon the rocks of, 340; first notice of by Cosmas, *ibid.*; their decipherment by Mr. Forster, *ibid.*; Dr. Beer's theory of, 341; probability of being Hebrew inscriptions, 342; objection to that opinion, *ibid.*; method of examination, 343; why not written in the Hebrew character, 344; descriptions of by Dr. Beer, 346; á priori probability of their being by the Hebrews, 348; events recorded by them, 349.

Sodom, the metropolis of the Emim nations, 155.

Solomon, his "house of the forest of Lebanon," construction of, 426; illustrated by the recent discoveries at Nineveh, 427.

Solomon's Song, its author and date of composition, 320; resemblance to the Greek dramas, *ibid.*; method of distinguishing the speakers, 321; extracts from, 321—328; canonical, 329; delicacy and purity of the original, 330; common mistakes about its descriptions, *ibid.*; an oriental work, 332; its allegorical interpretation, 332—335; objections considered, 335.

——— temple, illustrated by the ruins of Persepolis and Nineveh, 432.

Sons of God, angels so called, 283; and probably meant in Genesis vi. 2, 285.

Spiritual exercises, composed by Loyola, 57; edited by Dr. Wiseman, *ibid.*; method of the discipline it enjoins, 58—60; extract from, 59.

Star worship, Sabean form of in ancient Egypt, 158, note.

Stephen, septenary arrangement of his defence, 141.

Strauss, Dr., his charges against Luke based upon a wrong assumption, 10; his minor impeachments answered, *ibid.*; his want of fair dealing, 12.

T

Tacitus, quotation from, 25.

Taylor, Isaac, his work on Ignatius Loyola, 40; his opinion of the spiritual exercises, 58.

Temple of Jerusalem, amount left by David for building, 264; reduced in height at its rebuilding by Zerubbabel, 426.

Ten virgins, parable of, its septenary arrangement, 137.

Theban and Memphite dynasties in Egypt, 368, note.

Thompson, Rev. Andrew, extract from his paper on the Christian Sabbath, 85.

Titles of dignity or office often given in the Bible as proper names, 363.

Two sons, parable of, septenary arrangement, 134.

V

Voice of Israel from the rocks of Sinai, 339.

W

Wanton, waxing against Christ, 197, 201.
Wedding garment, parable of, septenary arrangement, 136.
Wycliffe's Bible, 116; his translation of the first prose version of the entire Scriptures, 121; his *Last Age of the Church, ibid.;* extract from his *Commentary on the Gospels*, 122; his *Monotessaron*, 123.
Writers, ancient, their testimony to the knowledge of the Sabbath among various nations, 84.
———, classic, illustrations of their employment of adjectives with the force of adverbs, 32—35.
———, New Testament, their use of adjectives with adverbial force, 35—36.

X

Xavier, Francis, scarcely to be reckoned among the Jesuits, 50.
Xerxes, palace of, its magnitude and grandeur, 424.

Z

Zechariah, his last vision, 300.
Zuzim, the, 363; cities and dependencies, 384; but two mentioned in the Bible, *ibid.*
——— and Sas·u, geographical identity of the, 375.

THEOLOGY LIBRARY
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY AT CLAREMONT
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA